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THE

UNITED SERVICE

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF

MILITARY AND NAVAL AFFAIRS.

VOLUME V.

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U. S. ARMY.

JAN. 11

THE

UNITED SERVICE

EDITED BY L. R. HAMERSLY.

JANUARY, 1904.

THE GENERAL STAFF.

THE *General Staff* of our army has now been in existence for several months, and, although this period is too brief to furnish any very satisfactory data as to its value, it is sufficient to indicate the work that is expected of this body of officers, and to draw some general conclusions as to the probable effect of this new element in administration on the future of our army and its operations.

The *efficiency* of the new organization will have a decisive effect on its own future existence, for this is not only an age of progress but also an age of reform, and organizations that do not stand the test of experience must go. The new system starts on its career, however, under the most favorable auspices, since the officers comprising the new corps are repesentative men in their own arms of the service as well as in the army at large; therefore, if the general staff does not prove itself efficient now, the country will naturally lose faith in it as an element of administration. There are two points, however, which should be carefully taken into consideration in judging this efficiency: *First,* the number of officers on this special duty, and the kind and amount of work required of them; *secondly,* the legislation enacted to carry out the needs of the organization itself and of the army, as set forth by the general staff, or, in other words, the support which the new organization receives.

The number of officers detailed on general staff duty, in this its inception, is naturally, and very properly, limited to as small a number as possible. On the other hand, however, the work required should also be limited to that most essential to make a beginning. The officers selected are noted for their capacity for hard work, but if they are

over-crowded with labors they will necessarily get discouraged. Again, if their recommendations do not meet with proper action on the part of the authorities or the legislators, the staff cannot always be held accountable for imperfect work.

In order to arrive at some general ideas of the work that should be expected of the general staff, of its proper organization, and of the numbers required, and also to profit by the experience of other nations and to avoid their errors of the past, a glance at the history of this body of officers in the various armies of the world will probably be instructive.

The general staff has been universally recognized as an essential part of modern army organization, and its purpose has been defined to be to convert the ideas of the commander-in-chief (working out all the necessary matters of detail) into *orders,* and *conveying* the latter to the troops, and to improve the *efficiency* of the troops, watching over and preserving their *fighting condition,* as well as their *material welfare.*

The General Staff originated in Sweden in the seventeenth century, when Gustavus Adolphus made his army the model for the civilized world, and thence this element of organization found its way into the army of the Great Elector. In Germany, therefore, this special organization has had a natural growth and development of about two hundred and fifty years. Frederick the Great was the first to expand it and give its officers definite duties, but it was not until 1806 that it received a definite organization, and not until 1821 that it acquired the independent position it holds to-day. It numbers among its chiefs such men as Von Massenbach, Von Scharnhorst, Von Mueffling and Von Moltke; and most of Germany's great soldiers of to-day are the product of this element in organization, having received their training in the General Staff.

The successes of the German army in 1864, 1866 and 1870-71 led the rest of the military world to study this organization, and the result was that it was everywhere adopted. The United States was too far away and England too conservative, however, to pay much attention to this subject at the time, consequently they were the last to take up the new element in administration, but for that very reason they should take full advantage of all the development it has undergone in the meantime. It is a remarkable fact that, although the continental nations took up this matter in a more or less imitative spirit, not one has ever given up the organization after once adopting it, and when it was adopted in a loose way by any army, and that army failed in administration in an actual war or exhibited deficien-

cies, it was invariably due to those elements in which it did *not* resemble the Great General Staff of Germany.

France, for example, had not fully studied the German system when she adopted it, consequently she soon found that she had to give up the *closed corps* and make the duty simply one of *detail.* France's experience, however, was due to the fact that she had only partially understood the German system, which is today a *closed corps,* but only in a special sense, and with constant detail to service with the line. Unfortunately, our military ideas in the United States, especially in that which concerns tactics, organization, administration, uniforms, etc., even if they came originally from Germany, come to us through France, and are very often German views as seen through French eyes, and are not always exact or reliable as presentations of true *growth* and *development* in this realm of action.

It is neither essential nor wise to adopt any foreign system blindly, but it is most important to study the *causes* which led to the adoption of any particular organization abroad, and to apply the results to our own conditions.

Austria-Hungary had an experience similar to that of France, and suppressed the general staff as a special corps soon after its adoption, but re-established it again as such four years later. In Russia and Italy it is a special closed corps, and has been since its adoption.

In the great continental armies the officers of the General Staff are, as a rule, graduates of the War College, and in some of these armies exclusively so. Consequently this body of officers in any one of these armies has received the same military education, is imbued with a uniform spirit of action, and has a common *esprit* and system for the conduct of its work. In all the great continental armies it is a closed corps *for promotion,* hence its officers obtain their promotion a few years ahead of the other officers, which insures the proper proportion of comparatively young officers, well trained, to command the regiments. There is no *very great* difference in the rate of promotion (five or six years at the utmost for any particular grade,) but this is sufficient to make it the élite corps of the army professionally, and service in it is much sought after.

These are the main points in the history of this element of organization worthy of note, and presenting their lessons for our consideration.

Turning now to the consideration of the *number* of officers on this duty, we find in the first place that, while Germany has about 250 officers in the General Staff proper, there are in reality about 800 on general staff duty; France has about 640 in the General Staff; Rus-

sia about 480, besides about 500 others doing some of the special general staff duties; Austro-Hungary has 260 in the corps, but 700 in all on this service, and Italy 150 in the corps and 150 attached. The proper proportion for our present army would therefore appear to be about 130, whereas there are but about thirty-five or forty. As before stated, it is no doubt wise to limit the number in the beginning, but it is also important to limit the work required in proportion.

The campaign of 1866 showed Germany the necessity of having ready at the moment of mobilization of the army a great general staff, capable of being doubled, and of leaving behind it when the army takes the field a sufficient number of trained staff officers to make sure of the means and measures of military transportation, and to insure the continuance of the supplies necessary for the army of operations. This was an actual war experience, and, in consequence, the then general staff was considerably increased, so that when the campaign of 1870 opened the German army had about 200 general staff officers, a number which was still further increased during the war.

The next war of sufficient importance to have any effect on organization was the war with Spain, which resulted in the adoption of the General Staff for our army, and finally the war in South Africa, which caused such changes in the organization of the British Army as to give the latter practically a *new* General Staff.

The Report of the British Commission on the South African war contains much that is of value to us at the present time. In regard to the *numbers* required for this corps we quote here a few extracts from that report.

The officer in charge of the Intelligence Department stated:

"Not only was the Intelligence Department undermanned, but it had no influence over military policy. It in no sense corresponded to a general staff, though it was entrusted with one of its most important functions. The other functions simply did not exist; it was not at that time charged with the preparation of offensive schemes at all."

It was also impressively brought out that while the German General Staff had forty-eight officers doing the work that was required of the British Mobilization and Intelligence Divisions, the latter numbered altogether but eight.

Another important witness testified as follows:

"In its present size it is quite impossible that the work appertaining to the general staff could possibly be done by the number of officers and men employed in it. A very large increase would be necessary, and, above that, a very pronounced recognition that the recommenda-

tions of the Intelligence Department were to carry a definite weight in the councils of the military authorities of the country."

It must be remembered that in the foregoing the term *Intelligence Department* stands practically for the General Staff, as we understand it, and is not limited to any particular branch of it.

Another argument in this connection is found in the recent British maneuvers at Delhi, where Lord Kitchener, discussing the grave question: "Is India Ready?" calls particular attention to the fact that the lack of General Staff officers is the most serious point involved.

The necessity for a *large number* of General Staff officers is therefore very evident. There can be no question whatever on that point. Our object in calling attention to this necessity is not to find any fault with the small number thus far detailed, but rather to open up the future, and call the attention of the authorities to what must surely come, viz., a gradual but a very considerable increase in numbers as time goes on.

The number which can advantageously be spared from the army depends, of course, on the strength of the latter, but many of the duties (particularly those of the Intelligence Department and the Army War College Staff, who are to study and prepare plans of campaign) are as great in a small army as in a large one, and the sections in charge of this work must therefore be maintained at full strength.

Passing now to the work legitimately required of the General Staff, we desire to call attention to a few points that have come up in the experience of others.

Lord Roberts, in his testimony before the British Commission on the war, makes the following very pertinent remarks:

"I am decidedly of the opinion that we cannot have a first-rate army unless we have a first-rate staff, well educated, constantly practiced at maneuvers, and with wide experience."

Again, Major Burton, of the British Indian Army, in an article on the *Education and Training of Military Officers,* says:

"It cannot be expected that all officers will be equally suitable for the staff, whatever their attainments may be. The first thing to be done is to select those who are endowed by nature with the necessary qualifications, and then to train them in those special branches of knowledge with which they should be acquainted. Staff officers require a knowledge of the tactics of the three arms, and an acquaintance with the working of all departments."

These citations are sufficient to indicate the great scope of the work that will be required of the General Staff. A more definite con-

ception may be obtained from the recent order organizing the General Staff and defining the duties of its various subdivisions, which we quote here in full:

Chief of Staff.
First Assistant.
Second Assistant.
President of War College.
Chief of Artillery.
Secretary.

FIRST DIVISION.

First Section.—*a.* Organization, distribution, equipment and armament, and training of the Army of the United States in peace and war, including regulars, volunteers, and militia, except as provided in third division. *b.* Mobilization and concentration of the land force in time of war. *c.* Field maneuvers.

Second Section.—*a.* Administration and discipline—Regulations and orders; drill regulations for cavalry, field artillery, and infantry; firing regulations; revisions of articles of war; consideration of legal enactments affecting the military establishment, including revision of estimates for the support of the army; efficiency records; examination for appointment and promotion of officers and their detail and assignments, exclusive of those belonging to technical staffs and special arms; the consideration of all matters pertaining to special military reward. *b.* Supervision of the War College; general service and staff college; school of application for cavalry and field artillery, and post schools; post libraries; civil institutions of learning at which officers of the army are detailed as military instructors, and all other matters pertaining to military instruction.

Third Section.—*a.* Transportation and communication—Transportation by land and water; organization and administration of railways; wheel and pack transportation; transports and supply ships; regulations for systematic loading and unloading; statistics as to carrying capacity of cars, boats, etc.; methods of embarking and debarking; entraining and detraining, and all other matters in connection with the carrying of troops and supplies; utilization of means of communication; visual and electrical signaling, including field telephone and telegraph systems, cables, balloons, and wireless systems. *b.* Posts, camps, depots, hospitals, and quarters, location and character; kind and quantity of quarters; expenditures therefor; water supply, sanitation, and all related matters. *c.* Supplies, character,

and quantities of every description for an army in garrison or in the field.

SECOND DIVISION.

a. Military information; collection, arrangement, and publication of historical, statistical, and geographical information; War Department library; system of war maps, American and foreign; general information regarding foreign armies and fortresses; preparation from official records of analytical and critical histories of important campaigns. *b.* Military attaches.

THIRD DIVISION.

First Section.—Studies of possible theatre of war and preparation of plans of campaign, including combined operations of army and navy.

Second Section.—*a.* Organization, distribution, equipment, armament, and training in peace and war of technical staffs and special arms (engineers, ordnance signal corps, medical corps, and the coast artillery, including volunteers and militia). *b.* Manuals for technical staffs and special arms; examination for appointment and promotion of officers of the same; their details and assignments; supervision of technical schools. *c.* Matters pertaining to the "board of ordnance and fortification."

Third Section.—*a.* Permanent fortifications, so far as relates to positions to be fortified, to selection of sites; to amount and character of armament, and to electrical and other appliances. *b.* Torpedo systems and other matters pertaining to submarine defense. *c.* Combined maneuvers, army and navy.

The work of the General Staff has already made an impression on the army, and in general a very favorable opinion has been formed of it. It is our own firm opinion that the General Staff will establish its right *to be,* beyond all question, and in a comparatively short time, if it has not already done so. The spirit of progress is now also inclining the world's *navies* to a desire for a general staff. Both in the United States and in Great Britain the most active minds of the navies of these two countries are striving hard to obtain such an organization, and this is another strong proof of the favorable opinion held of the General Staff of the army as an element of organization and administration and a factor in war.

The War College is the only part of the general scheme which is not yet in full working order, but even that has made a beginning, and its able president, in his annual report, sets forth the principle of action which will govern its course of instruction and training, and therefore it, too, is ready to proceed on its career of usefulness.

ISAAC HULL.

ISAAC HULL was born at Derby, Conn., May 9, 1775, and entered the merchant service, in which he remained till 1798, at the commencement of hostilities with France, when he was commissioned a lieutenant in the navy. In 1800 he was first lieutenant of the Constitution, or "Old Ironsides," the ship which afterward became so famous under his command in the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812-15. In that year he cut out a French letter of marque from under the guns of a battery in the harbor of Port Platte, San Domingo. In one sense the active life of Isaac Hull is identified with the services of the most renowned ship of our navy.

During the war with Tripoli, 1802 to 1805, he served with distinction in the several attacks on that power (July, August, and September, 1804), and subsequently co-operated with General William Eaton, our navy agent in Tunis, in the capture of Derne. In 1806 he was posted as full captain. In 1812 he was put in command of the Constitution, and in July of that year, while cruising off New York, he fell in with a British squadron, consisting of the Africa, a razee of sixty-four guns, the Shannon and the Guerriere, frigates of thirty-eight guns each, the Belvidere, of thirty-six guns, the Æolus, of thirty-two guns, and a brig and a schooner. This squadron was on the look-out for Commodore Rogers, who had sailed from New York with a small squadron on the 21st of June, three days after the declaration of war. The Constitution obtained a position to the windward of the enemy. She set her light sails, and at 7.30 P. M. beat to quarters and cleared ship for action, in hopes of cutting off the nearest ship. At 10 the Constitution shortened sail and showed the private signal of the day; but, receiving no answer from the British frigate, she took in her signal lights and cleared to the eastward under easy sail. From henceforward commenced one of the most brilliant achievements ever recorded in the annals of naval history, to which I shall refer later on.

The Constitution returned to Boston after this wonderful escape, the details of which are so romantic, to be enthusiastically received by its citizens. Lieutenant Charles Morris was always supposed to be the originator of the "kedging" by which the Constitution evaded

the enemy. Upon arriving at the Exchange Coffee House, Captain Hull indorsed the following acknowledgment upon the register:

"Captain Hull, finding his friends in Boston are correctly informed of his situation when chased by the British squadron off New York, and that they are good enough to give him more credit for having escaped than he ought to claim, takes this opportunity to make a transfer of a great part of their good wishes to Lieutenant Morris and the other brave officers and the crew under his command for their many great exertions and prompt attention to orders while the enemy were in chase."

Nearly three days and three nights this chase continued, when, with a light breeze, the Constitution drew away from her pursuers. Twice afterwards she escaped from superior British forces.

The capture of the British frigate Guerriere, one of the pursuing squadron, was effected by Captain Hull on the 19th of August, 1812, after an encounter of about thirty minutes. In this first battle of the "War of 1812," as it is called by historians, the Constitution lost seven men killed and seven wounded, and the Guerriere seventy-nine killed and wounded. The masts of the Guerriere were shot away, and she was in such a sinking condition that it was found impossible to take her into port, and she was accordingly set on fire, and soon afterward blew up. This great naval battle did more than millions of money could have done to put courage into the hearts of the people; its value has never been over-estimated.

After the capture of the Guerriere, Captain Hull took "Old Ironsides" into Boston, where he and his officers received a perfect ovation from its citizens.

From Long Wharf, where he landed, along State Street to the Exchange Coffee House, the crowds of citizens were immense. (In this battle his efficient first lieutenant, Charles Morris, was dangerously wounded). In the evening a brilliant entertainment was given in his honor at Faneuil Hall, where plates were laid for six hundred. The late Colonel Henry Sargent prepared the decorations, and Lucius Manlius Sargent recited an original ode. In fine, the whole country was electrified, and the entire heart of the nation beat high in praise of Isaac Hull.

Great Britain had for some years claimed, among other things, her invincibility upon the seas, and her right to search American merchantmen, and to take out any seamen who had no protection, claiming them as British sailors, and, in general, the right to annoy our commerce in every way. As far back as 1809 occurred the miserable episode of the Leopard and Chesapeake (that most unfortunate of

vessels), when Captain Barron of the latter surrendered to the former after hardly a struggle, and having had four Americans taken from his deck by Captain Humphries of the Leopard. Five years later, at the close of the War of 1812, two of these four were returned by the British government on the deck of the Chesapeake, one having died, and the other being beyond the reach of human government, having been hung at Halifax on the plea that he was an Englishman. For this sad result Captain Barron was suspended for five years. Commodore Stephen Decatur (than whom no braver man ever lived), it is said, but not with certainty, charged Commodore Barron with cowardice upon this occasion, which led to a duel. Barron was severely wounded, and Decatur was killed.

The late Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, who was in command of the Charleston Navy Yard when Captain Dewey sawed off the head of General Jackson from the bows of "Old Ironsides," was Barron's second on this occasion.

To return to the Constitution. Isaac Hull, a New England sailor, had in thirty minutes stripped Great Britain of her naval prowess, her so-called supremacy of the seas. This victory was followed up by that of the Constitution, under the command of Commodore William Bainbridge, over the Java, and by the same frigate, under Commodore Charles Stewart, over the Cyane and Levant. Thus "Old Ironsides" became a household word, and she was known the world over as the lucky ship of the navy. Commodore Hull carried his prisoners into Boston, and for the second time was enthusiastically received. These two brilliant exploits have endeared his name to posterity, and he ranks in the naval history of the world, not only as the possessor of admirable skill as a seaman, but as one of the bravest and most gallant officers of the War of 1812.

After the treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, by which peace was declared (which treaty, it will be remembered, was signed by John Quincy Adams, J. A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin as commissioners on the part of the United States). Captain Hull with his fellow-officers retired to the more peaceful duties of shore life.

He was for many years at the head of the navy board of commissioners, and in command of the Pacific and Mediterranean squadrons, serving his country with great honor and credit. He died in Philadelphia, February 3, 1843, universally beloved and esteemed for his many virtues.

The history of the Constitution, or "Old Ironsides," is so identified with the life of Commodore Hull that I hope to be pardoned for

alluding to the exploits of this public favorite, and perhaps repeating much that is already known. But I doubt if the present generation know much more than tradition concerning this wonderful vessel. Fenimore Cooper, in his "Old Ironsides," published in Putnam's Magazine of 1853, and Abbott, in his "Blue-Jackets of 1812," have done much to keep alive the memory of this noble ship, for which they are entitled to the thanks of every American. With the aid of these and older publications, I propose to give some facts concerning the old ship, which may prove of general interest:—

In the year 1794 the Congress of the United States ordered the building of six frigates. Three were sold on the stocks, and three were completed at a cost of about $300,000 each, viz., the Constitution, United States, and Constellation. The first was built in Boston, the second in Philadelphia, and the last named at Baltimore, and upon an entirely new plan; that is, with carronades on a flush spar deck and thirty long twenty-four-pounders on the main deck. The usual metal for a frigate was an eighteen-pounder. The plans for these frigates were made by Joshua Humphreys, a shipbuilder of Philadelphia, who was father of one of our former naval constructors of great ability. The builder who had charge of the Constitution was Mr. George Claghorn; but the foreman, who was known to be a very efficient mechanic, was Mr. Edmund Hart, who, singularly enough, was also the father of a former naval constructor. The shipyard was in Ship Street, between the present Winnisimmet Ferry and Fish Street. Mr. Hart's name appears in the directory of the day as "shipwright," along with that of George Claghorn, both having shipyards on the same street.

The Constitution was two years in building, and, at the first and second attempts to launch her, stuck on the ways. The third attempt was successful. Her figurehead was a Hercules bearing a club, until, during the second term of President Jackson, the god was taken down, and the hero of New Orleans put in its place. To show the feeling of the people in the early days of our republic, I insert a description of the launch of the Constitution, from a journal of the day:—

"THE CONSTITUTION LAUNCHED OCTOBER 21, 1797.

"WEDNESDAY, October 25, 1797.

"The spring tides the latter part of last week giving the workmen in the naval yard an opportunity to complete the ways for launching the frigate Constitution, Colonel Claghorn, anxious to give as early information of the intended operation as possible, directed a gun to be fired at daylight on Saturday morning last, as a signal that at full

sea he should move her into her destined element. Before noon a very anxious and brilliant collection of citizens assembled at the spectacle; and at 12.15, at the first stroke at the spur shores, she commenced her movement into the water with such steadiness, majesty, and exactness as to fill almost every breast with sensations of joy and delight superior by far to the mortification they had already experienced. Such was the obliquity of the ways, that she came to anchor within two hundred yards of them without the least strain, or meeting or causing the most trifling accident; and she now rides at her moorings in the harbor, a pleasant sight to those who contemplate her as the germ of a naval force which, in no remote period of time, will protect the flag of the United States from the depredations of piratical marauders.

"As soon as the enlivening burst of congratulation was heard from the ship, her ordnance on shore replied to the shouts and joined with the huzzas of the citizens on the adjacent shores, demonstrating the lively interest the great body of the people took in her safety, and evidenced the popularity of the government by whose direction she was built.

"The best judges have pronounced the Constitution, like her archetype, to be a perfect model of elegance and strength, and every individual employed in her construction appears to pride himself in having assisted at the production of this 'chef d'œuvre of naval architecture.'

"Colonel Claghorn's skill, prudence, and intelligence have been freely bestowed, and the United States are under obligations to General Jackson, Captain Nicholson, and Major Gibbs for their indefatigable care and attention in the superintendency of the various departments necessary to her equipment. If the well-deserved fame of Messrs. Skillings as carvers could receive an addition, we should pronounce their workmanship, which decorates the frigate, a masterpiece of theirs. Indeed, in no part of the work in the hull or rigging can the strength and beauty be exceeded, and the eulogiums of foreign naval gentlemen have been warm and explicit in her favor.

"May the 'hoary monarch' of the element on whose bosom she now reclines protect her with his trident; and whenever her departure into the waste of his realm may be necessary, may propitious breezes waft her to the haven of peace, or aid her to hurl the vindictive thunder of national vengeance on the disturbers of her country's repose, or the depredators on the lawful commerce of her citizens."

Recurring to the escape of the Constitution from the British squadron, heretofore spoken of, Cooper, than whom no one was more fitted to judge, says:—

"The chase off New York brought the Constitution largely before the public mind. It is true that this exploit was not one of a character to excite the same feeling as a successful combat, but men saw that the ships and crews that could achieve such an escape from a British squadron must both of them have the right stuff for a glorious marine. It was the good fortune of 'Old Ironsides' to correct two of the illusions of that portion of the people which had faith in English superiority in all things, by first demonstrating that a Yankee man-of-war could get away from her enemy when there was occasion for the attempt, and that she could deal roughly with him when the motive for avoiding an action did not exist."

Captain Dacres indorsed the following challenge on the register of the merchant ship John Adams, on her return from Lisbon to New York (she having a British license), after the escape of the Constitution from the British fleet:—

"Captain Dacres, commander of his Britannic Majesty's frigate Guerriere of forty-four guns, presents his compliments to Commodore Rogers of the United States frigate President, and will be very happy to meet him, or any other frigate of equal force to the President, for the purpose of having a social *tete-a-tete.*"

On the arrival of the John Adams at New York, Captain Dacres' challenge was copied into all the newspapers of the day, and had a wide circulation all over the United States. It is related that before the war the Guerriere and Constitution were lying in the Delaware, and the two captains, Dacres and Hull, happening to meet at some entertainment on shore, in a good-natured way discussed the merits of their respective navies. "Well," said Hull at last, "you may just take good care of that ship of yours if ever I catch her in the Constitution." Captain Dacres, who is represented as having been a more than ordinarily good-humored gentleman, offered to bet money that the too confident Hull would be the loser in the event. "No," said Hull, "I'll bet no money, but I will wager a hat that the Constitution will prove the victor." The bet was made. After the famous fight alluded to, the officer who was sent on board the frigate said, "Captain Hull presents his compliments, sir, and wishes to know if you have struck your flag."

Captain Dacres looked significantly at the shattered masts of his ship, and responded dryly, "Well, I don't know. Our mizzenmast is gone, and our mainmast is gone; and on the whole I think you may say we have struck our flag." When Captain Dacres went on board the Constitution, and was shown into the cabin where Captain Hull

was, he unclasped his sword from his side and handed it silently to the victor. "No," said Captain Hull, "I'll not take a sword from one who knows so well how to use it, but I will trouble you for that hat." It is added by a chronicler that a shade of perplexity passed over Captain Dacres' countenance until he recollected the wager of a year or so before, and all was well again.

The speed of the Constitution, by her log-book of 1809, was thirteen and one-half knots, going free under top-gallant sails. In 1844 she made fourteen knots off Cape Frio, Brazil, with the same rig, under the command of that old sea-dog John Percival, who, by the way, was first lieutenant under Hull in the frigate United States when the latter was in command of the Pacific squadron in 1828. "Mad Jack," as he was called, was one of the best sailors our navy has produced. He told me that Hull knew as much more than he did, as Christ knew more than one of the apostles. This was his way of expressing himself, forcibly and to the point. Also he told me much about Commodore Hull which, I am sorry to say, I have forgotten; but this I do remember: When Commodore Hull commanded the Mediterranean squadron his flagship was the Ohio, seventy-four guns, and Captain Percival was in command of the Cyane. Orders were given to the fleet to proceed to a certain port. It was usual for the squadron to slacken sail and let the flagship go ahead; but, lo and behold! when the Ohio and the others arrived at their destination, the Cyane was there at anchor. When "Mad Jack" went on board the Ohio to pay his respects to the commodore, he was taken to task by Hull for forging ahead; wherupon Percival said, "Give me the Ohio when we go back, and you take the Cyane, and I'll get there first." "I have no doubt you would," said Hull, "for, Jack, you are the best sailor I ever saw."

I cannot be blamed for a most affectionate regard for "Old Ironsides," which, perhaps, may have led me into idolizing the veteran who so nobly carried her through so many perils. It is just the Isaac Hulls who come to the front when their country needs their services. When I went on board the Constitution, a lad of eighteen, she had the same armament that she had when she captured the Guerriere, Java, and Cyane and Levant, and they bore marks of conflict upon them. The binnacle in use was the one taken from the Java. Also, we had on board the marine who, stationed in the maintop, shot Captain Lambert of the Java. When we went into Singapore, in 1845, with a sick-list of two hundred sailors, the first man to welcome us and offer us medical assistance was Commodore Chads of the British

squadron then in port, who was first lieutenant of the Java, and surrendered her to the Constitution, and who afterward became Sir Henry Ducie Chads, K. C. B., and died an admiral of the British navy in 1868. I well remember the kindness of Commodore Chads, and a remark he made to Captain Percival, our commander: "The Constitution, in her battle with the Java, was maneuvered in a masterly manner, and it made me regret that she was not British. But," said he, "it was 'Greek met Greek,' for we were the same blood, after all." I wrote this home to my friends March 20, 1845, and have the letter before me now. All these things appear to me now like a dream that has passed and gone, but those were pleasant years. We had a fine crew of four hundred sailors and excellent officers; and although storms were frequent, it always cleared away.

Let us try to keep green the memory of such men as Hull, Bainbridge, Decatur, Stewart, and their contemporaries—the men who, by their bravery, placed their country among the nations of the earth.

BENJ. F. STEVENS.

THE RELIGION OF NAPOLEON.*

THE religious beliefs of a great man are always of the highest interest. While his general conduct and his actions in the varying crises of life tell us much of his character, they do not reveal the whole of it. They show us all the externals of the man; but just as we remain in ignorance of his nature, even of his face, until we have looked well into his eyes, and watched how they caress a friend, or twinkle with laughter, or flash with anger, so, too, his inner being lies hidden from view until its outlook on the external is disclosed in some mood of genuine self-revelation, or amidst a disaster that strips the soul bare of everyday garniture. Such times of self-disclosure come often upon emotional and poetic natures; and the world's literature could ill spare their outcome. Other beings soar easily on the wings of ecstasy, and hold the divine to be the one reality in a world of fleeting shadows. In others, again,

> "The soul grows clotted by contagion,
> Imbodies and imbrutes, till she quite lose
> The divine property of her first being."

With the great mass of mankind, immersed in material facts, introspection is rare, and self-revelation is rarer. Even if the religious nature escapes the debasement denounced by our great Puritan poet, it loses the power of clear articulation, and gives forth but uncertain sounds. Hence it is often a matter of great difficulty to ascribe any definite religious beliefs to many of the world's greatest men of action. We know little or nothing of the inmost convictions of Hannibal, Cæsar, and Charlemagne; the two prominent religious acts of Alexander the Great that have been recorded were certainly prompted by political motives; and the notorious fact that a state creed was looked on by a long line of Roman emperors, both pagan and Christian, as an impalpable but highly effective police force, inspired Gibbon with one of his most telling invectives against Christianity. Indeed, many of the most active rulers—Alfred the Great is a splendid ex-

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ception—have not thought much about religion; they have used it. Their thought on this momentous subject has generally been in inverse ratio to the extent of their use of it as a mundane instrument. We propose in the present article to examine the religious belief of Napoleon Bonaparte; and the thinness and vagueness of much of the evidence must be excused by the general considerations set forth above; though, on the other hand, the uncertainty which has until lately rested over this side of his life is the best justification for undertaking this inquiry in the case of so important and fascinating a personality.

In the case of a character so thickset and tenacious as that of Napoleon I., which more and more worked back into the groove of the primal instincts and family traditions, we naturally begin by asking what were the instincts that moulded his life in the early, or Corsican, part of his career. As is well known, he came of a family which, on both sides, was of patrician rank, and he had some claim to official nobility in the paternal line. True, his father himself was not an orthodox Roman Catholic, but professed at ordinary times the Voltairean views that were then in vogue, and even wrote epigrams against the Church and its creed. The young Napoleon, however, positively disliked his father because he espoused the French cause in the strife between France and Paoli. The lad eagerly took the nationalist side, and during his earliest years mixed freely with the peasants and fishermen who formed the bulk of Paoli's following. These people were devoted Romanists; and the young Bonapartes, when they began to espouse the cause of the French Revolution, soon found out the strength of the religious instinct which was now to be ranged against them in their native island. On one occasion, in the autumn of 1790, Napoleon and his elder brother Joseph were in danger of their lives because they showed scant respect to a procession of priests and devotees who were appealing to the citizens of Ajaccio against the new anti-clerical decrees of the French National Assembly. The two young democrats barely escaped condign chastisement; and Napoleon, if not Joseph, seems always to have retained a vivid impression of the power of the orthodox creed over the Latin peoples.

Still more lasting were the impressions that he gained from his mother's training. He resembled her far more than his father; and for her "superhuman fortitude" (the phrase is his own) he ever retained the profoundest respect. Her nature was of the primitive Corsican type, developed in the hard and penurious life of the gentry in the mountainous interior, where tradition and family honor made up the moral code; and she bequeathed her sternly practical qualities

to her famous son, along with an innate respect for the religion of his race. As to the value of his mother's training he bore frequent testimony. At St. Helena he remarked to the Countess Montholon: "The first principles that one receives from one's parents, and that one takes in along with mother's milk, leave an ineffaceable imprint." The words, as will presently appear, have a practical bearing on the final stages of our inquiry. Meanwhile, we note that from his parents he inherited very diverse tendencies. His father bequeathed to him the speculative faculties that enabled him to wander at ease among systems of philosophy, and to frame grandiose political schemes; while from his mother he had that strongly practical bent which ever drove him to look closely to facts, and to assess them at their inmost value in relation to the needs of life. The instincts implanted by her training were never lost. Méneval, in his "Souvenirs" (III., 114), relates that Napoleon, when emperor, frequently made the sign of the cross, quite involuntarily, at the news of any great danger or deliverance.

But the laws of heredity, which explain so much in the life of an ordinary man, never unravel the inner mysteries of the life of a genius. So original a being as Napoleon early outleaped all the possibilities that seemed to await the son of the dilettante Corsican lawyer, and of his uninformed spouse. The whirlwind of the French Revolution caught him away from insular hopes and ambitions—he had hoped to free Corsica from the French—and opened up the career that was to astonish mankind. It would be an error to say that it rooted up his religious faith, for there is very slight proof as to religion having had any vital hold on him, even in his earlier years. Sent to the military school of Brienne at the age of ten, he led an unhappy, moody existence there under the superintendence of monks whom he detested; and his life at the Ecole Militaire in Paris (1784-85) was no more conducive to the growth of faith than his sojourn at Brienne. In later years he is said to have remarked that the happiest day of his life was that of his first communion, which he received on his birthday during this sojourn at Paris. The pleasing effect which the sound of village bells always had upon him has also been referred to the happy associations which they conjured up. However that may be, the fact is certain that his letters written at Brienne reveal no religious sentiment. The most noteworthy expression is that in which he thanks God, "le grand moteur des choses humaines," for having fitted him for the finest of all careers, that of a soldier. Equally noteworthy is his later reference to his sturdy defense of his own little arbor against the assaults of his school-fellows on the festival of St. Louis:

"Yes, I had the instinct that my will was to prevail over that of others, and that what pleased me must belong to me."*

This unyielding egotism, which embittered his school-life, gained new strength from a study of Rosseau, whose geometrical designs for the creation of a perfect polity appealed to the methodizing instincts of the young officer and drew him for many years far away from Christianity. During his sojourn at Valence and Auxonne we find him eagerly studying history to buttress his favorite theories; and in his voluminous note books written at that time (1785-87) we find the manuscript of his first controversial work. In it he made a fierce onslaught on a Protestant pastor of Geneva who had successfully criticized the statement at the close of Rosseau's "Social Contract," that Christianity broke up the harmony and order of civil society, and enjoined servitude. Bonaparte took up the cudgels on behalf of his then favorite author, affirming that the Christian creed was hostile to a perfect polity; for, by bidding men to look forward to another life, rendered them too submissive to the evils of the present. Nor would he allow any merit to Protestantism; for, he maintained, by encouraging individual liberty of thought it broke up the unity of society, and was the fertile source of schisms and civil wars. The essay is remarkable for vehemence of expression, which consorted somewhat ill with the rigidly mechanical views of life that the author advocated. In his view civil government should aim at securing a general uniformity of life, both in the spheres of moral and material wellbeing. It must "lend assistance to the feeble against the strong, and by this means allow every one to enjoy a sweet tranquillity, the road of happiness." In brief, he declared himself for the perfecting of society by external means alone. Human welfare could be attained by the State, the aid of religion being superfluous, if not actually harmful. Such was his creed at the age of eighteen, and such it was long to remain. This explains his friendship with the younger Robespierre, and his admiration for the Terrorist chief. Their political and ethical creeds were practically identical.

The downfall of the Robespierres and the strange vicissitudes of his own career shook his faith in the efficacy of this levelling creed, and left him for a time weary and disenchanted. "Life is but a light dream, which soon vanishes"—so he wrote to his brother Joseph on June 24, 1795; and again he remarked that soon he would not move aside to avoid a carriage. The luxury and dissipation of Paris aroused in him a contempt for his kind that he was never wholly to lose. The death of two enthusiasms—the first, that on behalf of Corsica; the

*Chuquet, "La Jeunesse de Napoléon (Brienne), p. 124.

second, that which aimed at the ideals of Lycurgus—left him morally rudderless; and an incident in the first part of his warfare on the Italian frontier shows him to have already thrown all scruples to the winds. While walking one day along the French positions at the Col di Tenda with his mistress, the wife of one of the French commissioners, he bethought him that she would like to see an engagement. He therefore ordered an attack, which he thus described to Las Cases at St. Helena:

"We won, it is true, but the fight would, of course, end in nothing. It was a pure fancy on my part; but, for all that, some few men were left on the ground. Whenever I have since thought of that I have always reproached myself for my conduct."*

After this admission it is needless to inquire whether religious principles had any sway over him in the years of disillusionment that followed on the collapse of his political ideals.

His invasion of Italy in 1796-97 brought him into close contact with the Papacy; and his observation of the real power which religion exerted in the Peninsula seems to have reawakened his respect for the creed of his childhood. At any rate, though he was ordered by the Directory, then dominant at Paris, to uproot the Pope's authority, he constantly evaded the task. Indeed, he urged very different conduct on the French envoy at the Eternal City. Thus, on October 28, 1796, he wrote:

"I covet the title of savior, far more than that of destroyer of the Holy See. You are yourself aware that we have always held the same principles in this matter; and if they will only be wise at Rome, we will take advantage of the unlimited power conferred on me by the Directory to give peace to this fair portion of the world, and quiet the alarmed consciences of many nations."

Unfortunately, the effect of this letter, which might have come from a veritable *dévot,* is marred by one written four days earlier to the same envoy, in which Bonaparte told him that the great thing was to gain time, so that, when the French were ready to invade the Papal States in force, they might secure the important seaport of Ancona. "In short, the finesse of the game is for us to throw the ball from one to the other, so as to amuse the old fox." The young conqueror was, however, careful to give the impression that the Roman Church would gain far better terms from him than from the Directory; but his friendship was bought somewhat dearly at the price of a heavy ransom and one hundred works of art, to be selected at Rome, to adorn the museums of Paris.

*Las Cases, "Mémorial de Ste-Hélène," Vol. i., p. 180.

Amidst all these opportunist devices we catch glimpses of his respect for the Church as a great governing power. He discovered this power even in the first of the self-governing republics which he erected in the north of Italy; he complained that, during his absence, the elections had gone almost wholly for the clerical party, and that, too, in districts which had of late cast off the rule of the Pope's legates. He therefore held the balance level in religious matters, curbing the clericals, but repressing the silly excesses of which the Italian Jacobins were guilty against the Church.* Now that he was charged with the administration of large areas in Italy, he sought to bring over the bishops to his side; and the following letter to the Bishop of Como (May 6, 1797) shows his complete emancipation from the anti-Christian fervor of his youth.

"Never throw oil, but throw water, on the passions of men; scatter prejudices, and firmly strive against the false priests who have degraded religion by making it the tool of the ambition of the powerful and of kings. The morality of the Gospel is that of equality, and henceforth it is most favorable to the republican government which is now to be that of your country." ("Correspondence," No. 1770.)

And when the Archbishop of Genoa had recommended submission to the new French and democratic constitution, he received this glowing eulogy (Sept. 10, 1797):

"I have just received, citizen, your pastoral of September 5. I thought I heard one of the twelve apostles speak. It is thus that St. Paul spoke. How religion inspires esteem when she has ministers like you! True apostle of the Gospel, you inspire respect; you oblige your enemies to esteem and admire you; you even convert the unbeliever." (Ib. No. 2182.)

In less than a year Bonaparte was proclaiming (July 2, 1798) to the people of Egypt that the French had come as their friends and allies; that they had overthrown the Pope, who said men ought to make war on the Moslems; and had destroyed the Knights of Malta "because those madmen believed that God desired war with the Moslems. Have we not for centuries been the friends of the Grand Signor (may God accomplish his desires) and the enemy of his enemies?" ("Correspondence," No. 2723.)

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*At Milan, in the spring of 1796, the statue of St. Ambrose had been cast down and dragged through the streets. Profane literature deluged the Lombard cities for a time. Some of the churches were turned into Jacobin clubs, and a patriotic liturgy and *Credo* were recited. The last began: "I believe in the French Republic, and in its son, General Bonaparte." These excesses soon led to the inevitable reaction.

It is needless to follow Bonaparte through the marvellously clever shifts adopted for the purpose of cajoling the Moslems in Egypt and the Christians of the Lebanon in turn. It is of interest to remember that this last effort, during the siege of Acre, was partly foiled by Sir Sidney Smith distributing among those Christians copies of Bonaparte's Moslem proclamations to the Egyptians.

The Egyptian expedition was little more than a dramatic interlude in Bonaparte's career, designed to fill an interval until the Directory should collapse from internal weakness, and from the difficulties in which its rashness had involved it. On his return to France he found that "the pear was ripe"; and prominent among the causes that made for change was the nagging anti-clerical policy of the government. As soon as the popular general had overthrown the Directory he sought to base his power as First Consul on a general pacification. The brave Vendéan peasants were coaxed to surrender largely through the instrumentality of a democratic priest, Bernier; and the same man was entrusted with the overtures for a reconciliation with the Papacy, the temporal power of which had been restored by the second coalition. Into the complex negotiations that finally led to the signing of the Concordat of 1801-02 it is, of course, impossible to enter; but the reasons with which Napoleon justified, in the face of France and the world, this most momentous change in republican policy are very noteworthy. With characteristic boldness he defied the infidel sentiments of his army and of France in an allocution to the clergy of Milan, just nine days before the battle of Marengo established his power. After remarking that philosophers had striven to persuade France that Catholicism must always be hostile to liberty, and that this was the cause of the cruel and foolish persecution of religion during the Revolution, he continued:

"Experience has undeceived the French, and has convinced them that the Catholic religion is better adapted than any other to diverse forms of government, and is particularly favorable to republican institutions. I myself am a philosopher, and I know that, in every society whatsoever, no man is considered just and virtuous who does not know whence he came and whither he is going. Simple reason cannot guide you in this matter; without religion one walks continually in darkness; and the Catholic religion alone gives to man certain and infallible information concerning his origin and his latter end."

The identification of virtue with exact knowledge of a very metaphysical problem is here asserted with a boldness which would have startled the Socrates of the Dialogues of Plato. But there is no need

to take the statement as more than a rhetorical platitude which would please the classical scholars there present. The argument that a man ought to seek to know whence he comes, what he is, and whither he is going, was frequently on Bonaparte's lips, and often served him in defence of religion. There is, indeed, every reason to think that the Socratic maxim, "Know thyself," genuinely interested him. In fact, this intensely practical man, as he once described himself, longed for certainty in all things. During the course of his life he came more and more to dislike change, whether in matters social, political, or purely personal. He carried this last foible so far as to keep the same people about him, presumably because the coming of new persons gave him the trouble of fathoming their natures and finding out what their inmost feelings towards him really were. Speculative in his youth, in obedience to the paternal strain in his nature, he ransacked systems and creeds in the craving for fixity of belief, which we may trace to the tough fibre of his mother's kin. Rousseau's dogmatism satisfied him for a time; but his contact with the primitive society of the East shattered his belief in the perfect polity set forth as attainable in the "Social Contract." That creed had long been on the wane; and he subsequently avowed that it was the sight of savage man as he really was which finally cured him of Rousseauism. "Savage man is a dog," he exclaimed with his usual incisive curtness. That belief having gone, he had to choose, as virtual ruler of France, between Catholicism, Protestantism, the Theophilanthrophy of La Réveillière-Lépeaux, and mere irreligion. The various creeds are said by Thibadeau to have claimed the following totals of adherents in France: Catholics, 15,000,000; Protestants, Jews and Theophilanthropists, 3,000,000; while 17,000,000 were reckoned as infidels. The last total is probably too high; but it was clearly open to Bonaparte to continue the irreligious régime of the Directory. He declined, however, for reasons that will now appear. The Theophilanthropists numbered about a million; their creed, a quaint mixture of the worship of Reason with an ethical cult and liturgy devised by the fallen Director, was already on the wane; and Bonaparte dealt it a death-blow by refusing to its votaries the use of any churches, on the ground that it was not a religion at all.

"What is your Theophilanthropy?" he said to one of them. "Oh, don't talk to me of a religion which only takes me for this life without telling me whence I come or whither I go."

This argument in favor of religious dogma acquires added interest from the fact that the young Comte was then beginning his education at Paris, and must have heard of the expiring efforts of the Theo-

philanthropists to hold their ground against the religious positivism of Bonaparte.

The Protestant creed never had any charms for him. He is reported to have expressed his regret, at a later time, that he did not make France Protestant, but the expression can have been nothing more than an outburst of spleen against the unyielding attitude of the Roman Church towards his claim of absolute supremacy. There is nothing in his writings, early or late, to show that he ever had the slightest regard for the Protestant principle of the right of private judgment, which ran counter to all his ideas of the solidarity of the State. His boyish tirade against the pastor of Geneva represents his attitude all through his life. At St. Helena he told General and Madame de Montholon, with convincing *naivete,* why he had not chosen to make France Protestant in 1800. If he threw in his lot with the Church of Rome there was a good chance of his having a solid and obedient nation at his back. If he declared for Protestantism, there would at once have been two or more great parties.

"These parties, by tearing one another to pieces, would have annihilated France, and would have made her the slave of Europe, when my ambition was to make her mistress of Europe. With the aid of Catholicism I should more easily attain all my great results. Abroad, Catholicism would keep the Pope on my side; and with my influence, and our forces in Italy, I did not despair of having, sooner or later, by one means or another, the direction of this Pope. And thenceforth, what an influence! What a lever of opinion for the rest of the world! Never in all my quarrels with the Pope have I touched a dogma."*

Nowhere else did Napoleon ever state so simply and baldly the reasons for his rejecting Protestantism and founding his rule on Catholicism. True, he added that he naturally clung to the faith of his childhood; but it is no outrageous cynicism to hold that the political reasoning stated above prevailed over sentimental motives. After the brilliant triumphs of 1796, he based his behaviour on the lines laid down in his famous letter of October 7, 1797, to Tallyrand:

"It is only with prudence, wisdom, and great dexterity that obstacles are surmounted and important ends attained. If we take as the basis for all operations true policy, which is nothing else than

*"Souvenirs de Ste-Hélène," Appendix II. This appendix consists of notes, previously unpublished, made by Montholon for his "Récits de la Captivité de Napoléon." They are taken from a *cahier* in the possession of the Vicomte de Couëdic

the calculation of combinations and chances, we shall long remain *la grande nation,* the arbiter of Europe."

There spake the greatest player of political chess that the world has ever seen, for whom the world was the board, and monarchs and nations merely pieces in the game. With his usual proneness to material measurement, he even assessed the Pope's influence by military standards. Treat with the Pope," he wrote to the French minister at Rome, "as if he had 200,000 men."

Why then did Napoleon quarrel with the Pope in and after the year 1809. Why did he condone his arrest and deportation from Rome? The story is a long one. He always gave out that those acts were due to a mistake of General Miollis; but, he added, "what is done is done; and, on the whole, Pius VII had better go to Savona. It would seem, however, that he had long resolved to wield the temporal power himself. In August, 1806, he had written that Italy must be his, and the Pope his vassal. In July, 1807, Pius VII was to be reminded of Christ's words, that His kingdom was not of this world. Why then did the successor of Peter set himself above Christ? Finally, when the Pope was a prisoner, he stated that the temporal power was gone forever. In fact, he judged that he no longer needed the support of the Papacy. When the papal nuncio read out to him the bull of excommunication after the battle of Essling, he said courteously: "You have done your duty; you are a very brave man; I esteem you." Then, on re-reading the document, he said: "What can the Pope do? I have 300,000 men under my orders. With his lightning can he make the arms fall from my soldiers' hands?"

His sense of the value of papal support therefore rested ultimately on a material basis. Not until his power was tottering to its fall, early in 1814, did he think of restoring the Pope to liberty and sending him to Rome. "Let him burst on that place," he said, "like a bomb-shell."* It is not surprising that devout historians should see in this unworthy treatment of a delicate old man a chief cause of the Emperor's fall, just as they point to the miseries of the retreat from Moscow as proof of the efficacy of the papal thunderbolts.†

His attitude towards religion, then, was at bottom determined by political considerations. True, he attended mass on suitable occasions, and preserved there an outward decorum which contrasted well with the levity that disgraced the Court of France, even in the time of Louis

*"New Letters," January 21, 1814.

†De Beauterne, cap. IV.

XVI; but it was a political function, in which he did honor to his "sacred *gendarmerie*." If the clergy opposed him, he at once curbed their prerogatives, dismissing refractory bishops and priests, and even forbidding the publication of "any work on ecclesiastical affairs."*

But if this methodizing genius fenced in the Church, much more severely did he gag her opponents. Protestants were attached to the State by a well-devised system, but infidels were promptly silenced. Eleven days after the mighty blow of Austerlitz consolidated Napoleon's power, he sent a missive from the palace of Schönbrunn, sharply rebuking a M. Lalande, who had ventured to air very heterodox opinions in the august circle of the Institute of France. Affecting to pity this once learned man, who had evidently fallen into dotage, and now spoke only in order to be talked about, the Emperor declared that he disgraced both himself and that learned body by professing atheism—"a principle destructive of all social organization in that it takes from man all his consolations and hopes." The Institute must therefore officially warn the offender never again to publish anything of such a nature as to overcloud the memory of his earlier services. If those fraternal admonitions failed, it would be the Emperor's duty to prevent the destruction of the morality of his people, "for atheism destroys all morality, if not in individuals, yet assuredly in nations." His inmost feelings on this subject were stated to Roederer, not long after Brumaire, with the frankness that he often showed towards that clever man and agreeable talker.

"How can morality exist?" said he. "There is only one means—that of re-establishing religion. * * * Society cannot exist without inequality of fortunes, and inequality of fortunes cannot exist without religion. When one man is dying of hunger near another who suffers from surfeit, he cannot resign himself to this difference unless there is an authority that can say to him, 'God wills it so; there must be rich and poor in this world; but hereafter, and for ever, their lot will be different.' "†

The crude materialism of this argument, coinciding as it does with so many other characteristics of Napoleon's policy in the days of his power, absolves us from the task of further inquiry as to the wholeheartedness of his devotion either to the dogmas of Rome or to the teachings of Christ. But the passionate assertions of many devout souls, that in his days of misfortune at St. Helena he became a con-

*"New Letters," July 19, 1811. A large number of these letters excluded from the "official" correspondence, deal with church affairs.

†Roederer, "Oeuvres," III., 335.

vinced believer, call for a careful investigation. The stories on this topic have certainly a great charm and some traits of verisimilitude. The most famous of them is that in which Napoleon is described as pouring forth a "torrent of eloquence" (to use Lacordaire's epithet) on the subject of the enduring majesty of Christ's kingdom, as contrasted with the passing pomp of merely human conquerors. The first version of this incident is worth quoting, if only because it inspired Lacordaire, Newman,* and, finally, Canon Liddon, with some of their noblest periods. After long arguments against paganism, and the systems of Lycurgus and Confucius, the Emperor is reported as saying:

"It is not the same with Christ. Everything in him astonishes me; his spirit soars above mine, and his will confounds me. Between him and every other person in the world no comparison is possible. He is truly a being apart from all. His ideas and his sentiments, the truth that he announces, his manner of convincing one, are not to be explained either by human organization or by the nature of things. His birth and the history of his life, the profundity of his dogma, which touches the height of all difficulties and yet is their most admirable solution, his Gospel, the singularity of this mysterious being, his apparition, his empire, his march across centuries and realms—all is to me a prodigy, an unfathomable mystery that plunges me in a reverie from which I cannot escape, a mystery that is under my eyes and endures, which I can neither deny nor explain. I see nothing of the human in this. * * * Nations perish; thrones fall; the Church alone endures. * * * I have inspired multitudes of men who died for me. Certainly I possess the secret of this magical power which exalts the spirit, but I could not communicate it to any one; not one of my generals has received or divined it from me; no more have I the secret of immortalizing my name and the love of me in men's hearts, and of working miracles without the help of matter. Now that I am nailed to this rock, who fights and conquers empires for me? * * * Where are my friends? Yes, there are two or three of you, immortalized by your faithfulness; you share and console my exile. * * * Such is the destiny of great men. Murdered by the English oligarchy, I am dying before my time, and my corpse will be given back to the earth to become food for worms. What an abyss of distance between my misery and the eternal reign of Christ—preached, incensed, loved, adored, living through all the world. Is that death? Is it not rather

*Cardinal Newman, "Sermons Preached on Various Occasions" (1858), p. 57.

life? Such is the death of Christ. It is that of God." (De Beauterne, cap. v.)

Let us examine the evidence as to the authenticity of this remarkable monologue. It occurs in a little work published in 1840 by the Chevalier de Beauterne, entitled, "Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme." A second edition with additions and alterations was brought out in 1864 by M. Bouniol, who states that the former editor had gained most of his information from Count Montholon. De Beauterne himself had regretfully admitted that he received little or no help from the other companions of Napoleon's exile. From Las Cases he had received "a singular letter which is not calculated to give a great idea of his penetration, if it honors his conscientiousness"; but he consoled himself with the thought that Las Cases was so short a time at St. Helena that he can have had only a superficial knowledge of his master. General Bertrand also had been uncommunicative; Gourgaud had promised some "precious documents" on the subject of his master's religion, but did not send them. From a M. Olivier, de Beauterne had a long account of a conversation with Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, in which Fesch asserted that the whole of the Emperor's life had been religious, a fact which was apparent in all his works; that he had been tempted by an emissary of Pitt in 1802 with the prospect of a splendid peace with England if he would make France Protestant; and that the Czar had held out the same prospects on the raft at Tilsit if he (Napoleon) would embrace the Greek faith. These and other silly stories at the beginning of the book give us a poor idea of de Beauterne's critical powers. After other historical and biographical details of the same stamp, we come to the famous monologue from which extracts are given above. It covers no less than thirty-three closely printed pages, and is cited as having been spoken at one time. M. Bouniol, however, assures us that it represents thoughts uttered on several occasions to Napoleon's interlocutors. The presence of these is nowhere visible except in this final touch:

"The Emperor became silent, and, as General Bertrand remained equally still, he resumed: 'If you do not understand that Jesus Christ is God, well—I was wrong in making you a general.'"

This finale has the true Napoleonic ring; but the monologue as a whole, though it contains powerful and original passages, does not strike the careful student of Napoleon's acts and sayings as representing his inmost thoughts on religion. The long period (too long for quotation) in which he is made to inveigh against Mohammed as an impostor, and as author of a creed that panders to man's evil passions, is in flagrant contradiction to the many passages, quoted by more

credible authorities, in which he spoke with admiration of the prophet of the East, and of his faith as "simpler and more adapted to their morality than ours."* Other statements, which represent him as citing the mystery of religion as proof of its divinity, flatly oppose everything that we know of his longing for the tangible and the demonstrable. "In literature," says the Comtesse de Montholon, "he liked simplicity, the true and naïf description of feelings." The same was true of his taste in matters philosophical. Voltaire was his favorite writer—a choice which harmonizes ill with the ecstasy of devotion that de Beauterne attributes to him.

This monologue, then, must be pronounced suspect on internal grounds. The external evidence in its favor is also very weak. De Beauterne's book appeared in 1840, the very time when Montholon, its presumed compiler, was working hard for Louis Napoleon, whose chief of staff he became in the futile attempt at Boulogne. The false and venomous reference to England at its close, and the effort everywhere apparent, to glorify the Roman Church, render it suspiciously like one of the many pamphlets that were put forth to aid the Pretender's cause. Montholon, it is true, was incapable of writing that religious dissertation, which, viewed in the abstract, is so admirable in many ways. It is probable that he had clerical help in working up some of his St. Helena notes; and the result took the form of the eloquent manifesto, which, through the medium of Lacordaire and John Henry Newman, has gained world-wide repute.

We now have before us some of Montholon's notes in their first form. The most remarkable passage on the subject of religion is the following report of Napoleon's remarks in conversation one evening—date not specified:

"'Everything proclaims the existence of God; it cannot be doubted. As soon as I had the power I made haste to restore religion. I made use of it as the basis and root; it was in my eyes the support of morality, true principles, and good manners. The restlessness of man is such that he must have this vague and mysterious element that religion presents to him.' Some one having remarked that he (Napoleon) might finally become a devout man, the Emperor replied that he feared not, but that with him unbelief sprang neither from caprice nor from an unbridled spirit. 'Man,' he added, 'ought to asseverate about nothing, especially about what concerns his last moments. * * * To say whence I come, what I am, whither I am going, is beyond my thoughts, and yet the thing exists. I am the

*Gourgaud, "Journal," I., 454; II., 77, 272; Las Cases, "Mémorial," IV., 124.

watch which exists and does not know itself. The religious sentiment is so consoling that it is a heavenly boon to possess it.' "*

And on another occasion he said:

"One believes in God because everything around us proclaims him, and the greatest minds have believed in him—not only Bossut, but Newton and Leibnitz. Such, literally, has been the case with me in the progress of my mind. I felt the need of belief, and I believed. But my belief was uncertain after I reasoned. Perhaps I shall believe blindly once again. God grant it. I do not offer resistance—assuredly not; I do not ask for anything better. * * * I have never doubted about God."†

If we are to trust Gourgaud's "Journal," Napoleon's theism was very often clouded with doubts; and every external circumstance invests Gourgaud's notes with a higher credibility than pertains to those of Montholon. For, in the first place, he was a far more truthful man than Montholon; indeed, he was the only one of Napoleon's four companions whose word, if uncorroborated, counts for much. Secondly, he noted down Napoleon's conversations day by day, following them through their varying moods with Boswellian fidelity, and adding occasionally his own remarks and criticisms in a way that shows his own naiveté and the lack of the set Bonapartist design which mars the works of Las Cases and Montholon. And yet Gourgaud is not wholly to be trusted on some topics, probably including that of religion. His frankness and his whimsical moods often annoyed the Emperor, who took his revenge by nagging at him, and finally seems to have worked so as to drive him from the island. Now Gourgaud was a dévot, perhaps he was even an orthodox Catholic; and one of the Emperor's ways of teasing him was to wound his religious feelings. This, we think, explains the frequency with which this topic occurs in Gourgaud's "Journal." Once the Emperor scandalized his faithful squire by reading the Bible with a map, and declaring that he intended to write a history of the campaigns of Moses. Frequently he vaunted the superiority of Mohammedanism over Christianity; it was simpler: "God is great and Mohammed is his prophet," was its fundamental creed. Moreover, the *imaums* in Egypt had often worsted him by declaring that Christians believed in three gods, and were therefore pagans. Then again, Mohammed conquered half the world in ten years, a feat which cost Christianity three centuries of struggle.‡

*Comtesse de Montholon's "Souvenirs," Appendix I.

†Ibid. Appendix II.

‡Gourgaud, "Journal," I., 454; II., 78, 272, etc.

Sometimes he went the length of declaring that all religions were the work of man, and on some dozen occasions he professed a thorough-going materialism, alleging that Monge, Berthollet, and Laplace held materialistic views.

"I believe that man has been produced by the clay warmed by the sun, and combined with electric fluids. What are animals, an ox, for example, if not organic matter? * * * Nevertheless, the idea of God is the simplest. Who has made all that? * * * Do soldiers believe in God? They see the dead fall so fast around them."

Montholon then suggested that they should have a chaplain to amuse them. Gourgaud protested against the profanity of the motive urged; and Napoleon cut short the discussion by saying that he had other things to think about.* It is interesting to compare this with the calumny which de Beauterne gave to the world in 1840, that the British government withheld a priest from them until the Pope intervened.

With regard to the divinity of Christ, not a word was said by Napoleon to Gourgaud showing that he held that central belief. Of the seven entries in Gourgaud's "Journal" on this theme, at least three represent Napoleon as altogether an unbeliever. Twice he expressed a doubt whether Jesus ever existed; and on all occasions he spoke of Him in much the same terms that he applied to Mohammed or Plato. True, Gourgaud was at St. Helena for only half the period of Napoleon's exile; but during the twenty-eight months of his stay he saw his master constantly and reported his words minutely. It seems impossible, then, to set aside his testimony on the ground that Napoleon often teased him on religious subjects.† Variable on many subjects, the Napoleon of Gourgaud showed no appreciable variation with regard to the divinity of Christ. If, then, the Emperor used the famous words reported by de Beauterne—"Je connais les hommes, et je vous dis que Jésus Christ n'est pas homme"—his opinions underwent a complete change in the last years.

Are there grounds for believing that such a change came over him as he once said he would welcome? The evidence on this subject is obscure. Montholon and Bertrand were then almost openly irreligious; the Countess de Montholon left for Europe in July, 1819; and the Countess Bertrand, who remained, was disliked by the Emperor. Two priests, Buonavita and Vignali, arrived in September, 1819;

*Gourgaud, "Journal," I., p. 440.

†Before Gourgaud left the island he was some weeks with Captain Basil Jackson, who, in his work "Waterloo and St. Helena," set forth Gourgaud's conviction that Napoleon was a materialist.

the former of these returned almost at once; Vignali, though far from being the ignorant man he has often been described (for he had studied medicine and philosophy at Rome, and had recently taken the degrees of Ph.D. and M.D.), never won the great man's confidence. Moreover, he was assassinated not long after his return to Corsica in 1821. There is therefore little left but the gossip of physicians, valets, or the commissioners of the Powers, the later lucubrations of Montholon, the evidence supplied by Napoleon's will, and the directions which he left for his son. Some doubt even rests on the question whether extreme unction was administered to the dying man. Montholon, on his return to Europe, affirmed this to Lord Holland, but declared that Vignali had orders to say that it was administered solely on his (Montholon's) responsibility.* Vignali was certainly left alone with the sufferer, and doubtless performed the solemn rite; but why so much mystery should have been thrown around the matter it is hard to say; except on the supposition that, even in his dying hours, Napoleon wished to fence with the judgment of posterity.

Scarcely more convincing are the references to religious and ethical subjects in his will, and in the political testament intended for the Duc de Reichstadt. To his son he bequeathed none of those fervent injunctions as to forgiveness of enemies which Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette in their last hours impressed on the hapless Dauphin. Napoleon merely warned his son that religion had a power far greater than certain narrow-minded philosophers would allow, and that it was "capable of rendering great services to humanity. By standing well with the Pope, an influence can be maintained over the consciences of a hundred million people."† One would have expected something more inspiring than this from the hand of a convinced Christian when giving his last advice to his only child.

The third clause of Napoleon's will is certainly remarkable for the pardon which it proclaimed towards one who had deeply wronged him.

"I have always had reason to be well pleased with my very dear wife, Marie Louise. I preserve towards her to my last moments the most tender sentiments; I pray her to take heed so as to keep my son from the snares which still surround his infancy."

Seeing that he knew her to have been long living in adultery with "ce polisson de Neipperg," the passage is remarkable; but he always maintained that she "was innocence itself," and that circumstances

*Lord Holland's "Foreign Reminiscences," p. 316.

†Montholon, "Captivité de Napoléon," Vol. III., ch. 6.

had been too much for her.* His conduct towards her, as earlier towards Josephine, shows him to have been forgiving and indulgent towards a crime which must have wounded every instinct of personal and family honor, specially strong in a Corsican. The will also testifies to his generosity of heart towards those who had helped and befriended him in his early days, as in his exile. But its references to political opponents are of a very different order. Reverting to his execution of the Duc d'Enghien, he defends it as needful for the safety, interest, and honor of the French people, and declares that in similar circumstances he would repeat the action. Efforts have been made to explain away this clause as the result of a sudden access of irritation. But it exactly coincides with his opinion on this affair expressed to Admiral Cockburn on the voyage to St. Helena,† and must therefore be considered, not as the outburst of an invalid, but as a last deliberate defiance to the judgment of the world on that outrage. Still worse, perhaps, is the fifth clause of the fourth and *last* codicil, dated April 24, 1821, by which he left ten thousand francs *to* a junior French officer, Cantillon, for seeking to stab Wellington in Paris. True, the would-be murderer had been acquitted by a Paris jury, but that fact evidently weighed little with Napoleon, who declared that Cantillon had as much right to murder the oligarch as the latter had to send him to St. Helena. He further accused the duke of having violated the capitulation of Paris, thereby becoming "responsible for the blood of the martyrs, Ney, La Bédoyère, etc., and for the crime of having despoiled the museums contrary to the text of treaties." Napoleon must have known the falsity of all these charges against Wellington; and it is forever regrettable that he soiled his fame by handing down to posterity in the last document but one that he ever dictated (for the passage about the Duc d'Enghien was perhaps the last), three deliberate falsehoods as a justification for rewarding an attempt at murder.

On the same moral plane is the statement in the will itself: "I die prematurely, murdered by the English oligarchy and its assassin (*sicaire*): the English people will not be slow to avenge me." On the day when these words were written (April 15), he knew that he was dying of cancer, the disease which carried off his father; the attentions of Dr. Arnott, who had been expressly sent by Sir Hudson Lowe, were at that time far more effectual than those of Antom-

*Gourgaud, II., 330, where Napoleon contrasts her with Josephine.

†"Extract from a Diary of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn," p. 94 (London, 1888.)

marchi, Napoleon's own doctor; and the patient recognized the fact, finally urging Bertrand and Montholon to effect a reconciliation with the Governor. The venomous phrase in the will must therefore be interpreted in the light of that significant declaration to Gourgaud, which must be quoted in French:

"Ici, quoi qu'on, jepusi faire, comme il me plait, la réputation du gouverneur. Tout ce que je dirai contre lui, de ses mauvais traitements, de ses idées d'empoisonnement, sera cru." ("Journal," ii, 414).

The will was the final stab at Sir Hudson Lowe.

It is hard to reconcile the last authenticated words of Napoleon with any heartfelt belief in Christianity. The probability would seem to be that he wavered between materialism and theism, inclining more and more to the latter belief as the years wore on, but never feeling for religion the keen interest that he always manifested for the arts of war and of government. Richly gifted as he was in all that pertained to the life of action, and by no means lacking originality and taste in the spheres of philosophy and literature, his nature was singularly barren on the side of religion. His best certified utterances on this topic are those of the politician rather than of the believer. In his active life he came to look on religion as the useful handmaid of the ruler; and his neglect of its real mission to the individual developed in him that hardness which was to be his bane as Emperor and his misfortune in exile. "I repeat to you (he said to Gourgaud on the occasion last cited) that you will strike your head against the rock, and that rock is myself."

J. Holland Rose.

*RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PARAGUAY EXPEDITION.**

In the year 1858, while the U. S. brig "——," of the Brazil squadron, was lying at Montevideo, a report came down upon the northern breeze that our government was about to take serious measures in regard to the injuries and insults which had been sustained by our surveying vessel, the Water-Witch, and by certain American citizens, at the hands of the Paraguayans.

The officers of the brig were young and ambitious, and they fancied they scented war, "a bloody war and a sickly season," up the river. This was natural enough when we consider that there had been no powder burned, to speak of, since the close of the Mexican War—more than ten years before—and that the station upon which these officers found themselves had become a very sleepy one since Rosas had been driven out. A chance of any change, especially of "service," was, therefore, exciting news.

The officers discussed the situation and the *pros* and *cons* in a very lively way, each one having a perfect plan for an expedition up the river, and all agreeing that, if the "——" could only be towed up by a steamer, she would easily, single-handed, demolish the Paraguayan batteries, disperse their army, and dictate terms of peace at Assuncion.

Dear, good fellows, all of them! Nearly all saw fighting enough afterwards, with the scene laid north, instead of south, of the equator, in the momentous war which has caused the Paraguay expedition to be almost forgotten, even by those who took part in it.

The ward-room steward of the little vessel, a worthy Virginian negro, loitered and listened, with open ears, to all this loose talk of the officers, and very naturally judged, from what he heard, that the decks of the "——" were soon to run red with gore. The ghastly picture conjured up in his mind's eye so worked upon the steward that he forthwith "ran,"—deserted, in fact,—leaving behind him, in his escape from imaginary peril, all his wages, as well as abandoning all the privileges and emoluments of a ward-room steward. The reason for his action (given to his confidants and familiars) was, "that he had 'listed for ward-room steward, and not for no *Paregoric war!*"

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*Reprinted from the first series of The United Service Magazine.

Unfortunately for the poor steward, he was not aware of the mode of recruiting the Oriental or Uruguayan army. Had he been, he never would have deserted at Montevideo. I forget whether, at that time, there had just been a "revolution," or there was just going to be one, but, at any rate, they wanted soldiers, and had no prejudice against colored ones. A deserter from a ship was a godsend, and the steward was at once snapped up, and made a high private in the national army, where the discipline was rude and accompanied by stick, and where the pay was—o.

One day, some time after the steward's disappearance, some of the officers of the brig were walking out of the land-gate of the town, when their attention was attracted by the very curious behavior of a sentinel on post there, who, with his piece at "present," and perfectly rigid as to person, was making most horrible contortions of eyes and facial muscles. Drawing nearer, they recognized, under the Oriental uniform, their runaway steward; and, as they passed him, the poor fellow gasped out, "For God's sake, dear gen'lemen, git me out o' dis fix! I'd rather sarve in de Paregoric war!" Needless to say that the poor fellow was promptly reclaimed, and, after undergoing the necessary penance, went cheerfully about his business,—going to market, superintending the table, and opening wine and beer for the officers; cheating the latter moderately in these operations, of course, after the manner of ward-room stewards.

This humble individual had the distinction of giving the name by which the expedition was best known to those who participated in it—the Paregoric war,—not very badly named, either.

And now let us see what the Paraguay expedition was, and against what manner of people it was dispatched.

Paraguay had been for generations a mysterious country, and it had been so especially between the years 1810 and 1840. Like the realm of Prester John, almost anything might then be told of it without fear of contradiction. Very dark stories *were* related, in fact, but few persons came out thence, at that time, to testify whether those stories were true or not. As for Paraguay, she neither denied nor asserted anything; she had a sublime indifference to all foreigners and their opinions, and she took good care that domestic opinions did not run riot.

The country known as Paraguay is named from its principal river, which rises in the Matto-Grosso of Brazil, near the sources of the Amazon, and rolls its grand flood for near two thousand miles before it reaches the South Atlantic. The name is now confined to a tract about five hundred miles long and two hundred wide (between 19°

and 28° S., and 54° and 59° W.); but the whole immense country east of the Andes and south of Brazil was originally called Paraguay by the Spaniards. Paraguay has moderate mountains and great plains, a vast extent of jungle and swamp, forests full of rare woods, and a plantation country of great fertility. The country lies partly within the tropics and partly within the temperate zone, and almost everything which is good for man seems capable of cultivation in some part of her domain.

The Fauna and Flora of Northern Paraguay resemble those of Brazil, while in the south they are Argentine, even approaching Patagonian. Within her limits are found all the animals of the two zones, from the jaguar and cougar, the bear, tapir and deer, to the cassowary and the American ostrich, beside an immense variety of other birds, mostly of curious and gorgeous plumage. A great variety of rattlesnakes, boas, and other serpents abound, and vampire bats and many noxious insects are also common, while certain portions of the country are quite free from all of them. Horses, horned cattle, and sheep are plentiful; the two first thriving exceedingly well, the last moderately. The aboriginal Guaranis of Paraguay have been crossed with the Spanish and negro races—the latter introduced as slaves by the Spaniards. The mixture of white and Indian blood has produced not a bad race, which forms the mass of the population, there not being near so many negroes or mulattoes now in Paraguay as there were at the close of the last century. The prevailing mixed race is very fertile; and but for unprecedented oppression and tyranny, and wholesale destruction in war, to an extent unparalleled elsewhere, the population would now be very dense. Man for man, this mixed race is not so strong as the North American or the European, but they are supple, active, and very apt for arms, while their ability to stand prolonged operations and their splendid courage under fire have excited the admiration of the whole world. These people require but little in the way of food, and will stand short rations a long time if they have their tobacco and maté. In color they are dark brown, and they are seldom above the medium stature. Marrying early, they generally have a numerous progeny, as, indeed, do the few pure whites in the country.

The Paraguayan's dependence for subsistence is entirely upon his own soil. They grow excellent cotton, corn, mandioc, rice, beans, coffee, and fruits of many kinds; while their tobacco is preferred by many to that of the Habana; and they have sugar-cane, the suckers of which, if irrigated, remain useful for ten or twelve years. For three hundred years the women have woven and worn a mixed stuff of wool

and cotton beautifully dyed. They have an abundance of excellent clay, from which bricks and tiles are made, and limestone and salt are plentiful within their borders. Moreover, in hardly any other part of the world is to be found such a variety of hard and beautiful woods, impervious to the attacks of ants, and almost proof against the tooth of time. The Ilex Paraguaiensis, or yerba maté, is an indigenous shrub, which furnishes the universal drink, besides being sought for by all the inhabitants of the Argentine Confederation as well. This "yerba" has always been a government monopoly in Paraguay, and looked upon as the most certain source of revenue. It is packed in raw-hide bags, and fifty millions of pounds is not an unusual annual consumption. The tea is drunk from a small gourd, which is mounted in silver or pewter, by means of a tube called a *bombilla,* with a perforated bulb, which is used to prevent the particles of the leaf from coming into the mouth as the tea is sucked up. Paraguay tea is a most grateful and excellent stimulant, and almost indispensable to the natives. The people tan excellent leather with indigenous barks, and have many necessary industries well established. Indeed, it would be hard to find a more self-supporting population.

The splendid river which forms the western border of Paraguay is always navigable, while the Parana, on the other side, is so subject to violent fluctuations that its navigation is very uncertain; but this is of comparatively small importance, as the elder Lopez, many years ago, built a railroad which tapped the most productive part of the country, carrying to the capital, Assuncion, the yerba, hides, and other important articles of trade.

The discoverers who carried out the exploration of South America, from the Spanish Main down, must have had grand experiences. Besides the privilege of being the "first ever to burst into that silent sea," as they pressed south they saw in the Brazils such scenery and such vegetation as had never met their eyes before. Whether they were Iberians, Provencals, or Genoese, we know what a contrast that coast must have presented to their own sun-dried native shores.

Among them, Juan Dias de Solis discovered the great estuary of the Plata in 1516, and sailed up it until he came to an island where great rivers emptied. Here he found an Indian town, the inhabitants of which he chose to consider gentle savages, and, landing among them, with threescore and ten of his men, was straightway set upon, killed, roasted, and eaten in the very sight of the Spaniards who remained on board ship, and who were powerless to offer any assistance. In fact, they were so dismayed by this reception that they sailed out of the river again, and never furled sails or let an anchor go until they

were safe in old Spain. Some authorities state that this incident occurred on the island of Martin Garcia, but most of them place it upon the mainland, near Colonia.

It was at least ten years before the Spaniards came back, this time under Sebastian Cabot. He passed above Martin Garcia, and entered the Parana, getting some idea of the hugeness of his discovery.

By 1536 the great river had been explored, and a fort was built at Assuncion by Juan de Ayola, just opposite to where the Pilcomayo comes into the Paraguay from the Gran Chaco. This site, well chosen, has ever since been the capital of Paraguay, and has been the scene of some of the most curious passages of modern history. While prosecuting his observations and conquests among the wild tribes of the interior, Ayola fell a victim to their treachery and ferocity. Cabéca de Vaca and Irala succeeded him,—two leaders whose exploits and marches occupy a large space in the pages of the chroniclers. After these appeared the real tamer of the native tribes, and the real founder of the state of Paraguay, in the person of Pédro de la Gasca, who succeeded in joining hands across the Cordillera with his countrymen in Peru. Close upon his time came the founding of the "missions," the Spanish Jesuits establishing a sort of theocratic-communistic government, so to speak, which would have been almost impossible with any other people, or in a country less remote from the busy world. The condition of things produced by their rule was the forerunner of the curious government which we shall see was later exercised by Dr. Francia and the Lopezes, father and son.

On gaining control the Jesuits closed the country to all strangers, and among the natives, their willing serfs, lived a life stranger than that found in almost any other history of human effort, so curiously was intense bigotry, pride of place, and self-indulgence mingled, in their case, with philanthropy and, sometimes, self-denial approaching self-abnegation. Up to a certain point the Mission Jesuits had great success, bringing under strict rule, and rendering industrious and self-supporting, a population not by nature intended for hard work or implicit obedience. Much as the "society" made them then the Paraguayans remain to our day.

After sixty years of labor in developing a most curious state of society the Jesuits were suddenly expelled from the country, as they have often been in other regions, apparently just in the fruition of their hopes and efforts. Their mission often seems to have been to prepare and plant the soil that others may harvest.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits Paraguay became for a time simply one of the provinces under the Spanish crown, but was saved

by its remoteness from participation in many of their vicissitudes and distresses. In the days before steam the steady and powerful current of the great river rendered approach from the outside world tedious and uncertain, and, as a consequence, Paraguay was left very much to herself.

When the Spanish monarchy fell, before the arms and artifices of Napoleon, great upheavals followed in all Spanish America, the ground-swell caused by which continues to surge, and sometimes to break, in those lands. So far as Paraguay was concerned, there was, during these troublous times, some fighting, but much more negotiation; and the agitation ended in the establishment of the complete independence of that country, the business having been principally managed by that remarkable man, Dr. Francia.

A congress was then summoned, and a consular government formed, consisting of Francia, Yégros, and two or three others. Most of these not being men of ability or force, matters soon became involved, and Francia withdrew from the Junta, in order that they might realize how much they needed his clear head and business habits. He was not long absent, for, being implored to return to office, he did so, and soon after suppressed his colleagues entirely. Some time afterwards he caused Yégros (the only one of any prominence at all) to be shot upon a charge of conspiracy. In 1814 Francia caused himself to be made sole dictator for five years, the reason urged being the necessity for a strong government during the crisis through which the Hispano-American colonies were passing. They certainly got a strong government in Paraguay, the people little knowing what a King Stork they had called to rule over them.

In 1816, by perfectly simple means for one in his position, he was permitted by an ignorant and subservient congress to nominate himself perpetual dictator, when he at once commenced to terrorize the country by laying snares for, and arraigning all whom he imagined were, or might be, his enemies. It is probable that the greater number of these were entirely innocent of any design against him.

Being now clothed with absolute power,—and wielding that power with a merciless hand,—he decreed the absolute isolation of the country, permitting the people no relations whatever with the outside world. If persons succeeded in introducing themselves, from any motive, within Paraguayan borders, they were indefinitely detained. No native was ever suffered to leave the country at all,—and there were very few exceptions in the cases of foreigners, and these only after long detention.

Robertson was, perhaps, the only person who departed with Fran-

cia's entire approbation, for the reason that the dictator hoped to profit by his services as an agent in England; but the canny young Scot forgot to come back again.

Reugger and Longchamps, the Swiss surgeons, were allowed, grudgingly, to escape, and a very few English and Argentines were rescued by diplomatic equivocation on the part of Sir Woodbine Parish, the British minister at Buenos Ayres.

Bonpland, the eminent and benevolent French naturalist, the former companion of Humboldt, fell into Francia's displeasure because he planted a nursery of yerba-trees in Corrientes, usefully employing many idle hands, but thus interfering with a Paraguayan monopoly. He was seized by a band dispatched for the purpose, and summarily hurried over to Paraguay, where he was brutally treated, and detained for no less than nine years, in spite of the efforts of his friends and repeated diplomatic representations on the part of the French and English governments. Just as Bonpland had succeeded in establishing a plantation in Paraguay and was beginning the world again, the tyrant changed his mind, and poor Bonpland was, without the slightest warning, set across the river in a canoe, and left, penniless, to shift for himself once more. He never left South America, and died about twenty years ago, at a great age, in Entre Rios.

Dr. Francia was the son of a Brazilian named Franca, who had been brought to Paraguay many years before, to manage the tobacco factories and plantations,—always an important industry in that country, where even the women and children smoke. His son, the future dictator, was originally intended for the church, and was educated at the University of Cordova, then the great school of all Spanish South America. But instead of receiving the tonsure he became a professor of the limited learning of that age and place, and later, an advocate of the courts.

But, to return to his administration of the affairs of Paraguay. As has been said, on obtaining supreme power he quickly concentrated within his own hands all the functions of the state, and formed an army—which constituted his body-guard, police, and executioners—entirely from the half-breed population and the Indians, with whom he rendered himself popular by decreeing the civil death of all Spaniards. For twenty-seven years he successfully carried out his system of terrorism and isolation, being finally carried off at a ripe old age, by apoplexy, as is supposed.

His own orders prevented any assistance from reaching him in his last moments, as no one dared to address him, much less to enter his apartment, without express orders, the penalty being death.

This strange being assumed the title of "El Suprémo," and was thus spoken of by all Paraguayans for a generation; and such was the terror of his name that for years after his death he was always referred to, with bated breath, as "El Difunto."

Francia repeatedly received overtures for alliance with the Argentine Confederation and requests to send delegates to their congress, which he treated with silent contempt, and, on the contrary, devoted himself to the complete sequestration of his country,—to perfecting what was perhaps the most absolute and curiously perfect tyranny the world has ever seen, and to so carrying out, in all its possibilities, the system of society devised by the Jesuits, that he became thoroughly independent of all the outside world. The climate rendered little necessary to sustain life, and necessaries, and even luxuries, grew generously in response to the slightest amount of labor. There was no public revenue or budget, as we understand such things. Francia used the public money as he saw fit, and there were none to call him to account; the previous training of the population and the exceptional geographical position of the country rendered his course comparatively easy.

Space is needed even to hint at his far-reaching and cold-blooded tyranny, or to tell of the thousands whom he executed,—often after prolonged imprisonment and torture. He most frequently served out, with his own hands, the three ball-cartridges, which were all he allowed for an execution, and then saw the sentence carried out from his window,—the bayonet being frequently employed to finish what the ball-cartridges did not accomplish.

The best people in the country—many of them former friends of the dictator—were kept in prison and in irons, generally under charges of conspiracy, until death released them, or until some attempt at intercession recalled their existence to Francia, when they were brought out and shot, the intercessor being pretty sure to suffer the same punishment.

Francia expected by this course to preserve his rule and to prevent the introduction of liberal ideas. He certainly succeeded; but there is no doubt that most of his executions were the result of private malice or insane suspicion. The story is told of him that he kept in prison a formerly successful rival in the affections of a fair Paraguayan for exactly the number of years and months that the rival had enjoyed his success, and then had him brought out and shot. In his early life he is said to have been given to almost every vice, but when he came to power he completely abandoned these. Cool, crafty, suspicious, and

cruel, he still showed a degree of personal vanity which led him to do many ridiculous things, at which no one, however, dared to smile.

By his spies and agents he interfered in every concern of life, even the most trivial, and was known to shoot or hang mechanics who were unskillful in their trades,—"*pour encourager les autres,*"—thus insuring the very best exertions of those whom he employed. The discipline of his army was, for his purposes, perfect, for he made them so feared and hated that their only hope and safety was in the favor of their master. The cultivation of the land was often carried on by the léva or corvée,—to the profit of the state, himself, and his army, which was well clothed, armed, and paid.

To obtain from foreign countries those things which were considered absolutely indispensable, such as gold lace, epaulettes, muskets, and jewelry, fine wines, letter-paper, etc., he had a depot at Itapua, on the Parana, opposite the Brazilian frontier, where exchanges of yerba and hides were carried on under his own regulations. He fixed the prices, and afterwards retailed the European goods, by his agents, from shops which were guarded by his soldiers, who saw that no one got any more than "El Suprémo" thought he ought to have and gave him a permit for.

trolling idea with Francia, and caused him to be continually adding

The fear of assassination at last (very naturally) became the con-

people quite recently added to it.

to his list of persons for execution. When death at last put an end to his atrocities this list was found, with the names of many inoffensive

He was served by two or three black slave women, and by his secretary and barber, a half-breed, named Patiños, who was the Olivier le Dain to this other Louis XI. Ignoring his family, and refusing, with brutal words, to visit his father upon his death-bed, he made one exception in regard to a sister, who was allowed to make his cigars for him; and even these he is said to have unrolled, for fear of poison. It was never known in which of several houses he would sleep, and he never went out without arms and wearing some armor under his clothing. A strong escort accompanied him in his afternoon rides, the cathedral bell always being rung before he set out, so that every one might go within and close their houses. If, unluckily, any one was belated, he was obliged to throw himself upon the ground until "El Suprémo" passed. Such was the wretched life this man led, and seems to have enjoyed. He is said to have had a high opinion of everything French, and to have especially admired Robespierre and Napoleon. Modeled upon the literature of the eighteenth century, in

which he was tolerably well read, his own writing was stilted and pedantic. There are really no records of his long reign. He died intestate, and left comparatively little property, and no written directions of any kind. Even his autograph is said not to be common. The written instructions to his police were few, and were returned to him indorsed with their execution, and then destroyed. When he died at last, he left merely a name which was a bogey to scare the masses with for many a long year; and the more ignorant looked for him to reappear, esteeming the report of his death as one of his deep-laid schemes to entrap his enemies and the unwary. Carlyle, in his essay upon Francia, with that wrong-headedness which is characteristic of the grim philosopher of Chelsea, praises Francia highly; but all that Carlyle could know about him at the time he wrote was derived from Reugger and Longchamps, and the Robertsons, and they are very far from giving any pleasant traits of him.

The Paraguayans, after his training, and that of the Jesuits, could not do without a master. After his death one Medina seized the government; but, the troops not favoring him, his tenure was short. Then a congress was held, which, in 1841, decreed a consular government, Carlos Antonio Lopez, a nephew of Francia, and Don Mariano Alonzo being made consuls for three years.

Don Mariano was not a very able man, and when the three years expired he was quietly relegated to obscurity, and Lopez became sole ruler, with the title of Permanent President. He was of very different physical and moral type from Francia, and had some human sympathy in his composition; but he was more ignorant, and, in his way, quite as jealous of his power as ever El Suprémo had been.

He conciliated the Indians by making them citizens; and aware of the ridicule, as well as the element of danger due to the complete isolation of the country by Francia, he proceeded to open the way for commerce. The great river has been open ever since, except during blockades. This action of his brought on hostilities with Rosas, then in supreme power at Buenos Ayres, who not only claimed for the lower provinces the exclusive navigation of the Parana, from junction down, but also demanded the submission of Paraguay herself. Lopez's refusal of these demands brought on a war, which was inconclusive.

In 1855, Lopez made treaties of commerce with the plenipotentiaries of England, France, Sardinia, and the United States, the negotiations being at Assunçion, and foreign vessels for the first time arrived at that city for purposes of trade. During the previous year he had gone through the form of a re-election for ten years, and had made

extensive preparations for reorganizing his army, and for importing material for an arsenal, foundries, and a dock-yard, with skilled labor for operating them. All these works were fairly under way when, in 1862, Lopez died, having previously exercised the right, which he had caused to be conferred upon him, of nominating a successor, who was his son, Francisco Solano Lopez, the person whose bloody and desperate struggle with Brazil, and whose deservedly miserable death at the hands of the Brazilians, are matters of quite recent history.

With the younger Lopez we have nothing to do, and for our purposes this slight sketch of Paraguayan history may cease with his father's time.

The United States Government had, in the year 1853, sent a small expedition, in the steamer Water-Witch, under the command of Lieutenant Page, to survey and explore the Plata and its tributaries. Page had been well received by the authorities of all the different states, and Lopez, especially, seemed to enter with great heartiness into the undertaking.

The American expedition was by no means idle, and added very much to our knowledge of all these countries and their resources and wants. The charts which they made of the rivers which watered them were most important, one of the first discoveries being a new channel at the junction of the Parana and Uruguay, which entirely did away with the importance of Martin Garcia as a military station, which island, commanding the only previously known entrance of the great rivers, had always been prominent in all treaty stipulations.

Page, moreover, demonstrated that by the course of these river-channels a vessel of nine feet draught could penetrate nearly two thousand miles into the heart of the continent, and bring down the productions of a very rich country without transhipment.

The work of the survey went on very well in every respect until February, 1855, when the Water-Witch was fired upon by the Paraguayan fort of Itapirú while in the neutral waters of the Parana. A quartermaster was killed on the spot, and Lieutenant Jeffers, who was in temporary command, promptly returned the fire; but, the point of honor having been sustained, and knowing the lightly-armed vessel to be unable to cope with the fort, he withdrew, and reported to Page, who hastened to Montevideo to lay the matter before Commodore Salter, who then commanded our squadron on the coast of South America.

And now let us see how this state of hostilities came about.

Lopez had been seriously offended by Page's ascent of the river

into Brazilian territory, saying that it was impossible for him to discriminate between a scientific expedition and any other, and that the Brazilians would now insist upon the same privileges as the Americans. After a time, however, the President appeared to be appeased, and the usual relations were resumed; but it seems that the offence was not really forgiven by the arrogant and ignorant dictator.

The real key to the Paraguayan difficulty, however, is to be found in the relations of E. A. Hopkins and Lopez,—the irritation caused by an open quarrel between them reacting upon the surveying expedition, and culminating in the attack upon the Water-Witch.

Hopkins was an American, originally a midshipman in our navy, from which he resigned, and, while still a very young man, had become interested in projects connected with the opening of Paraguay to commerce. He had been sent, in 1845, as a special agent or commissioner from the United States to congratulate the state of Paraguay upon having adopted a republican form of government after the long dictatorship. This seems to have been rather a premature proceeding on our part in the light of subsequent events, but was at least well meant. Hopkins exceeded his instructions, and offered the mediation of our Government in the war then going on between Buenos Ayres and Paraguay; and as soon as he learned of this the President of the United States revoked Hopkins's appointment. Hopkins was a fine-looking man, of adventurous and sanguine temperament, fluent in speech, and in the full flush of health and strength, and he so favorably impressed Lopez that the latter gave him every promise of assistance in his projects.

Hopkins returned to the United States, and there interested some capitalists, principally of Rhode Island, in his schemes, and returned to Paraguay, in 1853, as manager of the "United States and Paraguay Navigation Company," and also holding a commission as United States consul at Assunçion. A steamer called El Paraguay was dispatched by the company, loaded with boilers, agricultural implements, and other articles, but she was disabled on the voyage, and obliged to put into Maranham in distress, where she was sold, as well as her cargo. Other consignments were, however, sent out, land was purchased, saw-mills erected for cutting the valuable woods of the country, and cigar-factories started under Cuban foremen. But after a time Lopez seems to have discovered that the principal profits would inure to the company, and not to himself, as was the custom in Paraguay, so he began to grow cool towards his new friends.

Hopkins, in his double capacity, carried a high hand, and was not

so conciliating as he should have been if he intended to succeed in his enterprise, for Lopez was absolute in his own country.

Open discord broke out between them at last, on account of an assault made by a soldier upon Hopkins's brother, who was riding out with a foreign lady, and who dispersed a drove of cattle which were being driven by the soldier. No soldier or citizen of Paraguay would have dared to make an assault of the kind unless it was pretty well understood that the Americans were out of favor. In most countries the case would have been settled in a police court, but in that land the President was police judge as well as everything else, and he took exception to the language in which the complaint against his soldier was couched. Our consul espoused his brother's cause with great fervor, and there was bluster on both sides, a personal squabble, and a paper war. Hopkins's exequatur was revoked by the angry Lopez, who had only been waiting for an excuse to do so, and he then at once began to obstruct the operations of the American company,—preventing, by edict, the natives from working for them, and so harassing them that they were compelled to stop all work.

Hopkins was powerless against supreme and irresponsible power, and finally decided to leave the country, with his assistants and all portable property. But as soon as it became known that he was personally obnoxious to Lopez, no trading vessel would take them or their effects, for fear of sharing in the interdiction of the American company. Hopkins naturally appealed to Page, who understood Lopez by this time, but could do nothing with him; and so, after a good deal of minor diplomacy, which had no result except to renew and develop the ill feeling on both sides, the American naval commander determined to take his countrymen away in the Water-Witch.

Lopez was by this time worked up into a perfect fury, and just then, as luck would have it, the bearer of the treaty of commerce with the United States arrived, that document now only wanting Lopez's signature to complete it. Lopez flatly declined to ratify the treaty, or even to receive the commissioner, and things were very unpleasant in all respects.

In spite of threats and of the warlike appearance of Lopez's navy of four or five brigs and schooners, the Water-Witch proceeded unmolested down the river, with her passengers and their effects, and Page thought himself clear of further complications. But Lopez had by no means done with him, and very soon after occurred the firing upon the Water-Witch from the fort Itapirú, which has already been described.

It is possible that if Commodore Salter had had a vessel fit for the purpose ready to dispatch forthwith to Itapirú, Lopez would have come to terms at once. But the commodore had no such vessel, and so referred the matter to the authorities at home.

President Buchanan, in his first message, reviews all these transactions, and recommends to Congress a demand for satisfaction, in a firm but conciliatory spirit, and goes on to say that "this will more probably be granted if the Executive should have authority to use other means in the event of refusal."

In June, 1858, a joint resolution authorized the President "to adopt such measures as in his judgment may be necessary and advisable for the purpose of adjusting the differences between the United States and the Republic of Paraguay, in connection with the attack upon the U. S. S. Water-Witch, and with other measures referred to."

A commissioner—Mr. Bowlin, of Missouri—was appointed to carry on negotiations. He had full powers to settle the difficulty amicably, if possible, and was to obtain satisfaction for the grievances of the American citizens who had been forcibly despoiled of their property and had their business broken up. A naval force was to accompany him, but only to be employed as a last alternative.

Those who knew anything of Lopez and of Paraguay, did not doubt a stubborn resistance to our demands.

The United States men-of-war then upon the Brazil station were the St. Lawrence, a sailing frigate of fifty guns; the sloop Falmouth, twenty; and the Dolphin, Bainbridge, and Perry, of from four to six guns each,—all sailing vessels. In addition to these there were sent out the frigate Sabine, fifty; the sloop Preble, sixteen; the Supply and Release, store-ships; and the steamers Fulton, Water-Witch, and Harriet Lane, all three paddle-steamers of light draught, the latter being lent by the Treasury Department. In addition to these naval vessels, there were chartered for the expedition seven steamers which had been engaged in carrying coal and grain in the coasting trade, and which were hastily converted into armed vessels, carrying two 9-inch guns each. The frigates and sloops were not, of course, intended to attempt the ascent of the river, but were to send launches with howitzers. The *personnel* of the whole squadron did not, probably, exceed two thousand five hundred; and perhaps eighteen hundred, including the drafts from the large vessels, actually ascended the river.

Commodore W. B. Shubrick, with Commander Page as fleet-captain, and Commander Percival Drayton as aid to the flag-officer, went

out in the frigate Sabine to command the expedition. The Sabine also carried Commissioner Bowlin, who was instructed to insist upon an indemnity of at least five hundred thousand dollars, or a submission of the claim to arbitration. He was to ascend the river to Assunçion, and put himself in communication with Lopez for that purpose, leaving most of the naval force at some convenient point below.

About this period of the operations comes into prominence General Urquiza, of Entre Rios, one of the most influential of the military men who have shaped the later history of the states of the Plata.

José Justo de Urquiza was born in Entre Rios in the year 1800, and rose by sheer force of character from an ordinary "estanciéro" to be chief of the state. During the struggle between the "Federales" and "Unitarios" he at first sided with Rosas, but after a time declared against him, and finally totally defeated him at Santos Lugares, Rosas soon after flying from the country, and taking refuge in England. Urquiza then succeeded to the government of the whole of the Argentine provinces except Buenos Ayres. He led the life of a feudal baron on his vast estates in Entre Rios, but evinced enlightenment by establishing institutions of learning, and especially a college for the youth of the country, and by favoring the development of the natural resources and the commerce of the country, as well as the navigation of the rivers.

But at times he still showed that he was a Guacho, as a single anecdote of him will prove. In one of his campaigns he captured a hated and dangerous enemy, and carried him about captive for many months, causing him every night to be chained to a lance in his own bivouac. This was worthy of an ancient Scythian.

In 1861, Urquiza was named general-in-chief of the Argentine Confederation, when he at once declared war against Buenos Ayres, but was handsomely whipped by General Mitré, who, however, allowed him to retire once more to Entre Rios as governor. To finish the account of him, we may say that in 1868 he was a candidate for the presidency against Sarmiento, but was defeated by the latter; and two years later he was assassinated by General Jordan in one of the everlasting political broils which have been the curse of that country.

This General Urquiza was much disquieted by the idea that the United States should send a force into the interior of the country, feeling sure that a collision with Paraguay would, sooner or later, create such changes that the old order of things, especially comfortable dictatorships, would be done away with. As soon, therefore, as the expedition arrived at Montevideo he set himself to work, by means

of his agents, to discover just what the American commissioner's instructions were. Easily succeeding in this,—for our rural diplomat was no match for him,—he at once hastened up the river to Lopez, and counseled him in the most emphatic terms to avoid collision, and to accept arbitration. Lopez had great respect for Urquiza's judgment, and rather sulkily consented to be governed by his advice. Lopez had then some works at Humaïtá, the place afterwards so celebrated as a stronghold, and there were some batteries at and below Assunçion. Reports and opinions differed, however, as to the strength of these works. Many people supposed that we would have come to grief if hostilities had actually commenced. Considering what the Paraguayans afterwards accomplished against the allied fleets and armies, and considering the character of the vessels of which our force was composed, it is altogether probable that we would have had a warm reception, and probably have suffered serious loss. "*Quien sabe?*" The commissioner and the flag-officer, accompanied by Urquiza, went up to Assunçion in the Fulton, and, after some parley, came to terms. Lopez demurred to the amount of compensation demanded, and it was finally agreed that commissioners from each side should meet in Washington as soon as possible to settle the amount. Apologies were then made for the attack upon the Water-Witch, and the cloud of war was dissipated.

Urquiza was so delighted with this peaceful solution of the difficulty that he presented Commissioner Bowlin with a splendid diamond snuff-box and Commodore Shubrick with a sword, and afterwards entertained them handsomely at his grand residence, San José, in Entre Rios. Our Congress did not act upon the convention agreed upon at Assunçion until May, 1860. Señor Don José Berges, the Paraguayan commissioner, had then been waiting at Washington for some time, and finally Mr. Cave Johnson was appointed to meet him on the part of the United States. In spite of the fact that they were brought together for the sole purpose of determining the *amount* of compensation due to Paraguay, these gentlemen reopened the whole question, reargued it, and finally decided that Paraguay was not legally responsible for any damages in the matter of the American company. Mr. Buchanan was, naturally, much displeased at this result of their deliberations, and sent a message to Congress, in which he stated that the commissioners had decided a question which had not been referred to them. By this time the midsummer of 1860 had come round, with all its excitements and anxieties, and by the time Congress met again our domestic difficulties engrossed the

thoughts of every one, and in a few months the dreadful civil war blotted out from the memory of most people the comparatively insignificant Paraguay expedition and its barren termination.

The vessels composing that expedition had been sent an immense distance, at a very great expense and risk, into the far interior of a remote country, an apology had been extracted from Lopez, and our honor thus vindicated, but no material reparation was ever made by him.

Such—throwing out minor details—is believed to be a fair résumé of the facts connected with the Paraguay Expedition of 1858-59. The vessels which composed the expedition have already been mentioned.

The appearance of the chartered ones did not fail to excite the smiles of foreign naval men, and to give rise to grave apprehensions for the result, in case of fighting, in the minds of our more thoughtful officers. Yet their ships' companies went out in them for a long voyage, and a prospect of battle on arrival, with the same cheerful and unquestioning obedience and confidence which, two or three years later, carried our navy through the winter blockade in an improvised fleet.

Of the chartered steamers, four or five were familiarly known in the expedition as "Cromwellians," or "Parker Veiners,"—the first derived from the owners, then well known in the coastwise trade, and the latter from the name of a certain kind of coal which they carried. The sole merit of these vessels consisted in their light draught of water. They were screw-propellers—queer, ungainly craft—of the kind of model which is said to be built by the mile, and sawed off in lengths to suit purchasers. Their very light upper decks were occupied by a very long range of deck-houses, beginning with a pilot-house away forward, from whence they were steered, like a river steamboat, by long rods and chains, which often got "jammed in a sheave" at inconvenient times, and would have been a poor reliance in action. Above the deckhouses projected a single smoke-stack and schooner's masts, spreading very little canvas; indeed, their sailing power was very nearly nil. Their engines and boilers required tender care and a deal of tinkering, as well as stops at all hours to "screw up." These vessels were wall-sided and high out of water, from having been built upon to increase their capacity, their top sides being of inch plank, through the seams and crevices of which one was able to get glimpses of the outer world, as he lay in his bunk, and through which driving rain or spray not unfrequently penetrated to awaken

the sleeper. The engines and boilers entirely cut off all communication between the forward and after parts below decks. The gun-deck, forward of the engines, had two large ports cut on each side, so that the two 9-inch guns could be fought together in battery. These pieces or ordnance each vessel carried out and brought home again in her hold, the carriages being secured amidships. With the weather we were favored with the ports were generally kept open, rendering the "gun-deck" the pleasantest part of the vessel.

About the time this improvised squadron was ready for sea the writer was broken out from shore duty by a peremptory order to one of the "Cromwellians," and in less than forty-eight hours afterwards was steaming out past Sandy Hook "on the war-path." The vessel to which he was attached had, with a twin sister, been detailed for the incidental duty, so to speak, of conveying to Venezuela General Paez and his suite, and, after restoring them to their native soil, were to make the best of their way to the River of Plate.

General Paez's name had been for many years associated with the civil wars, the politics, and the progress of Venezuela, but more than once the star of his enemies had been in the ascendant, and he had suffered both imprisonment and exile. When driven from the country the last time he had taken up his residence in New York, and he had just then been recalled by a "revolution" in his favor.

Our government, for various reasons, favored his restoration to power, and sought to do him honor and evince good will by offering passage in a government vessel for him and all his followers. Perhaps better vessels might have been selected, but the flag was the main thing, and the Venezuelans are, as a rule, better judges of horses and cattle than they are of ships.

Table furniture, provisions, and wine in abundance had been placed on board for the use of the party. Our commander gave up his cabin to the passengers, and all became members of the ward-room mess.

There were a good many of these people, and the ward-room, as well as the cabin, was full of cots. The officers of the ship slept in bunks, in two tiers, with curtains, their apartment being a square box or pen nearly the depth of the vessel; in fact, it had been the grain-bin of the ship when she was in the coasting trade. Sometimes, when she was employed as a collier, it had held coal.

Among our passengers were two sons of General Paez, middle-aged men. There were some military men whose fortunes were linked with that of the general, but the status of most of the passengers we never could discover. Included among the list of followers were two

New York "Bowery girls," going out, ostensibly, to teach the Venezuelans how to work the sewing-machine.

As is often the case early in December, we had fine weather for leaving our coast, and a fair run down to the Virgin Passage, but our passengers succumbed when we passed the light-ship, and most of them never emerged until we entered the harbor of St. Thomas. Some of them had set squadrons in the field, broken wild horses, and lassoed the untamed bull of the llaños, but that availed them nothing against the waters of the Gulf Stream and the eccentric motions of the craft which carried them and their fortunes.

I really think that putting in to St. Thomas saved some lives; for some of these people never took a morsel of food during the passage, and their appearance was, by the time we arrived in port, neither prepossessing nor warlike. Some of the very dark ones were of a bronze green which was frightful. From the category must be excepted Don Ramon Paez, an old traveler and a good sailor, as well as an accomplished artist and author.

As all these people were our messmates, and as the good things provided were perishable, we were obliged to do extra duty in consuming them, and I never remember a jollier passage,—it was a perpetual picnic, in fact.

After two or three days of patching and tinkering at our engines we sailed from St. Thomas for Cumana, but broke down when little more than half-way across the Caribbean Sea, with some difficulty fetching in, under sail, under the lee of a barren, sandy, deserted key, —near Tortugas,—a place which is, at certain seasons, frequented by turtle-catchers. Thence, after more tinkering and patching, we sailed again for Cumana, in Eastern Venezuela. Cumana is the oldest city in all Spanish America, but has been so knocked about by earthquakes and has so lost its trade that it is of little importance now. Paez's strength, however, lay in the east and in the interior, and so he desired to land here.

We arrived at Cumana on a lovely moonlight night, dropping our anchor among the quaint stone parapets and sentry-boxes of an old Spanish fort, long ago submerged by an earthquake. Daylight showed us these, down, fathoms deep, under the clear, still water, and of course we soon shifted our berth. The Manzanares here empties into the Gulf of Cariaco, which sheet of water has anchorage for the navies of the world, while the river is a typical tropical stream, with great wealth of vegetation on its banks, and plenty of alligators in its waters. The people very sensibly build their houses of one story, on account of

frequent earthquakes. We saw a large crack or crevice opened by a recent one in the main plaza, over which bridges of plank were laid.

As soon as we could do so we withdrew from the demonstrations and jollifications which ensued upon the general's arrival, anxious to pursue our more important duty, which was to get to the River of Plate as soon as possible.

Steaming up against the Trade wind and a strong current, we crossed the "Dragon's Mouth" of the Gulf of Paria, and then steered away N. E. for Barbados, where we were to coal.

Barbados is not a very exciting place,—one must be sure to pronounce the ultimate syllable *dos,* to avoid correction by the residents, —but the 'Badian negroes are amusing, and are celebrated for their "cheek" and their ridiculous pompous language. They were, long ago, immortalized by Marryatt, and it is safe to say that his description of a "Dignity Ball" would, in most respects, hold good to-day.

Great excitement was caused during our stay there by the arrival of the Metacomet, another one of the expedition. She was a regular American river steamer, of no great tonnage; principally consisting of paddle-boxes, walking-beam, hurricane-deck, and general top hamper. She was a most unfit vessel for such a voyage, and yet she successfully accomplished it. The 'Badian boatmen and water-side people, never having seen such a craft before, were lost in wonder, and a belief obtained among some of them that she was a floating cane-mill, while others fancied she contained some sort of show. This vessel, with her name changed to Pulaski, remained in the River Plate for several years as a man-of-war, under our flag, and was then sold. Having tinkered and patched and received coal, we made a long stretch on our way south, round Cape St. Roque to Pernambuco. Here we went inside the curious reef which forms the natural breakwater, and repeated operations as at Barbados.

While we were there another of the vessels of the expedition came in. This was the M. W. Chapin, which craft, previous to being chartered and converted into a "man-of-war," had filled the useful office of a canal-boat. She had a sort of coffee-mill arrangement in her stern called a steam-engine, and two small propellers splashed about the water under her "overhang." From Ceara down to Cape St. Roque she had been able to navigate the shoal channels between the outer reefs and the coast, thus escaping troublesome currents and some sea. This vessel also got out to the river without being lost, and, in her own good time, got safely home again. I believe government did not buy this noble craft, although the other chartered vessels were ultimately purchased, the charter-money going as part payment. The

people in Pernambuco had never seen anything like the Chapin before, and divers were the speculations and questions about her. I believe most persons thought her some kind of anchor-hoy or steam-derrick, while others, looking at the erections upon her deck, opined that she was some new kind of mud-digger. We wisely held our peace, and allowed them to think her anything but what she really was, an American man-of-war, with a 9-inch gun and its carriage stowed away in her hold.

From Pernambuco we had another long stretch, with generally fine weather, to Montevideo, where we found most of the vessels already congregated; and very soon after (the M. W. Chapin having happily arrived) the expedition was considered ready for the ascent of the river. The sailing vessels sent us parties with launch and howitzer, each under the command of a lieutenant, and there were plenty of volunteers for this service. A pilot was engaged for each vessel, a proceeding apparently purely formal, and entirely superfluous, judging from the one assigned to the writer's ship, for, while in the river, we always anchored at night, and in the daytime ran by common sense, hugging the bank where the bluffs were, and avoiding the low, projecting points and sand-spits.

Our vessel carried the ordnance-officer of the expedition, who had charge, among other things, of a number of torpedoes, batteries, and coils of wire. I suppose these instruments and appliances were intended to destroy obstructions (a thing which was but little attempted by the Paraguayans in their late desperate war). The apparatus never emerged from the store-room, however; but had it been brought forth for use, I fancy that, in the then state of our knowledge and practice, it would probably have created havoc among the operators.

The ordnance-officer had, however, one unfailing source of amusement in his charge, and that was a large lot of patent rifles and carbines, sent by different inventors. They had been placed on board, with plenty of ammunition, for trial; the patentees desiring that they should be fired as often as possible, and only requesting that an account should be kept of the number of discharges and the condition of the piece.

So it was that, on these long, sleepy days, while struggling up against the current of the river, our after-deck (the "quarter-deck" was really forward) was the scene of a constant popping at everything which had life and motion, or at conspicuous trees or marks upon the shore. I must say that we were not usually very successful shots. Occasionally some one would hit a black-necked goose, flocks of which we sometimes found swimming in quiet reaches; and uncommonly

lean and tough, and fishy and stringy we found them when brought to table. Occasionally some shag, or white cranes, and the great heron were come upon in the reaches, especially where the water covered miles of country, and the channel wound about, and we seemed to be the only occupants of the great river, bordered by bluffs on one side and great expanses of water-rushes, lilies, flags, and pampas grass on the other. Now and then, in very wild places, some "capinchos" were seen upon the banks; but their agility was marvelous, and they seemed to disapper as if by magic. Once a good shot among us succeeded in fairly hitting one of them, but in his last convulsive leap he fell into deep water, and sank like a stone. We went slowly, and during the first two or three days of the ascent our nightly suffering from the mosquitoes was terrible. We came to an anchor when it was too dark to run with safety, and our lamps were generally already lighted; but it took very few minutes for them to be extinguished after our way was stopped, on account of the myriads of these pests which offered themselves in holocaust and fell down the glass chimneys. They mocked at ordinary mosquito-bars, and preparation for one's bunk required a muffling of head, neck, and hands more appropriate to Arctic regions than to the climate in which we found ourselves. They were quite as bloodthirsty, though perhaps not so large, as those famous ones from Reedy Island, in Delaware Bay, which raised and carried off a schooner's deck, when the captain clinched their bills as they were digging through to attack him. After leaving the wooded alluvial banks of the lower river we scarcely suffered at all.

Passing Obligado, where the French and English cut the chain with which Rosas tried to close the river, in 1845, and San Nicholas, the prettiest part we saw, where the stream is several miles wide and the middle is in the shallowest part, the channels lying on each shore, Rosario, the point at which all vessels were to rendezvous, was at length reached. The river is here about a mile wide, and very deep, with a three-knot current. Only the Fulton and Water-Witch were to go on thence to Assunçion, with the commissioner and Commodore Shubrick.

Rosario, a flourishing town on a bluff on the right bank of the river, is the terminus of a railway running to Cordova and beyond. Here we found vessels—mostly English and Italian—loading with cargoes of "carne séca," hides, hoofs, horns, and bones,—highly malodorous, and not nice lading with which to cross the tropics.

Across the river, in Entre Rios, Urquiza's escort was bivouacked on the low bank, the general being then in Paraguay with our people as mediator. These soldiers had few tents, most of them sleeping "al

fresco," wrapped in their ponchos. Their only apparent duty consisted in herding their horses and the cattle which furnished their rations, a few men remaining always mounted for this purpose. They were capital campaigners, for their commissariat required no transportation, and they could live any length of time on fresh-killed beef and water; and if tobacco and a little maté, or new rum, was added, they were in clover. These Guacho soldiers were most picturesque and savage-looking fellows, with their swarthy faces, black locks, red caps and ponchos, and long lances.

While we lay at Rosario awaiting developments, tinkering and patching at boilers and engines went on as usual. But it soon came to be understood that negotiation would prevail, and that we should not have to try conclusions with the batteries at Humaïtá, but that the repairs done would be effected for the purpose of enabling us to hold out upon the passage home. We were in latitude 33°, in the middle of the southern summer, and the sun was very hot; but there was generally an air, and the climate was not at all enervating. We enjoyed fine shooting,—at partridges on the plains, and at snipe of several kinds on the low islands in the broad stream, which had been, but a few months before, completely submerged during the annual rise of the river. When the river falls, cattle are made to swim over to these islands, and, being half wild, are often dangerous to passengers on foot. Sometimes, too, a "tigre" is found there, brought down on floating islands, or "canalotes," during the spring flood, from the upper country; so that the island shooting was not devoid of a spice of danger, and rendering it necessary to carry a navy revolver as well as a shot-gun.

Visits to estancias and saladéros, or slaughtering establishments, and rides into the country filled up the time, until, at length, the "Big Wigs" came down-stream again, in high good humor and at peace with themselves and all the world. The result of their fore-gathering I have already given.

In a day or two we were all off down the river, the "lame ducks" among us finding it much easier work than the ascent. At length, after passing Martin Garcia, we snuffed the sea-breezes again, and, anchoring in Buenos Ayres Roads, or the "canal," pilots for Montevideo were in demand. As ours had been of no use in the river, it was thought that he might know something about the great estuary. At any rate, he said he did, and so was put in charge of the passage. The first thing he did was to plump us upon the dangerous "Ortiz" bank, from which awkward predicament we were, however, able to extricate ourselves without damage, thanks to very fine weather and

smart work, and in due time reached Montevideo. We made no long stay there, for charter-money was to be saved by sending us straight home. It was decided that the "Cromwellians" were to go home in pairs, so as to be able to assist each other in the not improbable event of a "smash up" of the machinery or other accident.

The writer's vessel, comparatively able, had to escort the lamest of the "lame ducks," which soon broke down, and had to be towed into St. Catherine's, entailing a delay of some days in that lovely harbor. From this time forth we never lost sight of her, day or night, regulating our motions entirely by hers, which was not difficult, for we had invariable fine weather and a summer sea. Having touched at Barbados again for coal, the month of June saw us once more safe in New York, having traversed some ten thousand miles of ocean and river without serious accident,—a remarkable achievement when we consider the material of which the chartered fleet was composed.

E. SHIPPEN.

A TEAMSTERS' MUTINY.

For nearly two months, at the head of a body of Crow scouts, attached to a mixed command of cavalry and mounted infantry from Fort Keogh, Montana, I had followed through eastern Montana, western Dakota, and a portion of Wyoming, a remnant of Lame Deer's band of Cheyennes, and, the long chase ended, had been sent into the post by the commander of the expeditionary force to report its approach and prepare for a portion of it a camping ground. Of course my first duty was to report my arrival to the post commander, "Bear Coat,"* as the Indians called him, was noted for cutting red tape, if it in any way interfered with plans, and for paying little or no attention to routine, if he wished anything done promptly. I had scarcely reported my presence, and answered half a dozen questions regarding the scout and its results, before he said:

"There is a steamer load of lumber at Wolf Rapids, put off there because the boat could come no farther. I want you to take the cattle-train to-morrow morning at daylight, and go after it. Tell the adjutant to give you a guard of ten men, and to notify the wagon-master to have his train at the river on time. Make all the speed you can, for the lumber is needed now."

I performed my part of the duty connected with starting; and, with my guard, was at the ferry before sunrise. But I waited in vain for the appearance of the cattle and wagons, and after a delay of more than an hour, the messenger sent to the camp of the teamsters reported that the cattle had strayed off to the hills and had not been found, and at noon I went back to the garrison for dinner. Bear Coat saw me, and, as the adjutant expressed it, "began to walk all over" me, demanding to know why I was not obeying his order. When I had made my explanation, his wrath was turned toward the real culprits, and I was directed, when once I had them on the trail, to "keep them moving."

"The bull-whacker" of the frontier was not looked up to by anybody. From his seat on the "near wheeler," the mule driver looked down, in more than one way, on him who swung his long-lashed whip over the oxen by whose side he plodded, and no man was "too mean to drive cattle."

*Indian name for General Miles.

There were exceptions, where good men out of employment or out of luck, picked up "the steer whip," but they did not hold it long, and "trouble with the teamsters" was a very common excuse for delays or failures to fill contracts the fulfillment of which depended on their fidelity.

Nearly a day was spent in looking for the teams, and the drivers were very much incensed, when, late in the afternoon, they found that, instead of spending another night near the garrison, they were ordered to drive their cattle into the river and to ferry over their wagons; and still more angry, when, the crossing completed, they were ordered to "yoke up, and string out," and mutterings which augured ill for prompt movement were heard on all sides. But the train, consisting of about twenty-five wagons, was at length started; and kept in motion till the long twilight had deepened into night.

When the sergeant in charge of the guard reported for orders for the night, he was directed to have the sentry watch the man whose duty it was to herd the grazing cattle, and see that he did not allow them to go astray. This, to the mind of that individual, was another cause for growling. "I don't need no watchin', *I* don't;" "I ain't no —— cattle-thief," were some of the remarks indulged in by that worthy when the soldier, finding him lounging by the camp-fire, reminded him that was not his post of duty.

The morning of the third day was well advanced, when the train reached the place where the lumber had been unloaded from the steamer.

Placing the wagons as near it as could be done conveniently, the teams were unyoked and turned out to graze. This caused more complaint, as the drivers were told that the loading must be completed in time for a return drive of seven miles, to the camp of the previous night. At first the work progressed slowly, but was accelerated when they were told that if the work was not completed before nine o'clock, the move would still be made. I could hear mutterings about "a —— tyrant, who wanted to run everything," etc., but thought it not best to pay attention to them, hoping that when camp was reached the trouble would pass away.

Camp was roused at an early hour the next morning, but as I went to my camp-fire to get my breakfast, I noticed that there was no stir about the wagons, but that the teamsters were lounging about, apparently unconcerned. Asking the reason for the apathy, I was told by one of the guard that at least half of the cattle had strayed, and that the wagon-master was hunting for them. "Half the cattle gone! Where was the night-herder?"

At this the individual mentioned, whom I did not for the moment recognize, from his recumbent position at the cook-fire of the teamsters, not far away from my own, burst out in a torrent of profanity and abuse too foul to print.

"Yes, lay it all to the night-herder! There ain't anything goes wrong in camp but what you lay it to the —— night herder."

I looked at him in some astonishment. "And who are you? I wish to know."

"Oh, I'm that —— night herder, if you want to know."

"Well, you had best keep a civil tongue, and speak when you are spoken to. I was not addressing you."

"Oh, I ain't no —— nigger, nor no —— soldier neither. I'm a free man, *I* am, and I'll talk when I —— please, for all your shoulder-straps."

"Corporal of the guard!"

He was at my side in a moment.

"Put a sentry over that man, and when he has finished his breakfast, take him up to your camp-fire, and when the train pulls out, let him be taken ahead of it, and walk back to the post, keeping him under guard."

Cowed for the moment, the fellow submitted quietly. But I found that trouble had only begun.

The sergeant quietly approached me a few moments later, and said, in an undertone:

"Sir, there is going to be trouble. The teamsters say they won't yoke up, when the cattle come back, if you're going to make that man walk to the post."

"They won't? Well, we shall see. Where are their arms? (In that region, at that time, every man carried a rifle, or had it in close proximity to his hands, when away from home.)

"In their mess wagon, sir."

"Well, put two men with loaded rifles on guard over that wagon, with positive orders to shoot any man who attempts to take anything out of it, and keep your men near you, with rifles in their hands."

By that time the wagon-master had returned with the strayed oxen, and as he arose from his breakfast I said to him:

"Hurry up, Jackson, and let us get off. We have lost two hours already."

He was a soft-speaking little man, afraid, I soon found, of the gang he had, ostensibly, control of, and he remarked:

"The men say, lieutenant, that they won't yoke up, if you're goin' to make that man walk to camp."

"So I have heard. Well, I take charge. You keep hands off, and I'll soon see who is master here."

Walking up to the nearest wagon, I sprang upon the tongue, and taking out my watch with one hand, while I drew and cocked my revolver with the other, I said to the teamsters grouped in the center of the corral formed by the circle of wagons:

"I am told that you say you will not yoke up, if the night herder is to walk to camp. He shall walk there. It now lacks two minutes of eight o'clock. I'll give you those two minutes to begin to yoke up. Sergeant! have your men fall in, and load!"

There was a clicking of breech-blocks as the cartridges were dropped into the chambers. One man picked up a yoke, and started to find his team; the others hesitated. Those two minutes seemed an eternity. As the second hand spun around to the last instant, I snapped down the case of my watch, jumped down from my perch on the tongue and gave the order:

"*Squad!* ATTENTION!! READY!!!"

The soldiers, except those on duty at the wagon, instantly "lined up" facing the mutineers. I moved to one side, to get out of the line of fire—but before I could give the command, "Aim!" there was a rush and scramble for yokes, and in much less time than was usually required, the train was ready to move.

"Now, Jackson, move out. Corporal, have two men take that night herder to the front of the train, and keep him there. Don't let him talk to any one."

I was standing beside a wagon when I gave the order, my pistol in the holster on my belt. As the prisoner came past me on his way to the front, he suddenly shoved aside one of his guards, and with murder in his eye and with clenched fist, and a volley of curses, sprang at me. I parried his blow, and, fortunately, in grappling, seized him by the throat, and crowded him against the side of the wagon, against which I thumped his head several times—getting a blow in the face, before I could get my pistol out of its scabbard. Using it as a club, I soon beat him into submission. As I drew him from the wagon, and threw him from me, I heard the "click, click" of a gun-lock behind me, and the voice of the sergeant: "You keep out, or you'll get shot, short metre; this is none of your fight," and I turned to confront a brawny teamster, the top of his loaded "black-snake" whip wound around his hand, drawn back to strike. But a look into the muzzle of the sergeant's rifle cowed him, and he slunk back to his team. The prisoner was by this time at the head of the moving train, and the mutiny was over.

HENRY ROMEYN,
Brevet Major, U. S. Army.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

"The 'foremost man' of all this modern world."—MAJ.-GEN. MITCHELL, B.A.

"*Anderson.* Behold, my lord, behold the sons of war,
Of triumph, turn to tears; while, from that eye,
All Sweden takes her fate—and smiles around,
Or weeps, with her Gustavus!
"*Arnoldus.* Wilt thou not cheer them? Say, thou great deliverer!
"*Sivard.* O general!
"*1st Dalecarlian.* King!
"*2d Dalecarlian.* Brother!
"*3d Dalecarlian.* Father!
"*All.* Friend!

"Gustavus. Come, come, my brothers all! Yes, I will strive
To be the sum of every title to ye,
And you shall be my sire, my friend revived,
My sister, mother, all that's kind and dear,
For so Gustavus holds ye—O, I will
Of private passions all my soul divest,
And take my dearer country to my breast;
To public good transfer each fond desire,
And clasp my Sweden with a lover's fire.
Well pleased, the weight of all her burdens bear;
Dispense all pleasure, but engross all care.
Still quick to find, to feel my people's woes,
And wake, that millions may enjoy repose."—BROOKE'S *Gustavus Vasa.*

THIS man, deservedly styled "The Great," and compared to a *Cube,* with the motto "Æqualis semper et erectus" (Harte, i. 104), from the proportions, equilibrium, and arrangement of his faculties, physical, moral, and mental, was born 9th December, 1594, at Stockholm.

Like Frederic the Great—in some respects the greatest monarch and general produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—and William III.—"who honored" (as Englishmen admit) "the British crown by wearing it," Gustavus was in a measure the pupil of Huguenot (expatriated French Protestants) principles and abilities, especially for war; since his preceptor Jacob de la Gardies must have been "Reformed," or else the first generations of that great race in Sweden could scarcely have experienced a kind reception and constant em-

ployment from two sons of Gustavus Vasa, Eric and Charles, the latter most like his father, and have continued to exercise influence and to enjoy command under the latter, when Charles IX.

Himself "the 'foremost man' of all this modern world," one who passed through life "without ever being dismayed or embarrassed, from the seventeenth year of his age to the hour of his death," was the son of a monarch whose character was in everything the reverse of his more illustrious descendant. This has been summed up most admirably by his successor, Gustavus III., "great as king, bad as citizen, excellent as a statesman; stern, severe, tyrannical, but anxious for the honor, the independence of the kingdom; a dangerous rival, but still more dangerous as a subject; the only one of his brothers and sisters who would have been like his father (Gustavus Vasa, the Washington of Sweden), provided fate had permitted him to be born to a crown, and had saved him from obtaining it by crime. He had left his kingdom (to Gustavus) at war; first with Poland, which was more intent upon the acquisition of Liefland (Livonia) than upon replacing Sigismund on the throne of Sweden, which he had lost; second, with Denmark, which thought the time opportune to avail herself of Sweden's intestine discord for the extension of her own boundaries; third, with part of Russia, which, united with Sigismund, intended to hurl Sweden's greatest ally, Vasili Schuski, from a throne (the Russian) to which the son of Sigismund aspired, on which an impostor (Demetrius) had seated himself, but which, after the fall of Schuski, seemed to be destined for a prince of the House of Vasa" (Duke Charles Philip, elected Grand Duke of Muscovy at the death of Charles IX., 1611). In one respect, however, Charles IX. was most remarkable: he seemed to have foreseen the terrible consequences which were shortly to ensue from the religious divisions in Europe, and to have appreciated the influence that his son would exert upon the struggle, whose magnitude he recognized with the eye of a veritable prophet. *"Ille faciet,"* "He will accomplish it," was his constant exclamation. That the progress of humanity was not arrested by a return of the "dark ages" is due to Gustavus Adolphus. To him and to Maurice of Nassau are attributable the bases of the art and science of war as applied to all subsequent time, down to the present. Gustavus Adolphus never was at peace. He was born, so to speak, was bred, and lived and died in his harness. Indeed, to apply the words of Scripture, "Nicanor (a word derivative from *Nike,* victory) lay dead in his harness" in that supreme battle which broke the charm of the mightiest champion of the imperial power (Graham, 121), Wallenstein, vanquished its best troops, assembled by the magic of his

name, and witnessed the fall of its most devoted paladin, Pappenheim.

It would be in vain to attempt to develop in one article all that Gustavus Adolphus did effect. The army which he had made in his campaigns against the Danes, the Russians, and the Poles, was the first army, such as modern experts understand it, which ever appeared upon a European field of battle; but to confine his glories to mere military achievements would be a wicked misjudgment of this illustrious Swede. He was equally remarkable as a great king, a great captain, and as a great man, as a sovereign, an administrator, political economist, lawmaker, diplomatist, in fact, in every line, which, beginning in the individual, centres in the chief of the state and the leader of its military forces. Moreover, with the exception of the defect of short-sightedness (common to Frederic the Great, Napoleon, and a number of distinguished generals who, notwithstanding, saw most clearly upon the checker-board of war), his vast ability was the tenant of a commensurate tabernacle of flesh, so majestic, and so well calculated to act, to bear, and to suffer, that without being gross, it required a mighty charger to carry this great Swedish king.

His first independent command was on the 24th April, 1611, when he was not yet seventeen years old, eight months before he assumed the crown as elected king and hereditary prince of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, on the 26th December, 1611. In many respects he was the first legitimate king of Sweden whose rights were acknowledged. The history of Sweden may be said to commence with Gustavus Vasa, in 1523. This liberator was succeeded by his son, Eric XIV., who was deposed and replaced by his brother, John III. John transmitted his crown to his son Sigismund, King of Poland, who, in 1604, was likewise deposed, and his uncle, another son of Gustavus Vasa, known as Charles IX., obtained possession of the throne. All these numbers, XIV., III., and IX., are apocryphal. Gustavus Adolphus was the first legitimate king by the grace of God, birth; by the will of the people, selection. As in the case of the greatest of the Greeks, Epaminondas, whose career embraced but sixteen years,—a single reign of twenty-one years, and a single man, sufficed to elevate Sweden like Thebes, from comparative obscurity into an arbiter of events. Again, like Epaminondas, the Swedish monarch was killed upon the victorious scene of his fame, but the parallel ends here: Thebes fell prone again with her hero; Gustavus left behind him a succession of heroes, through whom and their pupils Sweden retained a very great influence upon European affairs, which lasted for nearly a century. This continued until Charles XII. broke the "magical sword" which Gus-

tavus had forged, in the same manner as Napoleon, by an invasion of Russia, in 1707, which culminated at Pultowa, 8th July, 1709.

To Gustavus Adolphus is due the credit of the first real national army; of the first digested articles of war; of a thorough reformation of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; of the commencement of line tactics; of the practical formation of infantry (he was the greatest infantry officer known to history); of its posting by brigade; of the mobilization of artillery and its use by battery; of cartridges; of canister or grape-shot; of the recognition of the shock as the important point for cavalry; of the rudiments of a general staff; of scientific engineering as applied to field-works; of the general introduction of uniforms; of field surgery (he had three surgeons to each regiment); and a hundred ameliorations which were patent at the time, but lost sight of in the subsequent improvements, which in some respects culminated under Frederic the Great, but in others are still occurring.

The first campaigns of Gustavus were against the Danes, in those southern provinces of the Scandinavian peninsula which Charles X., Gustavus, wrested, on 26th February, 1658, from Denmark, by the peace of Roskilde, so that the whole Swedish peninsula thenceforward owed obedience to one crown.

His next wars were against the Poles, and, through his generals, against the Russians, whose results rendered the Baltic Sea almost a Swedish lake. The battle of Wallhoff, fought 7th January, 1626, against the Poles and Lithuanians, under the "Old" Sapieha, is remarkable for the first display of the efficiency of the new Swedish infantry tactics against cavalry, in a country and on a field particularly favorable to the latter (mounted) arm. From what is known of it, it would seem to be a type of the vaunted battle of the Pyramids, in which the French foot broke the power of the Mamelukes, the finest horsemen in the world; of that less-known battle of Fleurus, in which the Dutch infantry, with the improved fire-arms and bayonets, introduced by their general, the distinguished engineer Coehorn, actually scoffed at the furious efforts of the magnificent French Household cavalry, launched against them by the consummate Luxembourg.

In 1629 (the year of the colonization of New Hampshire), the whirlpool of the Thirty Years' War involved Sweden, and the application of the German Protestant brought Gustavus into Middle Europe in defense of evangelical religion.

Imagine the most eccentric scratchings of a child intrusted with a pencil to amuse itself upon a sheet of paper, traversing it from side to side with the veriest intricacy of lines without design, and marking it here and there with blotches, and an uninstructed reader can have

some idea of the wild circuits and criss-cross movements of the Protestant-German, Romanist-Imperial, Danish, Swedish, and French armies during the Thirty Years' War. It was complete chaos, and yet amid all this there were some strokes of real strategy, and the victories won again and again on certain fields show that war, even under the direction of fools, as well as experts, has its natural lines of communication and strategical key-points, which latter inevitably attract the streams of war to collide and decide the phases of an apparently interminable war without recognized military objectives.

In his farewell address to the Swedish Estates (Bohn's Schiller's Thirty Years' War, 125-6), their noble king seemed to have a presentiment that he was to offer up his great life for faith and for freedom. No speech on record surpasses in manly eloquence this farewell of this good king to a brave people. No person of generous impulses can read it without feeling his heart throb, without feeling his eye moistened with tears, which are the tribute or response of a manly sentiment to the utterances of a hero. On 24th June, 1630, Gustavus landed in Germany, and thenceforward until he fell, 16th November, 1632, every step was one of a career of triumph. Like Hannibal descending into Italy with twenty-six thousand veterans to invade a country which could place seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand more or less trained soldiers in line of battle, Gustavus disembarked in Germany (1630) with only thirteen thousand eight hundred (H., i. 221) admirable troops to assail an empire that more than once placed armies of from sixty to seventy thousand in the field; had at one time one hundred and sixty thousand fighting men embodied (H., i. 252); had already carried on the war triumphantly for twelve years, and was still to hold out against Sweden and France and their allies for eighteen years longer. At Wismar, first decade of October, 1630, Gustavus first exhibited his new system of infantry tactics, and attack in column, or by (known as "Leipsic") brigades, in defeating the Imperialists under the Duke of Savelli. At Werben—considered by the distinguished "tactician" Von Bulow as the great strategical key-point of Germany—Gustavus displayed his exquisite genius in the selection of a position, and the defense of it by field-works. Against these the hitherto invincible Tilly experienced his first check, a foretaste of the annihilation which awaited him in the next collision. Here, too, the favorite pupil of Gustavus, Leonard Torstenson, first developed the astonishing power of the new Swedish artillery, as chief of that arm, and likewise his conception of the utility of protecting his guns with earth-works.

At Leipsic, 28th August, O. S., 7th September, N. S., 1631, Gus-

tavus made a name which will endure as long as war has a history, a professor, a critic, or a student. It is undeniable that it is a victory not known to the majority of people, confounded perhaps with other Leipsics, but still recognized as a battle which decided the fate of human development, a redemption of our race as far as man can redeem it. It was a triumph of the resuscitated legion over the revived phalanx, of freedom in military evolutions against that slavery which fetters the mind and the men, factors and adherents of the creed for which Tilly fought. Moreover, it was decided by the application of the principles which have won some of the greatest battles in this world, the *oblique order*. Only in this case, this principle entered into the arrangement through the defection of the Saxons and the consequent errors of the Imperialists. It may be claimed with justice, that on this occasion twenty-two thousand Swedes defeated thirty-two thousand veteran Imperialists under a general hitherto unconquered. This battle is well worthy the study which has been bestowed upon it. Still, with all that study, the strong points have not been made clear. Tilly undertook to crush his opponent with the mere weight of cavalry clad in iron, and infantry in masses, compacted by discipline and victory. Nevertheless, his attacks were dislocated, and he displayed very little tactical skill. On the side of Gustavus there was perfect harmony throughout the Swedish force, from the king down. Not a moment was lost. Artillery, a new feature, a maneuvering by batteries, was never better handled than by Torstenson. The Finnish cavalry made up by fire and celerity for what they lacked in weight, and a simple conversion like that which saved Mollwitz secured Leipsic. This battle crowned a career which has exalted Gustavus to the first rank among the few universally conceded greatest captains of all times.

He has been greatly blamed for not making a better use of his victory. His unsurpassed High Chancellor, Oxenstiern, in his way certainly as able a man as Gustavus in *his* own, sat severely in judgment upon him. Oxenstiern had previously declared that it was fortunate for Gustavus that the fire of the king was tempered by the phlegm of the minister; yet this very phlegmatic critic blamed the fiery king for want of audacity in not harvesting the fruits of this victory, an audacity which won for Napoleon his greatest triumphs. Oxenstiern declared that after Leipsic, Gustavus should have marched upon Vienna in the same way that, after Cannæ, Maharbal urged Hannibal to march at once upon Rome. Contemplating the marvelous results of audacity in all ages, and deciding in accordance with them, Oxenstiern was right.

Gustavus always acted in obedience to the strict rules of war.* He became greater and greater by experience or "gradual probation," as was said of Turenne. Of all the prominent men known to the writer, the one who will serve as his best representative in this country was our George H. Thomas, who illustrated himself thus, in his first battle at Mill Springs, and decided the Rebellion by his victory at Nashville; and the parallel holds good in almost every respect, physical, moral, mental, and military. Two of the king's pupils, so styled, and military successors, excelled Gustavus as "great captains"; and with less means and infinitely less authority, accomplished more. After all, does not the Art of War consist in obtaining great results with comparatively little means? Jan Baner was his superior as a soldier, but vastly inferior as a man. Torstenson was certainly a greater general, and only inferior in that he was a confirmed invalid, and on that account was unable to remain continuously in command, although he never lost a single feasible opportunity through infirmity while in command.

The career of Gustavus, subsequent to Leipsic, was limited to fourteen months and nine days. In that period he was engaged in three great conflicts: 1st, at the passage of the Lech, where Tilly, who had lost his invincibility at Leipsic, may be said to have lost his life (for he died of his wounds a few days afterwards); 2d, at Alte Feste against Wallenstein; and 3d, at Lutzen, again opposed to Wallenstein. Here Gustavus lost his life.

This engagement of Alte Feste, before the lines of Nuremberg, belongs to a class of battles which embraces Collin, Cunersdorf, and Burnside's Fredericksburg. All these were desperate attempts to carry strong positions held by veteran troops protected by earth-works, in which the attack only just came short of success; for a moment appeared to hold success in its grasp. Gustavus, however, was the only one who brought off his troops in order in the teeth of active pursuit. At Lutzen, November 6 (16th), 1632, Gustavus displayed

*No great general has ever neglected the establishment of a secure base of operations and lines of communication, but what constitutes a base does not always respond to the technical definition. For instance, Rustow says that political relations sometimes became the base of the great commanders of antiquity, and in this spirit Gustavus made *Protestantism* his base, just as Napoleon had for his in Italy the phantasm of Freedom or Liberation; then the jealousies of the different sovereigns, as in Germany.

Napoleon said that the effect of the moral to the physical was as three to one, and human progress has shown that the effect of ideas is sometimes immediately, and always remotely, many times more potent than even disciplined force.

more enterprise than at any other epoch of his wonderful career. From his own language he seems to have felt an inmost consciousness that he was touching upon the term of his existence,* and he acted as if he appreciated that he had no time to lose. His grand tactics previous to the battle, in order to deceive Wallenstein, were certainly masterly, and the mightly imperial commander, who deemed himself invincible, was deceived. So much so, he divided his forces. Then Gustavus "went for him" with a will, although his reply to a remonstrance from one of his trusted subordinates, Kniphausen, proves that he felt he was acting rashly. His words are almost identical with those of Cæsar when he crossed the Rubicon, "The die is now cast!" *"jacta est alea."*

In this battle Gustavus does not seem to have demonstrated his accustomed generalship, but all his intrepid soldiership. He attacked furiously, and, leading, was slain or assassinated, it has not been decided which even yet, as the system to which he was opposed has stricken down so many by the murderer's hand at the moment when they had become most dangerous to its policy; a policy which has justified, glorified, and rewarded such crimes. As general rejoicing followed with unseemly demonstrations throughout the Roman Catholic realms, and as Pappenheim, the arch champion or paladin of the Imperial army (who fell shortly after Gustavus, and on the same field), declared that he died content in that the great foe of his faith had perished, it is not unfair to believe that like Admiral Coligni, like William of Orange, like Henry IV., like the Count of Soissons, and like a multitude of other illustrious victims, Gustavus was assassinated. The calm, sagacious Oxenstiern thought so, and his opinion is worth a multitude of counter-testimony.

Gustavus perished in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He died "with the sword in his hand, the word of command on his tongue, and victory in his imagination." But his greatest praise is that of which he was himself ambitious,—"that he might be regarded as the

*Major-General Mitchell has a remark most pertinent in regard to the premonition of decease with which Gustavus was impressed at Naumburg a few days before his death-in-victory at Lutzen. The British officer and historian is alluding to Napoleon's betrayal of himself on various occasions, and attributes it to his experiencing "those vague and shadowy forebodings which often flit across the minds even of the brave, influence the timid, and for moments dispel the delusions that dazzle and inflate the vain, giving them passing but profitless gleams of their feebleness when contrasted with their pretensions." ("The Fall of Napoleon," vol. i., p. 116.) Bismark (Beamish, 104) observes, "Commanders generally forebode the crisis of their good fortune. Thus did Hannibal" before Zama.

prince who had fulfilled the duties of that station which Providence had assigned to him in the world."

If ever on earth a soldier realized the ideas of St. Bernard in his hortatory address to the Templars,—an address worthy an evangelical prophet or apostle,—it was Gustavus. St. Bernard bade the Knights of the Temple remember that if from zeal for true religion and the diffusion of its influences they smote down adversaries, in slaying them they saved their own souls; but if actuated by ambition, pride, or any of the other ordinary incitements to battle they killed for glory and reward, in slaughtering these foes, even Paynim, they slew their own souls at the same time. Gustavus fought solely for the right and against wrong, and his career was a sermon which to live up to is as pertinent for to-day as for his epoch.

The victory which he foresaw through the bloody mist of death was wrenched from defeat by Bernard of Sax-Weimar and Dodo Kniphausen, with a desperate resolution best expressed, in the words of the prophet Amos, "as the Shepherd delivereth out of the mouth of the lion two legs or a piece of an ear." Nothing but a conviction throughout the Swedish army that it was utter disgrace to quit a field on which their king had fallen, that no life was worth preserving now that the loftiest had perished, made Lutzen a victory for evangelical truth. Nevertheless, nothing but the crushing fear which fell upon the Imperialists converted it into the triumph which it morally came to be.

It is scarcely possible to do justice to the character of Gustavus Adolphus. A distinguished general and military writer, Cust, remarks: "It is perhaps the highest military encomium of Gustavus Adolphus that he was the greatest tactician of his age." Count Bismark (Beamish, 307) admits "that warlike King of Sweden was the creator of new tactics." This praise is but one-hundredth part of what is due to him. Perhaps his best summary is the sentence of a contemporary, that "even his enemies could not utter a word of dispraise, unless, they simultaneously praised him."

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Only two of the battles of Gustavus will be dwelt upon somewhat in detail, and only these because they are too important or, rather, interesting to a soldier to be passed over in silence: Wallhoff,* fought on

*Wallhoff or Wallhofen (Puffendorf, *Welfen*) is a small market town on the vast plain drained by one of the branches or arms of the Duna, or southern Dwina, and twelve miles distant S. E. from the Duna, in the Province of Semigallia (capital, Mittau) which constituted the eastern part of the Duchy of

the 7th of January, 1626, and Leipsic, or Breitenfeld, on the 7th of September, 1631. The first is famous as the conflict in which modern infantry tactics first received their practical development and demonstrated the superiority of this arm against the finest cavalry on ground most favorable to the latter; whereas Leipsic is still more remarkable as the field of the first perfect display or application, under fire, of the tactics of the three arms combined.

Wallhoff was the "first capital battle" in which Gustavus engaged and displayed all at once the effect of his inventions, ameliorations, and abilities. It is said that his success was due as much to "his *reformed* pike"†—the predecessor of the bayonet—as to any other single factor, although, after all, like the great majority of collisions between armed men, it was decided by valor or hard fighting. This is attested by the peculiar force of the allusion in the famous eulogy of Torstenson contributed anonymously by Gustavus III., which received the highest prize of the Swedish Academy.

"Fields of Wallhoff! you can bear testimony to Torstenson's valor! The enemy driven off, the soldiery gathered round the Life-Banner, victory given to Gustavus Adolphus! All indications of what Torstenson some day will be."

Of the forces engaged in this conflict—so important an epoch in the development of modern tactics,—a vast stride in advance—no one

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Courland. It stands not far off from the fortified town of Ascheraden, some fifty miles southeast of Riga. Semigallia extends southeast from the Gulf of Riga along the south or west side of the Duna, which runs between it and Livonia to the east and north, and is separated almost entirely from the Duchy of Courland proper by the river Malza. The name Semigallia has nothing to do with Gallia (France), but is compounded of two words belonging to the old Curish dialect of the Sclavonian, *Sem-Galle,* "land on the other side,"—*Courland* signifying flat land. To find and locate Wallhoff and other places mentioned in this campaign resort must be had to very old or detailed maps, and the description of this battle is only to be mined out from a variety of books now almost forgotten even by the learned.

†Would it be believed, if the fact were unsusceptible of proof, that the Fifteenth U. S. Infantry (and perhaps another regiment) were armed and equipped in part as pikemen? *"Experience soon proved the absurdity* of the project." (Halleck's M. A. & S., chap. x.)

It is very curious that the Swedish spear, or pike, which Gustavus Vasa *lengthened* by four or five feet,—to enable his new Dalecarlian levies to resist the veteran Danish cavalry, and with them, thus armed, won the battle of Westeras, 29th April, 1523,—his grandson Gustavus Adolphus *shortened* to render it more manageable, and, with it thus "reformed," defeated the Polish cavalry at Wallhoff.

work affords any definite information. The clearest reference is to be found in John Loccenius, who wrote in Latin, in 1676.

Gustavus was noted for his winter campaigns; and no severity of weather deterred him from an endeavor "to set foot to the foe,"—his own expression. On the 5th of January, 1626, he crossed the Duna with his cavalry and a thousand musketeers. There is no other mention of his numbers. On the night of the 6th-7th of January he encountered a detachment of the enemy, drove them back, and, on the morning of the 7th, found the main body of the Poles drawn up in order of battle in the open field before their entrenchments, whence they had marched out in accordance with the message or reply from Leo Sapieha (their general) to Gustavus: "That having only one ambition, his desire was to make a fair trial with his majesty upon equal ground." The Polish magnate had the reputation of being an able commander, and he believed that no infantry had a chance on flat ground against such fine cavalry as the Poles undoubtedly had at this day.

Gustavus seems to have commanded the centre, Count Thurn, the father, the right wing, Gustavus Horn the left, Colonels Sigismund, Plato, and Maximilian Teuffel in support.*

Loccenius observes (Liber viii., 551): "Ours (the Swedes) meeting the Lithuanians * * * in the open field, defeated them in a famous battle through the singular prudence and extraordinary bravery of the king (Gustavus). A more complete commemoration of this triumph is lost through the carelessness of historians. The Swedes were victorious with very little loss, * * * although numbers were not wanting to the enemy, since in the Polish army (were the flower of the Lithuanian troops, then thought the best in Poland), four troops or squadrons (*cohorts*) of Cossacks (400), two companies or troops (*turmae*) of cavalry, regular (?) cuirassiers (200), six companies (*signa*) of German infantry (about 900), fourteen companies 'cornets' or troops (*signa*) of Hussars (2,000), and three of Heyducs (picked foot-soldiers or personal attendants, a sort of body-

*The names of some of the Swedish commanders were startling. The Imperialists, after Leipsic, asked, pertinently, "how it was possible to conquer an adversary who had 'Death' and the 'Devil' in his ranks," and had "the Devil and the Devil's mother"—titles of two heavy field-pieces—among his artillery. In previous articles the writer has alluded to the signification of Torstenson's name,—the lion-hearted son of the tower or rock of Thor, or the Thunder-god. Stalhanske, the family name of a noted general, means steel-glove or gauntlet. Haubald signifies "cut down quickly," equivalent to "no quarter." This list might be greatly augmented.

guard attached to the person of a sovereign or general of high rank) 400."

It appears that the Polish horsemen made a desperate charge upon the Swedish infantry and were repulsed, and then "a vehement (counter) charge of the Swedish cavalry decided the victory." Sapieha was totally defeated, left sixteen hundred dead on the field, lost a number of prisoners,—among these one of his generals,—all his artillery and baggage, and a great number of standards. The distinguished British military historian and critic, Sir Edward Cust, attributes this success to the arming, disposition, and tactics of his foot-soldiers by Gustavus. These, however, were not inferior to similar improvements of the same kind among his cavalry. As the latter were mounted on hardy but undersized horses, and those of his enemy, especially the Imperialists, on very large, heavy horses, whose very weight was likely to ride down inferior animals however brave their riders, he gave two impressive counsels to his own horsemen. First, "never to give fire with their pistols till they could see their own images in the pupils of their enemy's eye"; second, to cut "with an oblique, sliding motion" at the necks and heads, especially the necks, of the enemy's cavalry horses, so as to frighten and disorder them (the very practice said to have been introduced subsequently into the discipline of the Prussian cavalry). The latter order was in the same spirit as that of Cæsar's, who, knowing that Pompey's knights were chiefly men of rank and position, who regarded disfigurement as worse than death, directed his veteran cavalry to aim particularly at their faces (*"fieri faciem milites"*). The great secret, however, of all the great Swedish king's successes was his formation of all the three arms into "one complicated but unperplexed machine," consisting of many independent fractions, all constituting one grand unit, "contributing to the perfect establishment of the *Whole-together;"* the *"Man-Legion"* (Michelet's expression) of Turenne.

General Lamarque styles the conflicts of Marshal Saxe "Battles of Posts" ("Positions" seems a better expression); such, as a rule, as were Washington's and Wellington's; those of Condé (as of Charles XII.), "Battles of Shock"; of Turenne and of Frederic, "Battles of Manœuvres"; and those of Napoleon, "Strategic Battles." Gustavus Adolphus united the systems of Saxe, Condé, and Frederic (d'Aldeguier's "Des Principes . . . de la Cavalrie," Page 60, Text and Note 1). "Human intelligence unceasingly occupied with questions relative to war, went on creating new methods or perfecting ancient ones. The Art of War, cleared from the darkness which enveloped it, made continual progress under the impulse of such eminent men as

Maurice of Nassau, Gustavus Adolphus, Montluc, Coligni, Henry IV., and Rohan. The genius of these captains, enlightened by the study of antiquity, excited by ambition, rivalry, or fanaticism, continually resurrected, discovered, or created the grandest combinations of the science of battle, and laid the foundations of modern tactics. Thenceforward leaders showed themselves rather as captains than soldiers; great generals commanding little armies achieved the greatest results; they knew how to derive advantages from the smallest circumstances, to deliver battle on all sorts of ground, and to unite *force* to *mobility*. 'Our battalions (to use the expression of Puysegur) after the sixteenth century were no longer to be as formerly, simply SOLID corps, but were capable of being considered equally as DIVISIBLE and FLEXIBLE. The whole Science of War is summed up in these two words.' " ("L'Armée Française," i. 370).

Gustavus comprehended this and first applied it in practice.

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The Battle of Leipsic 1st, or Breitenfeld 1st, has excited more admiration, comment, and criticism, yes, and hypothetical consideration, than any other which has ever been fought; whereas the report of Gustavus is so clear that it is almost impossible to better it, except to describe the relative positions of the army and localities to which he does not refer. In fact almost all the reports of the most prominent generals during the Thirty Years' War are remarkably truthful. There are exceptions, but strictly in accordance with the good or bad characters of the writers.

When two armies of veterans, recruited among bold and warlike nations, meet in conflict on open ground, the result must be credited to the successful general unless Providence intervenes directly, which interference some men style accident, chance, fortune, or luck. The ancients attributed it to Fate, to whom Jupiter himself was compelled to bow. There is another great element in success—unanimity; but this, again, is due to the supreme chief, especially where he is at once General and Autocrat, King by the Grace of God, and Sovereign Despot by the force of Discipline. Many readers will remember the remark of Frederic the Great to Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, at one of their interviews and mutual military displays in 1769 and 1770, that the most remarkable fact connected with the whole spectacle was the perfect subordination to their will among so many tens of thousands, who comprised thousands again (compulsory recruits, crimped or kidnapped) who would like to kill either of them, and would do so were it not for the infernal stringency of the iron discipline which had

inextricably enmeshed the unfortunates and kept them in a condition of hopeless subjection and individual impotence. Gustavus had an additional strength,—the boundless love of his people and the devotion of his troops; he possessed the affection, respect, and confidence of all.

> "What render'd this Gustavus
> Resistless and unconquered upon earth?"

asks Wallenstein in Schiller's "Piccolomini," considered one of the most truthful exhibits of the times ever published, taking together his three Historical Dramas, "Wallenstein's Camp," "The Piccolomini," and "The Death of Wallenstein." He answers his own question,—

> "This—that he was the monarch in his army.
> A monarch, one who is indeed a monarch,
> Was never yet subdued but by his equal."

That is, one who was King and Generalissimo in one.

There were two battles of Leipsic during the Thirty Years' War fought between the Swedes and the Imperialists. In the second, 23d October, 1642, Torstenson, the Swede, occupied almost the very same ground on which Tilly drew up his *"Armada,"* on Wednesday, the 7th of September, 1631. The approach to the battle-field proper was by a narrow isthmus of firm ground, leading through a swamp drained by the Loberbach. It is difficult at this day, when everything is so much changed, to understand the danger and defensibleness of this Pass of (Schelkau?) Scholka.

That its unmolested passage was deemed of such importance proves that it was not only difficult, but perilous. Perhaps it was the only isthmus between the marshes which afforded the means of transit for the material and the cavalry. The adjoining morasses, like those at Monmouth, where Clinton halted the night after the conflict, may have been impassable, even to infantry, in wet weather. It is well known that Torstenson permitted the Archduke Leopold to traverse this defile without opposition, because he was determined to allow the Imperialists no chance of escape if they were defeated. He did defeat them, and their rout almost amounted to ruin. Tilly may have been actuated by the same motive, although he did not despise his opponent. He had tasted of his quality at Werben, 17th-26th—particularly 25th—May, 1631, and had reason to conclude that the task before him was the hardest which had been set for him in his whole course of over thirty years of military training, in which he had never been beaten, but had been victorious over every antagonist in thirty-one (Bismark says thirty-six) pitched battles and lesser engagements.

Pappenheim, next in command, was very anxious to attack the Swedes as they defiled through or across the Pass of Scholka. Tilly would not listen to this, and expressly forbade it. Some narratives describe such an aggressive by Pappenheim with two thousand cavalry, which was so rudely repulsed that Tilly had to hurry forward reinforcements to bring him off. Still, as Gustavus in his report and Von Kausler in his criticism are silent as to this, it is likely it was confounded with the subsequent flank attack in greater force, which ended, after hard fighting, in the rout of Pappenheim, which terminated in his disappearance from the theatre of action. Consequently, Gustavus emerged on to the solid plain, and was not long in forming his line of battle. General von Kausler attributes five (Harte, ii. 26, nine) principal faults to Tilly, of which the first was his failure to attack Gustavus whilst defiling through the "pass."

After all the discussions as to the numbers opposed, it is pretty well settled that Tilly had at least twenty-one thousand veteran infantry and eleven thousand excellent cavalry, of which thirteen regiments were heavy and five (Isolani's Croats, or Crabats) light, and thirty-six pieces of artillery of large and small calibres. He drew these up in a single line, his infantry constituting the centre, Pappenheim's six regiments of heavy cavalry the left, and Furstenburg's seven the right. This disposition and the total absence of a second line, or any force in reserve, constitutes the second charge emphasized by the Wurtemberg adjutant-general, military historian, and critic. The third was the ill-judged selection of a fixed position not easily susceptible of alteration for his artillery (16- and 24-pounders), on elevations *to the rear* of the Imperialist line of battle. In consequence of this Tilly's guns not only embarrassed, but were actually damaging to, the attacks which he allowed or ordered.

The village of Breitenfeld, which gives its name to the different conflicts on the plain below, to the south, lay in the rear of Tilly's left centre.

Gustavus brought into the field thirteen thousand Swedish infantry and nine thousand cavalry, together with twenty-two thousand, with one hundred cannon, distributed in fourteen batteries, besides the light regimental guns served each by one or two constables, the whole under Colonel Torstenson (afterwards Grand Master of the Swedish Artillery, and from 1641 to 1645 Generalissimo). The Saxons who were to support him—and afforded as little real assistance as the Spaniards did to Wellington in the Peninsula—numbered eleven thousand foot and four thousand horse, with (numbers nowhere given) guns. So little dependence did the Swedish hero put in the Electoral

troops that he drew up his own army entirely independently, so that the Saxons assumed a totally different formation, and were separated from his left by a broad country drain, or *Flussgraben,* in which, although the water was shallow, there was a deep deposit of soft mud, thus forming an excellent wet ditch for the Swedish left in case the Saxons did not stand their ground. These latter were opposed to Tilly's right, consisting, as stated, of seven regiments of cavalry and five *Tercias* of infantry, besides the Croats.

It is well known that the new tactical organization introduced by Gustavus was mobility itself in comparison to the formations adhered to by the Germans. The Swedish "Leipsic brigade" corresponds more closely to the modern brigade than any previous disposition of troops. It was divided into two demi-brigades,—a term revived by the first French Republic,—or into four battalions, so that this Leipsic brigade comprised about two thousand five hundred men.

Gustavus disposed his Swedes in three lines. He personally commanded the right of the main line of battle, Teuffel the centre, and Horn the left. Either wing of the line was composed of cavalry, sandwiched with detachments of "commanded (*i. e.,* selected) musketeers," or sharp-shooters. The second line, under Baner, was in the rear of the right centre. The third line, like the first, was divided into centre, right, and left; the former was infantry, under Hepburn, a noted Scottish officer, and the two latter were cavalry, respectively under Baudissen and Hall.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, when battles were regulated with almost the punctilio of duels, great stress was laid on gaining a position where the sun was on the soldiers' backs and the wind was in the faces of the enemy. Tilly was fortunate in securing both of these advantages, which, on this occasion, were decidedly so, since a strong breeze, blowing over a parched, loose, plowed soil, carried with it such volumes of dust that, mingled with the powder-smoke, it almost blinded the Swedes.

Bear this in mind.

A heavy cannonade saluted Gustavus while making his dispositions. In this the Imperialists at first had every advantage, but as soon as Torstenson got his guns into battery the tables were turned, and they fired three shots to the enemy's one. The artillery orchestra opened with a *coup d'archet* on the side of the Imperialists about the same hour as at Waterloo, 11 A. M., although some say 12 M., and the cannonade lasted until 2 P. M. Tormented at once with the intolerable stinging dust, as well as by the oblique fire from Tilly's main battery, whose missiles tore obliquely through all three lines of his right-centres

and right wings, Gustavus, to neutralize or overcome these evils, brought his soldiers' right shoulders forward to accomplish a change of front or position. This seems to have left a gap between the lines, into which Pappenheim threw himself with the whole ardor of his character and the entire cavalry of Tilly's left. To meet this desperate shock Baner changed front, *en potence,* at right angles to the first line, just as at Mollwitz the three Prussian grenadier battalions, crowed out of the front line, formed a flank which repulsed the Austrian cavalry completely victorious over those of Frederic. Pappenheim, after admitted seven-fold returns to the charge, was repulsed by the fire of the musketeers and counter-attacks of the brave Finnish horsemen. To extricate Pappenheim, the Duke of Holstein, who commanded Tilly's left infantry brigade, pushed too boldly forward. In this generous attempt he lost his life, and his command was literally destroyed. Next in order Tilly himself, with his veteran infantry centre, attacked the centre and left of the Swedes, and was driven off. His right wing, the cavalry under Furstenburg, then fell upon the Saxons, formed, as stated, independently to the left of the Swedes. These had been previously simply skirmishing with the Croats. This new assault routed them. With the exception of a few detachments, they disappeared from the field, and absolutely helped the Croats—always, and even down to very recent times, addicted to plunder—to rob the baggage of their own sovereign, as well as that of his ally.

Now occurred Tilly's greatest blunder,—his fourth, according to Von Kausler,—the loss of so much precious time that he not only afforded a breathing-spell to Horn, commanding the Swedish left, but afforded him the opportunity to form *en potence* on this side, just as Baner had done in the opposite quarter, behind the large *Flussgraben,* or drain, deep with mire. Meanwhile Horn was reinforced by several regiments brought over by Gustavus himself. All this time a large portion of Furstenburg's cavalry, of Tilly's right wing, were exhausting themselves in pursuing the flying Saxons.

Horn had fully established himself partly at right angles to his original position, when Tilly, having formed his infantry into four enormous tercias, or divisions, massed without intervals, assailed the Swedish left. This assault seems to have enveloped the Swedish left so that one portion of it fired to the front, the second to the flank, and the third obliquely to the left rear. Hall, who commanded the Swedish left rear, fell in repelling the attack, and Callenbach's regiment, in the opposite direction, was annihilated. The situation for a brief space—some say for fully two hours—looked dubious, when Hepburn brought up the reserves, and after a terrifice struggle the Imperialists were

beaten off, especially, it is said, by the platoon-firing of the Swedish infantry, first practiced on this field. This unexpected and novel rapidity and simultaneity of fire at short range astonished the Imperialists at the same time that it mowed them down. Gustavus had impressed upon his musketeers the caution not to fire until the enemy were in such close proximity that their bullets would penetrate armor. Such self-possession on the part of an infantry line has often decided a battle; and it is well known that on the Plains of Abraham a single volley of the British infantry within thirty yards settled the fate of the French dominion in America, and placed its key—Quebec—in the possession of the British crown.

After the Imperial cavalry had been disposed of on both wings Tilly, himself wounded and contused, abandoned the field of battle amidst the reiterated counter-attacks of the Swedes, who had meanwhile captured his own heavy batteries and turned them upon his worsted and disordered troops. Five (four?) regiments of veteran Walloon infantry, picked men, covered by their spontaneous maneuvering the withdrawal and flight of their comrades until they found refuge in a wood to their rear, when night, prematurely darkened by the volumes of dust and powder-smoke, put an end to the fighting.

In all this nothing has been said of the fearful effects of the admirably-worked Swedish artillery, because general historians have not given it mention or attention. The Swedes, however, have not forgotten its services, nor the influence of its commander, Torstenson, who may be claimed as the developer, if not the organizer, of this arm. His light leather regimental guns were rapidly brought up at each crisis with a celerity hitherto unknown, and opening upon the dense masses of the Imperialists with discharges of canister-shot, delivered with more rapidity than the infantry volleys, did tremendous havoc, and must have greatly demoralized even veterans hitherto unaccustomed to such rough handling.

Tilly lost half of his army and all his artillery, his camp and camp equipage, spoils or plunder, and trains in this battle. He left eight or ten thousand killed and wounded on the field, and lost besides three thousand prisoners. The Protestant Saxon peasantry, who in many instances had suffered all but death, fell upon the bigoted and persecuting fugitives and slew them without mercy. It is claimed that next morning not more than fifteen hundred out of the original force of thirty-three thousand remained with their colors. Not but that many did subsequently reassemble, but for the present this army, which had kept Germany in awe for so many years and won such a series of victories, was utterly dissolved. Von Kausler in summing up the

results of Breitenfeld emphasizes "the total want of unanimity (either of purpose or action) among Tilly's generals in the dispositions (carrying out of the attacks), whilst the Swedish generals acted at every point with the most perfect harmony as to themselves and their king and commander."

The same jealousies which exercised such a fatal influence upon Napoleon's affairs in Spain and more than once threatened evil results, even when he was present; which were not wanting in our own armies during the recent great war; characterized the action of the principal Bavarian and Austrian commanders throughout the whole Thirty Years' War, with the exception of a short period when the Roman Catholic League took the initiative. This discord cleared the way for the advance of Gustavus; as just shown, the overwhelming results of Leipsic were due to it. At the second—Torstenson's—Leipsic it again manifested itself, but never so pointedly as at Janikau. On the other hand, it once came very near being fatal to the Swedes. Nordlingen was undoubtedly lost in consequence, and it is more than probable that if Torstenson had not risen from his bed of pain in obedience to the dying bequest of his army to join him by Baner, that army so bequeathed to him as the only one capable of handling it would have dissolved under the rivalry and jealousies of the subordinates of the dead hero. Torstenson, as soon as he arrived, gathered together the parting fibres with an iron hand gloved with velvet, and from that time forward until he resigned there was never the slightest jar in the working of the war-machinery.

Gustavus Adolphus! This name once filled the mouths of Europe with enthusiastic admiration, love, reverence, and hope. His memorial might be presented in a series of pictures, each blending the heroic and the lovable, extracted from dry histories, ringing poems, attractive romances, honest eulogies, pious narratives, in fact, every different kind of composition to which genius and appreciation lend charms, in the attempt to do justice to a subject which engrosses all the better feelings of intelligent humanity. He was the cynosure of every eye, the thought of every heart, the idol of every people pining and suffering for religious freedom, the man of the epoch, the fearless soldier, the worshipped sovereign, the adored husband, the man of the century, and the hero of the fellest war that ever desolated, for nearly one-third of a century, the richest and most cultivated districts of Europe, from the Oder, dreaming through its dreary plains of sand, to the Rhine, rushing between its castellated rocks; from the Danube, flowing amid scenes unsurpassed in loveliness, to the brackish Baltic, washing its barren coast where Pytheas, about twenty-two hundred years ago,

first found the mysterious amber, and from the foggy regions—into which he was the first navigator known to have penetrated—brought it back to the sunny shores of the "Gulf of the Lion" to fill its Greek colonists with astonishment and inspire them with a cupidity which lured the seamen of the Mediterranean to seek tin and pearls in Britain and a hundred other natural objects of traffic, which never ceased to awaken the wonder of the Southerners until the Northmen, led by their Berserker Vikinger, excited still greater amazement by their visits, ravages, and conquests, in their fleets of "Keels."

To apply the words of Lamartine, in regard to a great but far lesser national representative, Gustavus "was a public man in all the greatness of the phrase,—the soul of a nation personified in an individual,—the inspiration of a people in the heart of a patrician (of a king). His oratory was something as grand as his action. It was the heroic in language. The echoes of it (G. A.) were heard, were felt all over the continent" (of Europe), and even on the shores of this new world (along the Delaware), and the strokes of his sword made kings and emperors tremble, and lifted the hearts of nations from the darkness of despair into the full light of renewed confidence and life, infusing the strength of that hope which the inspired penman characterized "as an anchor of the soul."

If ever there was a man in this universal world—to use a vulgar expression, equivalent to President Taylor's superfluity in one of his messages,—"the whole of the world and the rest of mankind," which nevertheless is forcible in its idea of the totality of humanity—who was thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Christianity, it was Gustavus Adolphus. He realized in sober reason the tradition of Frederic Barbarossa, of whom Menzel paints such a magnificent word-picture, when, amid the complex phases of the Battle of Iconium, A. D. 1190, the news was brought to him that his son was slain. The young prince, with a portion of his army, had preceded his father in the attack upon the infidel hosts, and a messenger came speeding back to the old, red-bearded Kaiser with the intelligence that his son had fallen. The aged head of the bereaved father sunk upon his breast-plate, and huge hot tears ran down the chasms of his cheeks upon his grizzled beard, while his chieftains around sobbed and wept in sympathy with the grief of their imperial leader. All at once, lifting his teeming eyes to heaven and simultaneously his ponderous sword, he cried out, "On! on! if my son be dead, Christ still lives! Christ conquers!" His son was not dead, and he rescued him. (V. Kausler's "Worterbuch der Schlachten," iv. 352-355).

The spirit of Gustavus was the spirit of Paul,—"All for Christ."

His first act on landing upon the soil of Germany was to kneel in prayer. He was wont to say that a man who had said his prayers in the morning had accomplished half his day's work. His watch-word at Leipsic, and again at Lutzen, was Immanuel,—"Christ," or "God with us." At Naumburg, when the people thronged him, kissing his garments, his boots, the very equipments of his horse, adoring him as if he were a god, he reasoned as Paul at Lystra, that such devotion, unfitting to a mortal, would be punished by his being taken away. And he went into his final fight at Lutzen with the same subjection of his will to God, and died with it on his lips. If ever there was a Christian soldier in the fullest and grandest sense of the word, it was this Gustavus, "the 'foremost man' of all this modern world."

Tilly, his veteran opponent, was a cold-blooded instrument; and Pappenheim, a fearless, fiery bigot. Wallenstein was a grand intellectual skeptic, far ahead of his time in independence of judgment; but Gustavus was truly as much the servant of God as the typical David, or the peoples' and prophets' favorite, Josiah, or "Christian" in Bunyan's incomparable "Pilgrim's Progress."

> "The Swede is fighting for his good old cause,
> With his good sword and conscience,"

declares Gustave Wrangel, general of the Sudermanian Blues; and to Oxenstiern's opinion,—

> "It might yet be an easier thing from nothing
> To call forth sixty thousand men of battle,
> Than to persuade one-sixtieth part of them
> * * * * * *
> To break their oaths,"

the beliefless Wallenstein replies:

> "And he thinks *so?* He judges like a Swede,
> And like a Protestant. You Lutherans
> Fight for your Bible. You are interested
> About the cause; and with your *hearts* you follow
> Your banners. Among *you,* whoe'er deserts
> To the enemy, hath broken covenant
> With two Lords at one time."

Listen to what the hero-singer says of Gustavus,—the hero-singer, for there are minstrels who do not play on musical instruments, or sing to them, but who play on the sounding strings of many thoughts, the harp of truth, and utter ideas that are more full of melody than all the poets together, save Dante, Shakespeare, Byron, and Schiller. Listen to Carlyle:

"But when Gustavus landed, and flung out upon the winds such a banner as that of his,—truly it was required of a Protestant Governor of men to be able to read said banner in a certain degree. A Governor not too IMperfect would have recognized this Gustavus, what his purposes and likelihoods were; the feeling would have been checked by due circumspectness: 'Up, my men, let us follow this man; let us live and die in the Cause this man goes for! Live otherwise with honor, or die otherwise with honor, we cannot, in the pass things have come to!' "

And we Americans had such a man, George H. Thomas! and they killed him; not with a bullet, or a knife, or—no, not with any material weapon, but the deadliest of all,—injustice.

* * * * * * * *

Schiller makes this same Wrangel avouch,—

"it never was
For Judas' pay, for chinking gold and silver,
That we did leave our King by the GREAT STONE,"—

the only monument which the great Gustavus had in the land he saved for nearly two hundred years; and this boulder—the Swede's Stone—is perhaps Germany's truest *Ehrenbreitstein,*—"broad stone of honor."

Gustavus did not fall exactly where the Swede's Stone rested. He expired about forty paces distant, on a ridge between two furrows, where once an acacia-tree stood. That the stone was placed as a memorial was not due to any public effort. A Smaland trooper, who had been wounded beside the king, was brought to Meuchen, whither the royal corpse had been conveyed. When his wounds were healed he enlisted the willing services of thirteen peasants of the hamlet, and they selected the boulder. Amid "sighs and wailings" they rolled it on until their efforts to move it farther proved unavailing. There, embedded, it remains the token of a "common soldier's" fidelity, the Saxon peasantry's gratitude, and until recently the sole monument of the man without whom, under God, Paul's and Zwingli's and Luther's work might yet be in vain,—the spiritual enfranchisement of the great and world-influencing Saxo-Teutonic race.

To Gustavus was applicable, even more than to Marco Bozzaris, the magnificent lines (in regard to the death of a Champion of Liberty in the arms of Victory) of Halleck's Lyric, by many considered among the finest ever written:

"But to the hero, when his sword
  Has won the battle for the free,
Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word;
And in its hollow tones are heard
  The thanks of millions yet to be.
Come, when his task of fame is wrought—
Come, with her laurel leaf, blood-bought—
  Come in the crowning hour—and then
Thy sunken eye's unearthly light
To him is welcome as the sight
  Of sky and stars to prisoned men;
Thy grasp is welcome as the hand
Of brother in a foreign land;
Thy summons welcome as the cry
That told the Indian isles were nigh
  To the world-seeking Genoese,
When the land-wind, from woods of palm,
And orange-groves, and fields of balm,
  Blew o'er the Haytian seas."

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER,
Brev. Major-General, S. N. Y.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

AN analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the most important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. Russia: The General Staff.—*Unit Serv. Mag.*, November.
2. The Japanese Army.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, October 31.
3. The South African Campaign.—*Same*, October 24.
4. The Promotion and Examination of Army Officers.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, November.
5. The Army Staff Corps.—*Army and Navy Reg.*, November 28.
6. Organization of the Army General Staff.—*Same*, December 12.
7. Report of the Chief of Artillery.—*Same*, November 28.

The *first* article is a revision of a previous one in the same publication. In April last the Russian General Staff was reorganized, necessitating a few alterations in the above-mentioned previous account of it.

We call attention to the following general remarks as of interest to us:

"The Chief of the General Staff is the immediate assistant of the Minister of War, and is directly under him. He is recommended by the Minister, and appointed by Imperial decree and Senatorial Ukâz. He can be relieved of his functions in the same manner *only*. During the War Minister's absence he temporarily fills his place, unless the Emperor details another officer or official for the post. He has the right to inspect all troops, staffs, educational institutions, hospitals, prisons. *He can give leave or extension of leave to all officers in St. Petersburg awaiting the leave or recommendation of their commanding officers.* The General Staff and the Topographical Staff are under his direction, as are also the Field Couriers or Messengers. He controls the promotion of all staff officers, who are recommended by the chiefs of military districts; determines the employment of those officers, and chooses the chief officers of each division of the General Staff. He also appoints the assistants of the chief staff officers of military districts, the quartermaster generals of the

same, the directors of military communications, chiefs of the army corps staff, chiefs of fortresses, as well as all general officers employed on the staffs of military districts, the latter being recommended by the G. O. C. military districts. He also directs the employment of all the officers on the General Staff, the Corps of Topographers, and Field Service Messengers.

"A careful perusal of the above paragraph (a translation of the Imperial Ukâz), will show how thoroughly the system of decentralization is understood in Russia. Firstly, the Chief of the Staff commands the whole appointment of its *personnel,* thus removing this weighty care from the shoulders of the War Minister, who has plenty else to do. Secondly, all the military district staff appointments, although controlled by him, are filled by officers recommended by the G. O. C. or chiefs of those same military districts; naturally better judges of the claims of local men than the Chief of the Staff, who almost always promotes or appoints their nominees. Thirdly, all the officers on the General Staff are employed or transferred from one place to another, as he judges best in the interests of the Service.

"What must necessarily strike the English reader in considering the Russian system is the great latitude allowed to Chiefs of Directions, Divisions and Sections, both as to correspondence and appointment of subordinates. * * *

"We have much to learn from the Russians in this respect. It will be also remarked that the duties of military intelligence and mobilization are in Russia dealt with by three different divisions in the direction of the Second Quarter-Master General, the calling up reserves and militia being entrusted to another of his divisions which controls the 26 territorial divisions (*brigadni raion*), again subdivided into 563 sub-offices, whose actual work consists in calling up the reservists, despatching recruits, etc. (see article III., U. S. M., August, 1903). I cannot help thinking that the study of the Russian system and its great principles (details, of course, must needs differ in all countries), would be attended with great advantage to our officers."

The *second* article is a Russian opinion on the Japanese Army, and is interesting in view of the possibility of a conflict between these two nations.

The *third* article is a continuation of the Report of the Committee investigating the South African War.

The *fourth* also has a few points of general interest, which we quote here, especially those relating to promotion by selection, a subject now before the authorities:

"The Army Order of 15th October, 1903, on the subject of Confidential Reports, is of immense importance to the Army in general; and more especially, it is to be hoped, to the junior regimental officers.

"This order is to the effect that, in future, officers will be recommended in their annual confidential reports, either for accelerated promotion, for promotion in the ordinary course, or for their promotion to be delayed for further report.

"There is an order, too, existent in India, that if in his examination for promotion, an officer should succeed in becoming "distinguished" —that is, in making 75 per cent. of the total number of marks for all subjects, counted in the aggregate, that this fact would be especially taken into consideration in selecting officers for Staff appointments.

"I think most officers in India were of opinion that this order has, up till recent times at all events, been more observed in the breach than otherwise. * * *

"The Navy is in strong contrast to the Army in this respect; for young officers have a great incentive to work in the Navy, owing to the fact that, if at certain examinations they obtain five first-class certificates, they thereby are specially advanced to the lieutenants' list.

"The great thing is that in future, as far as one can judge, endeavors will be made to promote officers by merit rather than by seniority, or let us say by merit tempered by seniority.

"If once this is thoroughly carried out, the Army officer will compare favorably in knowledge and zeal with any other profession. He has always had many estimable qualities, but it has been the exception to find in the junior ranks officers who really studied their profession in the wider sense.

"If inducements to do so are offered, and if promotion is very largely dependent on the success achieved by officers in their studies, the recent Army Orders will inaugurate a new era; and officers who have joined the Army comparatively late in life need no longer see their way to promotion hopelessly barred. Much, however, will depend on the way in which commanding officers frame their reports; for, important as it is to have the rising generation of officers make a real study of their profession, no book knowledge will ever atone for the want of courage (in which I include the readiness to assume responsibility), a clear head, and a capacity for receiving and imparting to the men practical instruction, and the faculty of command, that is the faculty of compelling cheerful obedience."

The *fifth* and *sixth* papers relate to our new General Staff, the former an able editorial on the Report of the Chief of the General

Staff, the latter the order definitely organizing the General Staff into bureaus and definitely assigning its proper work to each.

The *seventh* paper is the Annual Report of the Chief of Artillery, and here we desire to give a few brief quotations, although the entire report demands careful study and consideration from the authorities; the demands made are extremely modest, and should therefore be met in a spirit to correspond.

The point of greatest importance, perhaps, is the shortage of artillery officers, and the remedies therefor:

"GENERAL SHORTAGE OF OFFICERS.

"Aside from the absence of experienced officers, much embarrassment has been caused by the shortage of officers of all grades. The following table shows the number absent from their commands:

Lieutenant colonels	1
Majors	5
Captains	45
First lieutenants	22
Second lieutenants	43
Vacancies	19
Total	135

"The secretary of war has relieved this situation as it existed a year ago and before, by directing that officers from the line of the Army detailed for duty at the Military Academy, on recruiting service, and college duty, be furnished from the three arms proportionately to the number of officers in each arm. This has resulted in a considerable reduction of artillery officers so detailed.

"A FURTHER REMEDY FOR SHORTAGE OF OFFICERS.

"The position of instructor at the U. S. Military Academy, and at the service schools will always require the detachment of a fixed number. It is therefore recommended that Congress be asked to provide for an academic staff, to include all officers of the line detailed on duty as instructors at the U. S. Military Academy, or at the service schools. A detail in the academic staff should be for four years, and the place of an officer so detailed should be filled in a manner similar to the method which now obtains in the staff corps as provided in the act of February 2, 1901. By this means the line of the Army would not be compelled to bear the burden of the details at the Military Academy

and the service schools. Such a measure, if passed, would increase the Army about 125 officers of all grades, and its salutary effect would be immediately felt."

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. Army War College.—*Army and Navy Reg.*, November 28.
2. General Bliss on Military Education.—*Same.*
3. The German Maneuvers of 1903.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, October 31.
4. The British Fleet Maneuvers of 1903.—*Mar. Rund.*, November.
5. The Fleet Maneuvers of the United States in August.—*Same.*
6. The Instructional Use of Maneuvers.—*Unit. Serv Mag.*, November.
7. Reflections on the Maneuvers.—*Same.*
8. The Artillery at the Maneuvers.—*Same.*

The first two articles relate to the Report of General Bliss on the Army War College, the first being the report itself, the second an excellent editorial on it. Before proceeding to the report proper, we extract a few words from the editorial:

"One of the ablest reports submitted this year is that which comes as the annual report of the president of the Army War College, the author of which is General Tasker H. Bliss, who is destined, very properly, for a place on the general staff. His report derives more than ordinary importance from the fact that it gives the first intimation of an official character of the scope and purpose of the institution of which General Bliss is the head, and deals also in a general way with the subject of military education.

"It is a document, the importance of which cannot be overstated and the subject of personal interest to every officer of the Army, is discussed in a scholarly way. It is the ablest presentation which has been made of military education in this country, and the report is destined to serve as a guide in the development of the system of training officers for their professional work."

Considering, now, the report itself, we find it very difficult to extract any portion which will give the gist of the subject, because the entire report is a philosophic essay, with all parts logically connected, consequently, it is necessary to read it in its entirety in order to obtain the full effect of the reasoning. There are a few points, however, to which we desire to call special attention, and the portions containing them we quote here, but the imperfection of the quotation (as explained above) must be borne in mind:

After reviewing the systems of military education in foreign armies, General Bliss takes up that of our own army. In the course of this review he makes the following pertinent remarks that require special emphasis:

"The Secretary of War should not have to wait until an officer's formal examination to know that he is proficient. This examination should be only the pro-forma stamp which the law requires upon the officer's commission to make it valid. But the War Department should know day by day whether the officer is proficient up to date, so that if he is not the proper steps can be taken to 'brace-up' either the officer of his post school according as the one or the other is responsible for the deficiency. This can be done by a system of constant supervision and severe inspection under the direction of the general staff."

And after completing the general outline of our existing system, he proceeds thus:

"Leaving out of consideration for the moment the Military Academy, the training at which is antecedent to a commission, and the war college, the foregoing is an outline of our system of military education. It seems evident that it exhausts the useful possibilities of scholastic professional training. It is impossible to devise a curriculum which shall not involve a repetition of what is taught in one or another or in all of the above schools. We may, it is true, have more mathematics, more problems in engineering, more illustrations of the principles of grand tactics and strategy, but for this we need not create another expensive institution. This brings us face to face with the question: 'What is the object and true line of work of the army war college?'

"The first definite idea in respect to this institution is found in the report of the Secretary of War for the year 1899. In discussing the subject of possible improvements in army organization that report laid down two propositions as being fundamental in the consideration of the subject, the first of which was 'that the real object of having an army is to provide for war.' The Secretary admitted that this statement 'seemed like a truism,' and adds that 'it will probably be received everywhere without conscious denial.' But he goes on to show that 'the precise contrary is really the theory upon which the entire treatment of our army proceeded for thirty-three years between the civil war and the war with Spain;' that 'present utility was really the controlling consideration, and the possibility of war seemed at all times so vague and unreal that it had no formative power in shaping legislation regarding the army.' He then pointed out several important things which are necessarily involved in this fundamental

truism and which are necessary for the proper preparation of an army for war. The first of these was the 'systematic study, by responsible officers, of plans for action under all contingencies of possible conflict, and with this, study of the larger problems of military science and the most complete information of the state of the art, study of the constant improvements in movements and methods of warfare, and of the adaptability of improvements and inventions for the purpose of carrying out the plans devised, etc.' He showed that this work could not be done 'by the separate study and reflection of single officers,' but that it required 'the contribution of different minds, the correction of discusion, the long continued, laborious, and systematic application of a considerable number of minds of a high order, and with a recognized status giving authority to their conclusions,' all of which he stated to be 'needed to produce the desired result.'

"To accomplish this he was led to the conclusion that an army war college should be established. He suggested that it should be composed of the heads of the staff departments of the War Department, together with a number of other officers of high rank of the army who should be detailed for limited periods; and that 'it should be the duty of this body of officers to direct the instruction and intellectual exercise of the army, to acquire the information, devise the plans, and study the subjects above indicated, and to advise the commander-in-chief upon all questions of plans, armament, transportation, mobilization, and military preparation and movement.' "

General Bliss then discusses the advisability of transferring the Information Division (at first attached to the war college) to another bureau, and when it is considered that in the recent (April, 1903) reorganization of the Russian general staff, this subject comes under *four* different bureaus, and remembering also the immense amount of work necessarily connected with such a division, his suggestion must be regarded as a very wise one.

The other articles under this general head require no special comment. Most of them are of interest to the special arms or services concerned, but several are also of more general interest.

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. The Capture of the Taku Forts.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, October.

2. Strategy and Tactics in Mountain Ranges.—*Same.*

3. The North Atlantic Powers.—*Mar. Rund.*, October.

4. The British Line of Communications Across Canada to the Pacific and to India.—*Same.*

5. The International Regulation of Wireless Telegraphy.—*Same.*

6. The Military Importance of Navigable Ways.—*Int. Rev., Suppl.*, 54

7. The Offensive in the Defence of Fortified Places.—*Same.*

8. The Rôle of Cavalry.—*Same.*

9. Notes on Cavalry.—*Jour. Mil. Serv. Inst.*, November-December.

10. The Transportation of Troops by Rail.—*Same.*

11. The Island of Samar and the Capture of Lukban.—*Same.*

12. Military Graphics.—*Same.*

13. Operations of the Third Cavalry, 1898-1902.—*Jour. Cav. Asso.*, October.

14. How I Went to the Philippines and What I Saw.—*Same.*

15. Remarks on the Last Days of the Insurrection in Southern Luzon.—*Same.*

16. The Taking of Havana in 1762.—*Same.*

17. Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians.—*Same.*

18. Flanking Infantry Fire.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.

19. The Tactical Use of Machine Guns.—*Same.*

20. Some Notes on Outpost Duty in South Africa.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, October.

21. Tactical Problem.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, October 24, 31.

22. Naval Raids and Home Defence.—*Unit Serv. Mag.*, November.

23. The Evolution of Modern Strategy (Maude).—*Same.*

24. The Study of Military History.—*Same.*

The *first* of these is a very interesting account by the Russian Admiral, who, as senior officer on the spot, and President of the Council of Admirals, had a better opportunity than any one else of obtaining information from all sources. We quote merely the results of the action:

"DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE FORTS TO THE GUNBOATS.

"German. Iltis.—A shell struck the hull forward, and 15 shells fell in the funnels and on the superstructure (especially on the bridge); two mitrailleuses and five 37-mm. Hotchkiss were silenced.

"British. Algerine.—The boats and ventilators were struck in several places. Whiting.—A 5-in. shell traversed the hull, entered the stokehold, destroyed some pipes, and put a boiler out of action.

"French. Lion.—A 15-cm. shell struck the hull in a line with the bridge, passed about 1½ feet above the boiler, and burst in the sail-

room, causing a fire which was, however, rapidly extinguished; splinters of shells were also found in the after part of the hull, and the masts received some damage.

"Russian. Bobr.—After the fourth round of the 9-inch gun it was put out of action by a Chinese shell. Koreetz.—Six shells traversed the hull; one of them caused a fire in the officers' mess, which was rapidly extinguished. Guiliak.—A shell of 75 mm. traversed the mast a little above the military top. A 6-inch shell traversed the hull, exploded, and burst the two principal steam collectors (the repairs were made during the action). Another shell traversed the hull about 1½ feet below the water line, and exploded 100 cartridges in the 75-mm. magazine.

"By chance, a shell struck the Monocacy at Tong-ku without doing her much damage, but allowed Rear-Admiral Kempff to take an active part in the events, while at the same time conforming to the instructions of his Government.

"DAMAGE TO THE FORTS.

"Of the 33 guns which fired on the gunboats 10 were put out of action, without counting 7 others. The bombardment caused 3 large explosions of powder-magazines, and 8 small explosions of magazines of powder and ammunition.

"Much havoc was also caused in the interior of the forts.

"In congratulating ourselves on this almost miraculous victory, so fruitful in happy results, it is necessary to pay homage to the intrepidity and sang-froid of all those who united their efforts for the taking of the Taku Forts, and to keep forever the remembrance of those brave men who found there a glorious death."

The *second* article is one that has been continued in the magazine for several numbers. It is an interesting discussion of the subject, but we have room here for only a short extract, the conclusion:

"I conclude these reminiscences of the annals of the most intrepid folk of every nation by begging my readers to enforce in every company where their words carry weight, three sentences which condense the teachings of history, two from a great military writer whose bravery was as distinguished as was his intelligence—Napier; and one from the very wisest Englishman, Lord Bacon, whose 'Essay on the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates' will be immortal long after all the utterances of every modern parliamentary debater are lost in well-deserved oblivion.

"Napier's sentences are:—

" 'He who wields the sword will always be first served.'

" 'The secret of making perfect soldiers is only to be found in national customs and institutions.'

"And Lord Bacon's sentence is:—

" 'Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like—all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike.' "

The *third* paper is a continuation of an article which has previously been referred to. The present instalment considers the *northwestern* Atlantic, and presents a very valuable study in military geography on the relative powers of Great Britain and the United States in this region.

The *fourth* is also a study in military geography (as well as in strategy), the first part of which (all that is contained in this number) relates to Newfoundland, Sable Island, Halifax, etc.

The rest of the articles under this general head, while they are all valuable professionally, do not readily lend themselves to analysis in a short space, but must be studied in full.

It may be mentioned, however, in passing, that the *seventh* article is by Colonel Frobenius, a recognized German authority on field artillery tactics. Also that the *ninth* is by Major General Wesley Merritt, and we quote from it the following:

"The recent recommendation made by General Miles to the Secretary of War, proposing that the cavalry be reduced by one-third and an automobile corps created instead, is incomprehensible. I think I can fairly say that in the opinion of nineteen-twentieths, if not of all military men, such a proposition, if carried out, would be an act of extreme folly. Our cavalry force as it is, is all too small; for never in all history has cavalry been such an important factor in warfare as at the present time; and I firmly believe it will become still more important in the military operations of the future.

"Cavalry that is perfectly trained, splendidly mounted for hard rides, that is equipped with the best of rifles, and able to scout, charge, fight on foot or even march on foot, if necessary, on equal terms with infantry, possesses advantages that are difficult to overrate. Such cavalry cannot be improvised. It requires long and intelligent instruction, and constant drilling and hard work before a man can be fitted to fill the part required of a modern trooper. The average American is patriotic, intelligent and adaptable. Consequently, volunteers properly officered can be made into effective infantry in an incredibly short time. In a recent letter received from an officer in Europe, he says in connection with this subject:

" 'It is evident, from a lot of reading I have done, that there never was a time in the last seventy years when, in Europe, the importance of cavalry was greater. The ardent advocates of Boer tactics, the people urging changes of attack formations, and all that is due to the great power of the new rifle, have never for a moment suggested the reduction of cavalry by one man. On the contrary, read General de Négrier (of infantry origin), General Langlais (artillery), two of the senior and most brilliant generals in France to-day—also General Kessler—men who have fought in Africa, Mexico, and in 1870. Each has a lesson to teach as to modern arms, modern tactics and combat formation, and they do not always agree on the system, or the conclusions drawn from the Boer War; but all *do* agree in urging more and better cavalry.' "

The *tenth* article is written by a number of officers of wide experience in the subject; the *eleventh* is a most entertaining account written by Captain Traub; the *twelfth* is a comprehensive and well illustrated article by Professor Larned; and, finally, the articles in the *Cavalry Journal* are all well written and instructive reading.

ARTILLERY, ARMOR AND FORTIFICATION.

1. Rearmament of the Swiss Field Artillery.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 54.
2. Nickel-Steel.—*Scien. Amer. Suppl.*, October 24.
3. Recoil Buffers for Artillery Carriages.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.
4. Heavy Guns in the Field in South Africa.—*Proc. Nav. Inst.*, September.
5. An Elevation Scale for Seacoast Guns.—*Jour. Arty.*, September-October.
6. Stability Tests for Nitrocellulose Powders.—*Same.*
7. Smokeless Powders.—*Same.*
8. The Type-Writing Telegraph for Artillery Purposes.—*Same.*
9. The Theory and Practice of Armor Attack.—*Same.*
10. Armor Perforation Formulas.—*Same.*
11. The Fortifications of Belgium.—*Int. Rev.*, September.
12. Coast Defences against Naval Raids.—*Jour. Arty.*, September-October.
13. Range Finding in the Navy.—*Proc. Nav. Inst.*, September.

The *first* of these articles relates to the experiments carried on in Switzerland, with reference to the adoption of a new field piece.

The *second* is of general interest, and discusses the history and

the applications of nickel-steel in a comprehensive way. The following introductory remarks are rather amusing:

"In 1899, in discussing the well-known paper of Mr. James Riley, the father of nickel steel, Mr. Snelus remarked that Shakespeare told them that they might find 'tongues in trees, sermons in stones, books in running brooks, and good in everything,' and those who had studied meteorites appeared to have overlooked the fact that the metallic meteorites consist largely of alloys of iron and nickel, the practical applications of which they were now for the first time becoming acquainted with, in alloys of iron and nickel produced by themselves. 'He was ashamed that he, himself, had so long overlooked Nature's teachings.'

"While my search through the Proceedings of Scientific Societies for the past eighty years shows that Mr. Snelus was a little severe in his criticism of his fellow iron masters, inasmuch as the advantages of alloying nickel with iron and steel have been known and acknowledged by many investigators over a long period of years, it is nevertheless true that Mr. Riley was the first to publish a series of practical experiments proving the valuable properties possessed by nickel steel, and pointing out many of its important applications."

The *fifth* article is of considerable importance to the Coast Artillery, and we extract a few paragraphs to explain our meaning. The entire article must, however, be read to understand this important device, and the plate illustrating it is also necessary:

"As the information on which a seacoast gun is set in elevation comes to the platform expressed in yards, it is desirable to have scales for setting this elevation graduated in yards.

"A scale so graduated is good for but one muzzle velocity, and as this is not constant, each change in velocity requires a change of scale. This may be accomplished by shifting the strip on which the scale is drawn, or by shifting the index along the scale so that the proper elevation for a given range may be obtained by setting off the given range on the elevating bar or wheel.

"If, however, the velocity changes materially and the range required is quite different from that for which the scale was adjusted by shifting, the error is too great to be disregarded. For mid ranges a fair adjustment may be obtained, but the error is still present and becomes quite apparent for long and short ranges.

"Nothing will be gained by 'allowances' made by the gunner, for then we immediately leave the field of accuracy and would as well not adjust the scale at all. The only thing left is to change the scale

as soon as the velocity changes materially, as for instance, for a variation of 10 f.s., thus requiring 11 separate scales for a variation of 100 f.s.

"To make it possible to change the scales for changes in velocity continuously and not by ten jumps as above, and also to avoid the mechanical trouble involved in changing the strips of brass on which the scale is stamped, the arrangement shown in the accompanying drawing is suggested.

"Several guns at Fort Monroe are already equipped with extemporized elevation scales graduated in yards. These, under the recent order changing the weight of powder in the charge, and hence the muzzle velocity, will all have to be changed; whereas, if the guns had been equipped with scales as shown in the diagram, no change other than shifting the index would have been necessary."

The *eighth* article contains a description (well illustrated) of an instrument that promises to become very useful in artillery fire-control. Captain Spender, R. A., also discusses the instrument and its present and future applications:

"Three years ago, when considering the various means of making communications in fortresses, I examined the Telegraph Typewriting machine, Stelje's patent, but thought it rather too complicated to be used for chain of command purposes.

"Several improvements have recently been made, and perhaps a short account of the instrument may be of interest.

"The Russian government is adopting these instruments, and the German War Department is at the present time trying them, and experiments are being carried out with them by the German Field Telegraph Battalion.

"I saw two instruments fitted up for the German army, which were evidently intended to be put into ammunition or general service wagons; as the weight of each instrument is only eighteen pounds, including tools, and is contained in a strong box about the size of a mountain battery ammunition box, it would form an easy pack load.

"In coast defence the Typewriting Telegraph would appear to be of use either as a supplement to, or substitute for, chain of command telephones.

"As every message is written down at the receiving end on receipt by telephone, time would not be lost by writing it from the transmitting end instead of sending it verbally. The contrary would be the case, as there would be no necessity for those asides, 'Are you there?' and for the repetition of the message which are always considered

essential in peace time, and which in all probability cannot be dispensed with in the din of a fight.

"If time is saved in sending one message, much more would this be the case in sending several identical messages to different stations. By an ingenious switch arrangement communication can be made with one, two or fifty stations simultaneously.

"This would enable an observing station to report at once to all batteries, etc., and would let the fire commander give orders without delay to all battery commanders in his command.

"Unless wireless telegraphy is to be used between the examination vessel and the shore, a typewriting telegraph installation would enable the present difficulties of rapid communication with every battery to be in a manner overcome. Day or night would not make any difference in this method, and less attention would be drawn to the examining vessel than if visual signalling were used. This would, at any rate, give the poor examining vessel a chance; for, under existing arrangements, a disguised hostile ship would probably direct its first attention to her, as soon as the movement of her semaphore showed that she had penetrated the disguise.

"The difficulty of a moving vessel being able to maintain communication with shore by means of a cable may be insuperable.

"But as her area of action will be very restricted in any case, a way out of the difficulty might be found by using a drum similar to the high speed winding in gear, which would always keep sufficient tension on the wire to wind in any slack between the cable moorings and the vessel, and yet pay out when necessary.

"The following is a suggested arrangement for the communications in a fire command:

"From the examining vessel to every shore station collectively.

"From the observing station to every shore station collectively.

"From the fire commander to the examining vessel and every other shore station, and to each individually.

"From each battery to the fire commander, and to each other battery commander individually—the latter chiefly for peace purposes.

"From the electric light stations to the fire commander and examining vessel and observing post individually."

The *ninth* and *tenth* articles are also of vital importance to the Navy and the Coast Artillery. We quote a few notes from the former:

"Since Captain Tressider brought forward his formula for the perforation of wrought iron it has been accepted in this country as the standard formula for that class of plate, and although wrought iron

is a thing of the past, it still serves as a basis from which we can arrive at the relative values of the various kinds and thicknesses of steel plates.

"The formula in question has been tested and found to give reliable values of t for velocities between 1,500 f.s. and 2,400 f.s. When, however, we come to modern hard-faced steel armor there is no such general agreement between the various competing formulas.

"The dynamical problem involved in the punching of a hard-faced steel plate is an immensely difficult and complicated one, and in our present state of knowledge it is impossible to theorize usefully about it. We very much doubt whether any simple monomial formula will be found adequate over the whole range of t's and v's.

"Krupp's formula gives very good results for plates of K.C. between 4-inch and 6-inch in thickness.

"At 6-inch nearly all formulas agree in making the velocity necessary for a 6-inch uncapped shot to perforate somewhere about 2150—2200. To guard against misconception, we may as well state here that under the term perforation we include both punching and boring. Above 6-inch, more especially in the case of 12-inch plates attacked by 12-inch projectiles, Vickers' formula would appear to give truer values of v than Krupp's. But the fact is that we have too few data to go on to speak with any certainty in the matter; 6-inch plates are attacked with 6-inch projectiles, 9-inch plates with 9.2-inch, and 12-inch with 12-inch, and we can thus make very fairly certain of one point on the perforation curve of each gun; but that is all, and until at least three points can be found on each curve, all formulas must be looked upon with suspicion, and accurate prediction is impossible. Only by progressive experiments with different calibres of gun against a constant thickness of plate, and by the same gun against varying thicknesses of plate can this be done, and it is to be hoped that either the Government or some leading private firm, such as the Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., or Vickers, Sons and Maxim, will attempt something of the sort."

The *twelfth* article is also of great value, as it bears on a subject of moment to all nations with a sea-coast, and on which comparatively little literature is available. This paper is a prize essay.

The *last* article in the list describes a new range-finding instrument, which promises to be of great value to the Navy, and possibly also to the Coast Artillery.

WARSHIPS.

1. The New French Armored Cruiser Amiral Gueydon.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, October.

2. The German Navy during the War in China.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 54.

3. The Weak Points in the British Navy.—*Same.*

4. H. M. S. Commonwealth.—*Jour. Arty*, September-October.

5. U. S. Army Gunboat Laguna de Bay.—*Jour. Cav.*, October.

6. Scouts.—*Proc. Nav. Inst.*, September.

7. The Naval War Game (June).—*Same.*

8. The June Naval War Game.—*Same.*

9. Torpedo Tubes in Battleships.—*Same.*

10. U. S. Naval Propellers.—*Same.*

11. The French Naval Program, 1900-1906.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, October.

12. The Medium Caliber Artillery on Battleships.—*Mar. Rund.*, November.

13. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Proc. Nav. Inst.*, September.; *Mar. Rund.*, October-November; *Int. Rev.*, September; *Jour. R. U. S. I.*, October.

These articles are largely explained by their titles, but we desire to call special attention to a few of them.

The *sixth*, for example, is by Captain Goodrich, U. S. N., a well-known authority and an officer of high standing. The *eighth* is by Lieutenant Commander Niblack, U. S. N., another prominent naval officer, and contains an excellent discussion and criticism of the June Naval War Game, described in recent numbers of the *Scientific American*, between several fleets (including that of the U. S.) in the far East. The *ninth* is by Captain Murdock, U. S. N., recently instructor at the Naval War College, an officer who displayed commendable initiative in the maneuvers in the Artillery District of Portland last summer.

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS.

1. The New Springfield Magazine Rifle.—*Proc. Nav. Inst.*, September.

2. The New Cartridge Belt.—*Army and Navy Reg.*, November 7; *Army and Navy Jour.*, November 14.

3. The New Equipment of the French Infantry Soldier.—*Int. Rev.*, September.

4. A New Intrenching Tool.—*Jour. Mil. Serv. Inst.*, November-December.

5. The Webley-Fosbery Automatic Revolver.—*Same.*

6. The Hyposcope.—*Same.*

7. The Link Strap and Pistol Holster.—*Jour. Cav. Asso.*, October.

8. The Retention of the Saber.—*Same.*

9. Extensible Holster for Firearms.—*Same.*

Most of these articles are fully illustrated, and the drawings are essential to a complete understanding of the subject, consequently it is impossible to quote much from them.

MILITARY GEOGRAPHY.

1. Russia.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, October.

This is the fifth of a series of articles on this subject, and is perhaps the most interesting of them; we therefore quote somewhat freely from it to illustrate its general character:

"The bugbear of a Russian invasion of India is not always present in the minds of those who have lived some time in Russia. They understand that the mass of the Russian people is profoundly indifferent to India, and to whether that country be occupied by English or Russian *tchinovniks.* For the Russians well know that, however capacious the peasant pockets may be, none of the fruit of the pagoda tree, no matter how shaken, would fall therein. And indeed it is the fact that, supposing India to have been conquered, in a military sense, by Russia, she does not possess the class to administer it. The higher nobility has no desire to grill in its plains, and the lower nobility is already absorbed by the offices of administration and the army and navy commissioned ranks, which it is not sufficiently numerous to fill. The middle class scarcely exists, nor could political officers be furnished by it or the lower classes. And the military occupation of a country numbering 350,000,000 souls is a very different affair to that of policing a territory even larger, but in which only some 5,000,000 human beings struggle for existence. But, nevertheless, the *Drang nach Osten* of Russia is a factor that must be considered by England—and other Powers in Asia. It is as inexorable as fate. The more difficulties placed in its way the slower will be its advance. Perhaps, indeed, if those difficulties be sufficiently great, the movement may be indefinitely postponed. For the advance of Russia, either to East or South or West, is along the line of least resistance.

"As one of Russia's most distinguished generals, placing his hand on the map of India, said to me: 'If *that* is against me, I want 500,-

000 men to invade India; but if *that* is with me, I can do it with 50,000 men.' And what he said is not far from the truth, for with an India ready to welcome the Russians as deliverers, a million men could not hold it for England. What the general, in common with most Russians, does not understand, is that India is faithful to the British *Râj*, more owing to the probity and justice of some few hundred law-givers who shield her people from the rapacity of her own sons, than to the glitter of many thousands of British bayonets. If Russia has no designs in Asia, nor Germany in Austria, and France no wish to regain her provinces; why, then, do these countries submit to the self-imposed tax of military service? If we could be perfectly certain of future rectitude on the part of all our neighbors, our military wants would be reduced to a household brigade for the king, and a police force for India.

"Russia considers war as possible, if not probable, in three theatres—the West, the South, and the East. To enable her to meet the danger in either quarter, she is busily engaged in rendering her empire homogeneous. We cannot enter here into the consideration of the means she is taking towards that end; merely bearing the fact in view as to a certain extent distracting her attention from external policy. In the West her possible enemies are the Powers of the Triple Alliance, from which she hopes to draw Italy away, into at least a neutral position. Russia, without an ally opposed to both Germany and Austria, would be in a very bad position. Her frontier is salient towards that quarter much as was that of France in 1870 towards Germany. An Austrian army massed between Cracow and Lvov, and a German force south of Königsberg, advancing on Brest-Litovski, would at once cut the communications of Warsaw with Russia, and place all the Russian forces quartered along the frontier of Western Poland in an extremely unpleasant position. To render this position less precarious, she has an enormous cavalry force stationed along the frontier in question, which has orders, at the outset of war, to cross the frontier, pillage, burn, prevent concentration, destroy communication, and in every way harass the enemies. There is no doubt that such a forward movement would cause considerable confusion, and produce a great moral effect. But it would soon be opposed by such masses of Austro-German cavalry as to force it to retreat. Where would its sanctuary be? The answer is, in the carefully prepared tri-lateral formed by the fortresses of Warsaw, Ivangorod, and Brest-Litovski; which encloses a fertile country, in which large supplies have been for years accumulated. In the meantime Russia would hope to threaten the communications of the German force

by advancing great masses from Kovno and Vilna, on Souvalki and Grodno; and to make the Austrians uneasy as to their rear by an advance from Kieff, on Doubno and Kaminec-Podolsk.

"Russia, although it might at first appear that she has nothing to fear from Turkey, considers the chances of a war in the South with some apprehension. To begin with, she cannot tell what would be the attitude of Austria and Roumania in such a case. The smaller of these Powers could place a comparatively small but good army directly in front of the Russian advance on Constantinople by land, whilst the great masses of men with which Austria would threaten Russian communications in such a move would render it hazardous in the extreme. To forecast probabilities from the history of the past and one's knowledge of the present may be anything but absurd.

"To do this in the case of the third great war which Russia deems possible is more difficult than in the cases just roughly considered. For, to begin with, Russia herself would gladly be able to tell, but cannot, whether such a war would be confined to one or two theatres of conflict, or whether she would be opposed by one or two Powers.

"Leaving the question only to return to it by-and-by, the case of a war localized in Corea, in which Russia would be struggling for the Pacific freeboard, may be considered. Roughly speaking—for in a military sense the juggle of words as to whether the East Chinese railway is on Russian or Chinese soil is meaningless—Russia has 200,000 men, not one less, now quartered in Manchuria, or close to its frontier, and the Kwan-tung peninsula. But of these perhaps 30,000 are at Port Arthur, and the rest at Hailar, Tsitsikar, Harbin, and Nikolsk-Ussuri. Behind these 200,000 men she has the three Siberian army corps, minus such parts of them, not inconsiderable, comprised in the aforesaid 200,000 men. This force can be reinforced from European Russia at the rate of a thousand men a day by the Trans-Siberian railway. In case, then, of war against Japan, the fortresses of Vladivostock and Port Arthur would have to be so strongly garrisoned, and the single line from Chita would bring up men so slowly, that at first Russia could hardly place more than 150,000 men as a field army to oppose Japan.

"It is not for me to say, even if I knew, what might be Japan's movements; but we know that she can mobilize a force of 400,000 men in a fortnight. She has plenty of sea-transport, and a navy sufficiently strong to protect the short crossing from Japan to Corea. At Fu-San and Chemulpo she has convenient ports for landing. So that even without an ally she can give Russia considerable trouble. Another point in her favor is that she knows every inch of Corea, and

that Manchuria is almost as well known to her. Russia depends here, also, on the effect of the early employment of her cavalry against the Japanese, who are, as is no secret, weak in that arm."

MILITARY HYGIENE.

1. The Abolition of Typhoid, etc., in Armies.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Oct.
2. The Health of the Army in Peace.—*Same.*

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

1. Field Telephony of Today.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.
2. Telephonic Light Telegraphy.—*Same.*
3. The Fiske Semaphore System.—*Proc. Nav. Inst.*, Sept.
4. A Naval Telescope and Mount.—*Same.*
5. A Balloon Trip Over the Alps.—*Scien. Amer. Suppl.*, Oct. 24.
6. Recent Aeronautical Progress.—*Same*, Nov. 21.
7. The Aeronauts at the Swiss Maneuvers.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.

These are all valuable and interesting articles, for we have space available for only a few extracts from the *fifth:*

"A remarkable balloon trip over the Alps was lately made by the well-known aeronaut Captain Spelterini in his balloon the "Stella," accompanied by a party of aeronauts and scientists, among others Dr. Hermann Seiler. This feat is of great interest from many points of view, both on account of the high altitudes which were reached in passing over the mountain peaks and also for the different meteorological and other data which were obtained and will be published later. The party were well equipped with scientific and photographic apparatus. Dr. Seiler gave the following account of the voyage to our correspondent:

"The balloon rose from Zermatt at 1.30 P. M. and mounted very rapidly up to an altitude of 9,100 feet. It approached the peak of the Mettelhorn (11,080 feet high), and came so near as to almost touch it. From this point a current of air drove the balloon in the neighborhood of the Weisshorn (14,670 feet high), where it rose to 10,500 feet altitude and soon exceeded this height in its movement toward the Dome des Mischabel. The balloon now took a direction at right angles to its former course. The wind was not very strong, so that it was only between 2 and 3 o'clock that the balloon commenced to change its course. It continued to mount progressively and traversed the northern extremity of the Mischabel, between Randa and Herbrigen; it then took a somewhat southerly direction, crossed the valley of the Saas, and at 16,000 feet altitude it crossed the Weissmies (13,100 feet

high). From this point the balloon directed its course toward the north Italian lakes.

"Near midnight they came above Prato at the head of the valley, and remained there nearly motionless at 12,700 feet altitude and just above the rocky heights which were touched at times by the trail-rope. Captain Spelterini hoped that a breeze would send them in the region of Biasca, where it would be easy to make a landing. But the wind failed, and they were obliged to pass the night at this high altitude. The night was long and cold; before sunrise the thermometer showed —12 to —15 deg. C.

"The ascension lasted in all about twenty hours. Captain Spelterini is one of the most experienced aeronauts in Europe, and has already made his 530th ascension; this last trip is the longest he has yet made."

TRANSPORTATION.

1. The Security of Railway Transportation.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.
2. The Transportation of Troops by Rail.—*Jour. Mil. Serv. Inst.*, Nov.-Dec.
3. Pontoon Bridges in Russia.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. "Wireless" and Naval War.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Aug. 29.
2. A Military Airship.—*Same*, Sept. 5.
3. The Motor in War.—*Same*, Sept. 19.
4. The Lebaudy Airship.—*Scien. Amer. Suppl.*, Oct. 10.
5. Electricity in the Service of the Army.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 8.
6. Airships and Motor Cycles.—*Same.*

The *first* article is sufficiently explained by the following extract:

"One of the most interesting aspects of the recent maneuvers has been the use made of wireless telegraphy. This summer, for the first time since the adoption of Signor Marconi's apparatus, the "wireless" (as it is universally termed afloat) was fitted to all the battleships of importance and to all the larger cruisers. Hence the reports on this system of communication as made by the correspondents afloat will have been followed with keen attention, at any rate by naval men. As pointed out by one correspondent, the instruments mainly in use in the Royal navy differ materially from those used by Signor Marconi. The service instruments are largely from the design of Captain Jackson, R. N., although, of course, the principle of the Italian inventor has been retained as regards the main system. So far as can be judged from the unofficial reports, the service instruments worked

satisfactorily, although in some ships the results were far better than in others. * * *

"It is well established that fleets can mutually interrupt each other's signals. We do not find much evidence pointing to the positive utility of the wireless signalling during these maneuvers. Some minor instances there were, doubtless, but signals were always interrupted with ease when opposed cruisers lay within sixty miles of each other. Again, when no interruptions occurred, the maximum distance over which the wireless messages usually passed barely exceeded sixty miles."

The *second* describes a new airship, now at Alexandra Palace, the invention of Dr. F. A. Barton, president of the Aeronautical Institute, who has been experimenting for sixteen years with navigable balloons. This will be the largest and most powerful yet attempted. It will carry seven persons, and is to have a speed of twenty miles an hour.

The *third* is a new use of automobiles in England, which is quite old, however, on the Continent:

"Among the many useful experiments tried at the maneuvers was that with the automobile as a means of rapid transit and for the transfer of superior staff officers from place to place. The Motor Volunteer Corps turned out a number of first-class vehicles, and they were in constant request. When the day's proceedings extended beyond a ride, which Lord Roberts not strangely preferred, he always travelled by one of these motors, which did admirably. The day cannot be far distant when they will be employed in civilized countries where good roads are to be found in the transport of troops, of the mobile infantry upon whom, as we have seen this week, such highly important duties must devolve some day soon. Last year, in Scotland, there was a trial of a special motor which could carry twenty men, and this is the germ of a great idea which will certainly be developed shortly. It is understood, indeed, that at next year's maneuvers Lord Roberts means motors to enter as combatants into the field."

The *sixth* article is an interesting account of a race between a balloon and a motor cycle. The former made its ascent from the Arsenal in Vienna, and twenty-five motor cycles went in pursuit of it. The balloon went south at first, but reaching a higher level it turned west and finally landed in one of the arms of the Danube, near Tulln, separated by water from its pursuers, one of whom swam over, however, but lost the race by one minute. The time allowed for capture after the balloon landed was ten minutes.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The mobility of the Marine Corps has been shown again by the ease with which a force has been assembled in the vicinity of Panama. The various details were arranged and the departure of the Brigadier General Commandant effected without material disturbance and almost in the course of routine business. General Elliott's readiness to take the field was characteristic, and his unruffled demeanor at what must have been an unexpected call speaks much for the poise and resource of the new head of the Marine Corps.

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The latter part of the month has witnessed the successful inception of the trip of the first torpedo flotilla to the Philippines. Lieutenant Lloyd H. Chandler, commanding, has had no question of the feasibility of the plan at any time and has entered on its execution with enthusiasm. The trip to Key West was made without any occurrence that would serve as a basis for apprehension, and the Board of Inspection and Survey had ample opportunity for seeing the performance of the boats in a seaway. It is not accurately known where the doubts were raised that resulted in the long delay in carrying out the plan, but it is supposed that the wisdom of the move was questioned by some of the older officers.

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In spite of the urgent representations that have been made since the Spanish War that torpedo boats should not be diverted from their proper purpose to use as dispatch and observation craft, it is evident that such use will be continued until suitable fast ships for scouting and communication are provided. It is evident that real torpedo work will suffer as long as the boats have to be summoned at intervals to fill other than their proper functions, but the only answer is that it is inevitable.

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The lack of an adequate squadron with Hawaii as its base gave the Asiatic squadron a run to Honolulu during the month. To guard against a possible demonstration by Chili in favor of Colombia, orders were given to Admiral Evans to proceed to Honolulu, ostensibly for

maneuvers en route. The squadron had not much more than started when it was apparent that the contingency suggested had passed and the fleet returns at its leisure. The incident is worth noting in a permanent form in behalf of the need of duplicating the North Atlantic squadron in Pacific waters.

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Submarine stock went down a few points as a result of the episode in which the Peoria, the Moccasin and the Adder figured. While the Peoria was attempting to tow the two submarines south the tow line broke in a storm and the Moccasin went ashore on the North Carolina coast. The Adder was recovered through the efforts of Boatswain Deery, who swam to the submarine with a line. Deery received the thanks of the Department and a wrecking company is endeavoring to get the Moccasin off the shore. The incident was rather against claims of habitability and seaworthiness in the type represented by the Adder and Moccasin.

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The conditions for the test of submarine boats required by a provision in the last naval appropriation bill have been published and seem to meet the requirements of a fair and exhaustive test. The Lake people seemed to think that they would be hampered in showing the usefulness of their boat by conditions based on experience with the Holland, but their fear was evidently groundless as the requirements stated include points on which they claim as well as points of uesfulness developed by the government boats of the Holland type which have been in use about Newport during the summer.

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The provisions of the Dick bill for the improvement of the militia of the various states are being put into effect and in response to requests from governors of states officers of the regular army are being detailed for service with the militia. As far as possible retired officers are being utilized. Recent assignments are: Brigadier General A. S. Daggett, retired, Nebraska; Brigadier General C. W. Miner, retired, Ohio; Major Wm. Gerlach, retired, Minnesota; and Major R. W. Dowdy, Arkansas.

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The contention raised in states that were formerly a part of the Southern Confederacy that the new militia law would place the state militia under the control of the federal government and weaken the power of the state over its armed forces continues

to be stated, though in a less vehement degree, and it is anticipated that the opposition will be entirely dissipated when the effect of the working of the law is established.

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Further range work to determine the characteristics of the United States magazine rifle, model of 1903, is going on at Fort Clark, Texas. No serious criticism of the new arm has yet developed. The tests at Fort Clark will continue during January.

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The work of the joint board of the army and navy which was constituted some time ago upon the suggestion of Secretary Moody has been going on quietly and effectively. The board has proved its usefulness in arranging the details of the Colombian reconnoissance and in providing a medium through which the general staff of the army has been kept informed accurately and promptly of the developments.

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Orders have been issued for the necessary hiring of quarters and preparations for the establishment of the new headquarters of the Department of the Gulf at Atlanta, Ga., established by the General Order of December 17. The selection was made by Brigadier General Barry, who reported at Washington en route.

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A board of Signal Corps officers of the army is to meet in Washington in January for the purpose of deciding upon the permanent equipment of the Signal Corps. Several important questions bearing upon the matter of field communication are to be discussed.

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The secret hearing before the Senate committee of the charges against Major General Wood, with the comment that has been created on the subject by the various partial and frequently erroneous publications that have been made, has been the chief topic of the month in military circles. It is undoubtedly true that there is a feeling in army circles that the precedent established by the promotion of General Wood is capable of abuse and that "promotion by selection" has possibilities which intended by its advocates, but which are likely to develop in such a system unless a carefully worked out and rigidly administered plan of estimating merit is used. No official reports of the testimony in the Wood case are to be had, though the letter of the Secretary of War sustaining the nominee has a quasi-official stamp. It is stated on the authority of

Senator Warren that President Roosevelt will not appoint General Wood to command the army during his term. This would mean, it is stated, that Generals Young, Chaffee, Corbin, Wade and MacArthur are to successively command the army until 1909, when General Wood would be the senior general. In order to bring this succession about, General Corbin would have to be appointed a major general, and it is stated that this will be done when Major General Chaffee assumes command of the army on the retirement of Lieutenant General Young on January 8. The Wood matter is in abeyance during the Congressional recess, but the interest is sustained both in and out of the service.

The statement that any promises have been made as to subsequent promotion for General Wood was denied on authority from the executive offices, and Senator Warren has denied making the statement credited to him. The incident is one of a series of remarkable publications on the subject, terminating, at this writing, in the publication by the War Department of a letter showing that General Wood had asked for an investigation of charges made last summer.

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Admiral Evans having reported from Honolulu that he had coaled and was ready for sea, orders were issued for him to return to Cavite, starting at his convenience betwen the 25th and the last of the month.

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The Navy Department will have to modify its procedure in the matter of the enlistment of minors under the age of twenty-one if the opinion of the United States Circuit Court in the case of Harry F. Harris is sustained. Under an opinion of a former attorney general, it has been held that as the statutes gave the right to enlist from the age of eighteen years, this superseded the parental right to services until the age of twenty-one. A habeas corpus proceeding brought in favor of Harry F. Harris to secure his discharge from the Marine Corps has been decided in favor of the writ. Besides the opinion above stated, the department has had cases at law decided in its favor, though it is not definitely settled by a decision of the Supreme Court. It is the practice of the department to safeguard enlistment as far as possible by requiring parental consent in all cases of known under age. Where age is overstated the department is powerless to prevent the fraud, and it is possible that proceedings for fraudulent enlistment will be instituted in such cases if it is

held that the man cannot be held to his enlistment contract legally.

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The new system of submarine signalling by bell signals which has been in operation in Boston harbor for some time is being investigated by the Navy Department. A representative of the lighthouse service has already made a favorable report on the system and the bureau of equipment will take the subject up and make some extensive tests to determine the advantages of the system. Telephone receivers are placed in small tanks of sea water placed in the interior of the hull and next the skin. These lead to other receivers in the pilot house, and the strokes of a submerged bell are said to be audible at a distance of several miles. The purpose is to give an accurate course direction in thick weather, and warning of shoals and rocks. Its use for the navy is suggested to be the facility with which communication can be had between ships of a squadron in all kinds of weather.

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The month closes with a situation in Panama which is full of possibilities, though grave results are not anticipated. It has been definitely established that the Colombian government is establishing bases in the vicinity of Panama, and small bodies of troops are reported as en route, with at least one base already established. The United States has ample force for purpose of observation on the ground and will for the present depend entirely on the services of the navy and Marine Corps. Brigadier General Elliott will, if necessary, go to the scene and personally take command of the marines. The Dixie has arrived in the United States and will transport reinforcements and the general and his staff if such action is decided upon. It is said to be the purpose of Colombia to attack Panama. The United States has made no further declaration of intention, except that which was contained in its recognition of the independence of the Isthmian state and declaration that its integrity would be supported. The utmost care has been urged on the officers of the United States at the Isthmus and the United States will not take the first hostile step. No attempt will be made to interfere with movements of Colombians on Colombian soil, but any effort to invade Panama will bring the issue for the United States to meet.

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The burying party of the army which has been in the Philippines so long has returned to the United States, leaving a small detachment in the islands to carry on future work. In the course of

the operations of this party practically all the bodies of those who were killed or who died in the Philippines have been exhumed and transported to the United States and proper burial provided for. The work has been difficult and delicate and has been carried on with very little friction and a minimum of unpleasant occurrence. The members of the party have been highly complimented on the manner in which the work has been successfully completed.

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The following is the roster of the officers who sailed with the 600 marines for the Isthmus in the Dixie. The brigade organization is provided for in the personnel detailed as well as the officering of the companies, two officers being assigned to each of the latter. All of the second lieutenants named are recent additions to the corps who have been under instruction at Annapolis. The officers are: Brigadier General Elliott; Captain Leonard and Lieutenant Evans; Major Radford, Captain Matthews, Captain Powell; Lieutenant Colonel Biddle, Lieutenant Colonel Waller, Major Mahoney, Major Cole; regimental adjutants, Captain A. S. Williams and C. H. Lyman; battalion adjutants, First Lieutenant E. B. Miller, First Lieutenant McCormick; Captains Reid, Bootes, Hopkins, Jolly, C. C. Carpenter, Wallace;. Second Lieutenants Wills, Smith, Kilgore, Merriam, Yates and Hamilton.

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It was decided not to send more than one ship to Cartagena on the occasion of Minister Beaupre departing for the United States. This was in line with the policy of the administration to refrain from making any demonstration which might be construed as hostile in appearance, though the proposition to send more than one ship was made with the idea of making it possible to make an interchange of courtesies more marked than if one ship had been ordered there. In order that there might be no misunderstanding of the purpose, however, the Olympia alone was ordered for the duty with instructions to offer every possible courtesy to the Colombian government.

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The Navy Department has estimated to Congress for an additional two millions of dollars to meet extra expenses on account of armor, due to the increased output of the armor plate manufactories, and has asked for $200,000 to be immediately available for payment to the Cuban government for Guantanamo. This sum will reimburse Cuba for its outlay in securing the

land for the naval station and will stand as a credit against the annual rental that the United States will pay under its lease.

* * *

The annual wreath of immortelles to be placed on the monument to the sailors of the Maine which is sent by a Chicago lady was received by the Department the day before Christmas and was placed on the monument by the War Department.

* * *

Although the work at the Isthmus of Panama is being carried on by the Marine Corps at the present time, it is definitely announced that as soon as the treaty with the Republic of Panama is ratified and the status of the United States is settled, the further work that may be required will be carried out by the army. The theory so far is that of the old landing party system under the treaty with New Grenada, and there has been a considerable care not to call into use the services of the army. As soon as the treaty with the Republic of Panama is in effect, however, the situation will be materially chaned and permanent establishments will be in order. The harmonious relations between the two arms of the services at the present time are marked. The question of the defence of the naval base at Guantanamo was settled in favor of the army and against the use of marines in permanent post occupation there, and the probability is that the defence of the naval station in the Philippines will also be an army matter. These bits of extra work coming to the army as the result of increasing foreign relations negative the expressions sometimes made that the army has reached the maximum of its points of employment and that the navy, with its marine infantry, would have the greater share in the growth that would come from expansion.

* * *

The changes in uniform of the army have for the moment ceased, and the various novelties in the dress of the officers and enlisted men have become so common as to cease to elicit comment in Washington. One of the most conspicuous of the new things is the khaki colored overcoats which nearly all the officers on duty at the department are wearing. At a recent military funeral the company of infantry wore the khaki overcoats and the effect was especially neat. When a commissioned officer wears a khaki overcoat with blue trousers with a red stripe, however, the harmony of colors is conspicuous by its absence.

There is a marked contrast between the present health of the marines on the Isthmus with conditions which existed before the mosquito netting and other sanitary precautions. The health of the marines and bluejackets in landing parties on the Isthmus has been excellent so far, which was by no means the case among landing parties in other years, even in favorable seasons, when a high percentage of fever cases was shown. It is believed by medical authorities that the present experience will show the possibility of reducing risks on the Isthmus materially by proper sanitary precautions.

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This month will add another to the big ships of the navy off the building slip, as the Charleston is to be launched at Newport News on the 23rd.

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The constant requests of cities for the presence of war vessels in their harbors has come to be a good deal of annoyance to the Navy Department, especially as it looks sometimes as if requests were made in behalf of purveyors of various supplies, rather than in a patriotic spirit. It has been the policy of the department to grant these requests whenever possible as a means of showing the people of the various coast sections something of the navy, but it has been found that work, especially of training, is seriously interfered with, and it is probable that compliance with such requests will be less freely granted in the future and that the event to be celebrated will have to be of special and national character.

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Colonel R. L. Meade, U. S. M. C., has retired as colonel. This is one of the retirements, of which there will be several in Marine Corps in which officers who served in the Civil War will not receive the advance to the next higher rank on retiring that is given by statute to officers of similar service in the army and navy. The officers concerned hope to secure Congressional action on the subject in their favor. Quartermaster General Humphrey of the army has approved the plans for proposed post exchanges. The most elaborate type, including gymnasium, is planned to cost $40,000. A smaller exchange and gymnasium is planned to cost $16,000, and exchanges without gymnasiums for smaller posts are also provided for.

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Effective action has been taken in the matter of the Iona Island disaster by an order for the court martial of Gunner Otto

Fries, who was in charge, and of Sergeant Brooks, of the Marine Corps, who is charged with running to a place of safety, taking his men with him. This is one outcome of the recent board of inquiry, and upon the completion of the trial, which was ordered for Jan. 5, the Navy Department will probably make the details of the findings public.

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Major Wm. H. Bean, U. S. A., and Rear Admiral Chadwick, of the navy, have been prominently before the public in the gastronomic line during the month. The rear admiral has protested against bleaching oysters, in that it ruins their flavor, while Major Bean maintains that it is quite possible to sustain life with enjoyment on an expenditure of fifteen cents a day, the ration, however, not including oysters.

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The veterans of the Army of the Potomac will, without exception, unite in hoping and wishing for a successful administration of Mayor George B. McClellan, and they all rejoice at the honor that has come to the son of "Little Mac."

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Officers of the navy are all pleased that Mr. McClellan has given the important office of police commissioner of New York to the Hon. William McAdoo, who made hosts of friends in the service while filling the office of assistant secretary of the navy.

The L. R. Hamersly Co. take pleasure in announcing that owing to the rapid growth of their publishing business they have deemed it advisable to dispose of the United Service Magazine to L. R. Hamersly, Jr., who, as editor and proprietor, will issue the January and all succeeding numbers of the magazine. We ask the co-operation of all the old friends of the publication in making the new management a success, and we can assure our subscribers that there will be no falling off of interest or value in the magazine under the direction of its new manager.

L. R. HAMERSLY CO.

December 15, 1903.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

THE JAPANESE NAVY.

I would like to lay certain facts before the British public with respect to the Japanese navy, which, while it is quite one of the best in existence, appears to me to attract less attention in England than its sister service and than it deserves. Just why Japan should possess such a fine navy is largely due to the fact that, with her long and much broken coast line, one-half of which faces the mightiest of oceans, and the other half the stormy seas dividing her from the mainland of Asia, and with innumerable creeks and streams running in all directions, she is singularly fortunate in possessing for her naval purposes a population, a goodly proportion of which is made up of boatmen, sailors and fisherfolk. And a right good, sturdy and hardy lot of men they are, too, with plenty of "go" and dash in them, and just the material for the making of good men-o'-war's men.

Leaving out certain matters of much interest from a historical point of view, it is interesting to know that the Japanese navy has been modelled upon lines strictly British. For just prior to the last days of the Tokugawa régime there arrived in Japan a small party of British naval officers and men, but most unfortunately for all concerned it had to return home without having had a chance given it to put the Tokugawa navy on something like a sound footing. A British officer, Lieut. Howes, of the Royal Marines, was, however, more lucky, and, as Prof. Chamberlain says, "may be considered the real father of the Japanese navy." Being approached by the then new government of Japan, the British authorities lent it the services of a naval mission, of which Commander Douglas, R. N., was chief. A naval college was then built in Tokio, and real, earnest work commenced upon, and even at the present day many of the words of command in the Japanese navy are given in English.

There arrived at Japan at about the same time as did this British naval mission the famous French shipbuilder, M. Bertin, and it was during his stay that the naval yard of Yokosuka was started and brought up to a high state of perfection. But somehow the Japanese have been most unfortunate in their dealings with French shipbuilders other than M. Bertin, and so everything in their dockyards is now run on British lines.

Yokosuka may be considered the headquarters of the Japanese navy, but Kure, in the Inland Sea, is in no way behind it in importance, for in addition to superior dockyard accommodation and a fine arsenal, the harbor there is in every way—for naval purposes—one of the finest in existence. Saseho, close to Nagasaki, is magnificently situated for commanding the waters lying between Japan and Corea, and no less so as a base

for offensive operations in the Gulf of Pechili and China Seas. Maizuru, on the Sea of Japan, and Muroran, in Yezo, are yards of secondary importance and are more coaling stations and harbors of refuge for small craft than anything else as yet. Should Japan be drawn into a war with Russia, they might, however, be of inestimable value to her as places of embarkation for troops destined for the mainland of Asia, as well as for the purposes already mentioned.

The education of Japanese naval officers is in the first place carried out at the Naval College at Etajima. The cadets enter when about seventeen years of age, and after a three years' course join a training ship for cruising purposes. Returning to Japan, they are then posted to sea-going men-o'-war, and upon being promoted to sub-lieutenant, go through gunnery, torpedo, etc., schools, and later on through a course at the Naval Academy at Tokio. The work done is good; but though the Japanese are apt pupils and keen soldiers when young, they too often fall off as they grow older and this, I think, is largely due to certain old-time family customs that still hold sway in Japan. Every Japanese officer marries somewhat young, and no sooner has he prepared a home than members of his family at once begin to make his home theirs also. Household cares induced by such a state of affairs often prove too much for many of them; their early keenness vanishes, and then a general falling off in efficiency soon takes place.

As I explained in my former letter on the Japanese army, the Satsuma element is the all-predominating one in the Japanese navy. This most undoubtedly worked all right so long as Japan had a navy of 100,000 tons and less, but since its excessive augmentation during the last few years men of other clans have been joining in ever-increasing numbers, and bid fair in time to challenge the Satsuma predominance; and the consequence is that the Japanese navy, like the Japanese army, is no longer the happy family affair it was a few years back. The officers then knew each other, got on together, and so everything worked for efficiency. The cadets now joining are certainly not of the same high stamp they were when I first took up my duties at the Naval College, Etajima, and this means a good deal—certainly more in Japan than in England.

The Japanese bluejackets and petty officers are very fine men indeed—far better so, on an average, than their comrades of the army. They are better fed, clothed, and looked after, and a very great proportion of them join the service voluntarily. Taking them on the whole, they are a fairly intelligent lot of men, far more so than the Russians, but in physique they cannot in any way compare with them. Recruited entirely from the fisherfolk classes, they are a fairly hardy lot of men, and, having been brought up to the sea, soon make themselves quite at home on joining. The stokers and engine room artificers are not as good as they might be, but from all I have been able to gather they are improving.

Of the strength of the ships in the Japanese navy there is no need to write, for the fullest of information regarding that may be obtained from books and annuals devoted to such matters. The best of the Japanese ships are as good as the best in any navy. The Russians undoubtedly have officers and men superior to any the Japanese can bring forward, but I firmly believe—and I have seen a good deal of both—the average Japanese officer and man are every whit as good as the average Russian.

Whether the Japanese is quite so stubborn a fighter as the Russian time alone will tell, but there can be no doubt that while the Russians have a great contempt for the Japanese, the latter, on the other hand, have some considerable respect for Russian prowess. The naval strength of Russia in Far Eastern waters is now, so far as first class fighting ships are concerned, quite equal to that of the Japanese; but the Japanese possess a huge secondary fleet that might be brought into most effective use after the first line had fought a crippling fight. The Russians are, however, immeasurably inferior to the Japanese in regard to coaling dockyard facilities and bases of operation. And then the much vaunted Japanese patriotism! That, too, like their true fighting capabilities, has yet to be put to the test, and until it is done no one can say how the Japanese forces and public will behave in the face of reverses, no matter how unimportant they may be.—*London Spectator.*

FIGHTING FAMILIES OF AMERICA

The President recently designated as cadets and alternates, to report at West Point next June, nineteen young men, of whom seventeen are sons of army officers and two sons of naval officers. The appointments already made for both cadets and midshipmen in the various Congress districts also show the usual number of sons of officers in both the army and navy.

Only in the army and navy is there found in this country the working of a hereditary principle. In these services the son generally follows the profession of his father, and marries the daughter of one of his father's old comrades, or the sister of one of his own. Thus it happens that the navy is one great family, allied to a considerable extent by marriage with that other great family, the army.

This refers to the officers, though the hereditary principle is not wanting, to some extent, among the enlisted men. A sergeant of marines once boasted on the witness stand, to the discomfiture of a great lawyer, now an ambassador abroad, who sought to throw doubt on his knowledge of the service, that his family, for three generations, had been enlisted in the United States service.

In the "Army Register" or the "Navy Register" to-day can be found the names of many officers that date back in the service either through the male or the female line, to the War of the Revolution, many that date back in the same way to the War of 1812, and still others whose families came into the service with the Civil War, the young ensign or second lieutenant now representing the third generation in the service.

A good example of a service family is found in the Porters. They came into the service in the War of the Revolution, and have remained there ever since.

David Porter and his brother Samuel were captured and made prisoners in the old Jersey prison ship. Samuel died, but David escaped to fight against England. His son, David, Jr., entering the navy in 1798, distinguished himself in the war with Tripoli and in the War of 1812.

David, Jr.'s, son, William David, became a commodore in the navy, and his son, David Dixon, became an admiral—the celebrated Admiral Porter of the Civil War.

David, Jr.'s, nephew, Fitz-John Porter, went to West Point and fought in the Mexican and Civil Wars. Men of the blood and the family name still continue in the service. By marriage the Porters are

allied to many of the other ancient service families.

John E. Craven and Thomas Tingey Craven, both officers in the navy, represent a family that dates back in continuous service to the days of the Revolutionary War. Among their ancestors they number Commodore Thomas Tingey, who distinguished himself in the Revolution and in the war with France in 1799, and Commodore Truxtun, who captnred the French frigate Insurgent.

The first Craven in the navy came in as a paymaster in the early days of the organization of the service. He married into the service, and many of his descendants have continued in it.

One of them was Capt. Thomas Tingey Craven, who commanded the Potomac flotilla at the beginning of the Civil War and took part in many daring cutting out expeditions in those waters. He commanded the Brooklyn when Farragut forced the passage of the Mississippi between Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

The part borne by the Brooklyn in the fight can be read in any history book, and it is recorded how, amid the death and destruction raging around him, "Capt. Craven, calm and collected, stood on the break of the poopdeck, resting his hands lightly on the ratline, intently watching the progress of the battle and giving his orders in a deep bass voice which could be heard in all parts of the ship."

When the flagship Hartford got aground between the forts, it was Craven who deliberately stopped his ship in a position to divert and intercept the fire of the Confederate guns, and who kept that position until the Hartford was out of danger, when he continued up the river. At times the Brooklyn was so near to Fort St. Philip that the flashes of the Confederate guns scorched the ship's gunners.

Capt. Craven's brother, Tunis Augustus Macdonough Craven, distinguished himself in the Mexican War, and his death at the battle of Mobile Bay is a memorable passage of American naval history. In this battle Craven commanded the ironclad Tecumseh, and led the way into the bay, fearlessly running in among the torpedoes and being blown up by one of them.

Craven had placed himself alongside the pilot in the pilot house, the two being alone there. When the ship began to sink both men instinctively made for the narrow opening through which only one man could pass at a time.

The opening led from the pilot house to the turret chamber below. The ship was plunging to the bottom. A second's hesitation meant death for both Craven and the pilot.

With the greatness of soul inherited from a long line of distinguished ancestors, Craven stepped aside, saying: "You first, pilot."

The pilot escaped and Craven plunged with the ship and ninety-three of her crew to the bottom of the bay.

The Stevens family came into the navy at the outbreak of the War of 1812, under the name of Holdup. At the battle of Lake Erie Lieut. Thomas Holdup, then twenty years of age, commanded the little gunboat Trippe, which carried as her armament one long 32-pounder.

In the thick of that fight young Holdup gave a good account of himself, and, ranging alongside the British ship Queen Charlotte, and undismayed by the fire of her fourteen guns, began to pump solid shot into her as fast as he could load and fire his 32-pounder.

The American brig Niagara, Mas-

ter-Commandant Elliott, with two long 12-pounders and eighteen short 32-pounders, came bearing down on the unevenly matched contestants.

"Get out of the way and let me at her!" shouted Elliott through his speaking trumpet to Holdup, who was between the Niagara and the Queen Charlotte.

But the young gamecock held his position and kept pouring shot into the British ship, which towered above him.

"Get out of the way, or I will fire through you!" came the hail again.

"Fire and be damned!" shouted back Holdup; and just then the mizzenmast of the Queen Charlotte went by the board and soon after she surrendered.

This was the introduction of the Stevens family into the navy, Holdup afterward taking that name in addition to his own under the will of a relative.

Thomas Holdup's son, Thomas Holdup Stevens, naturally went into the navy, and as a lieutenant commanded the Ottawa in Dupont's expedition at the beginning of the Civil War. He had many other important commands, and died a rear admiral, at a ripe old age.

At the battle of Mobile Bay Stevens commanded the Winnebago. The evening before the battle he went inside and drove back the Confederate transports, which were attempting to land troops at Fort Gaines. The admiral's son, of the same name as himself, continues the family in the navy.

The Greenes of Rhode Island have been represented in the army and navy almost continuously ever since Gen. Nathaniel Greene and his cousin, Col. Christopher, who was killed in battle, entered the service of the Colonies at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. During the Civil War thirteen kinsmen of the name were serving at the same time as officers either of the navy, the regular army, or the volunteer forces.

Since the Revolutionary War the family has furnished nine officers of the name to the regular army and seven to the navy, besides many others descended in the female line. The family name is continued in the army now, however, by only one officer, and he is on the retired list.

But through the female line, the Greenes are still well represented in the military service. In the navy they are represented by the Winslows, Admiral John Winslow, of Kearsage fame, having married a daughter of the family.

As an army family the Mercers go back to Brig.-Gen. Hugh Mercer of the Continental Army. Hugh Mercer was an officer in the army of Prince Charlie. After the disaster of Culloden he fled to America and was next heard of as an officer of the Provincial forces in the French and Indian Wars.

His services as an officer of the Continental army until his death at the battle of Princeton are well known. Bancroft says: "He stood next to Greene among Revolutionary commanders."

Another member of the family, John F. Mercer, was serving as an officer of the Continental army at the same time as Gen. Hugh, and John Mercer entered the service in 1785. Then there were William, who came in in 1813; Hugh W., 1828; John T., 1854, all direct or collateral descendants of old Gen. Hugh, the companion of Charles Stuart. Two officers of the same name and lineage now bear army commissions.

The Lees of Virginia have been an army family since the days of Light Horse Harry Lee, and, barring their record when the family went South,

have in each generation distinguished themselves in the service.

Light Horse Harry Lee's son, Robert E. Lee, was educated at West Point and served with distinction in the Mexican War. He was present at nearly all the important battles, was wounded and received brevets for gallantry. Gen. Scott called him "the best soldier I ever saw in the field."

His son, George Washington Custis Lee, was also an army officer, as was his nephew, Fitzhugh Lee, who, after doffing the blue for the gray at the outbreak of the Civil War, put on the blue again in 1898 and is still Major-General in the regular establishment. Fitzhugh, Jr., is also an officer of regulars, representing the fourth generation of his family in the army.

The first Capron on the record of army officers was Seth M. Capron of Rhode Island, who entered the army as second lieutenant in 1821. Then came Erastus A. Capron, who fell, sword in hand, at the battle of Cherubusco, in the Mexican War.

His son, Allyn Capron, naturally followed the profession of his father, served with credit through the Civil War, and when the war with Spain came on was captain of artillery. He also had a son in the service, Allyn, Jr.

Allyn, Jr., was a lieutenant in the regulars, but was made a captain in the Rough Riders. He was looked upon as an officer of the greatest promise.

In the skirmish at Las Guasimas, before the assault on San Juan, young Capron fell mortally wounded, and as one of his troopers raised him up he said:

"Well, you have given them a good fight. I am indeed proud of you. No troops could have done better."

Word was carried to his father at El Caney that young Allyn was dead, and the old captain, answering never a word, opened with his guns upon El Caney fort and battered it into ruins.

Capt. Capron died of the hardships and exposures of the Santiago campaign, as his son had died from a Spanish bullet, thus making three generations of Caprons who had in succession given up their lives for their country. Now another Allyn Capron, son of the man who fell at Las Guasimas, has been appointed to the Military academy to continue the family in the service.

The Muhlenbergs, still represented in the army, came in with Gen. Peter Muhlenberg of the Revolution.

Lieutenant Commander William Truxtun, of the navy, represents a long line of Truxtuns who have served with distinction since the first Thomas Truxtun, the Revolutionary commander, who refused a commission in the British navy to take up the cause of the Colonists.

Another well known service family dating from the early days of the Republic is that of Rodgers, not unknown in the army, but strongest in the navy, and still represented in both services. One branch of it continues the Perry blood in the service.

Then there are the Bainbridge-Hoffs, representing old Commodore Bainbridge, the famous fighter of the War of 1812, and of the war with the Barbary States; the Meades, Biddles and Caseys, in both army and navy; the Ords of the army, and the Pattersons, first in the British army, then in the American navy and now in the American army.

These are only a few families, selected by way of illustration. The army and the navy are principally officered from such families, and probably always will be.

Probably in the service of no country in the world, not even the British,

can there be found such a proportionately large number of fighting families as in that of the United States. Some of these fighting families bear names of renown, while others are scarcely known outside the service.—*New York Sun.*

RUSSIA'S FIGHTING MACHINE.

THE CZAR'S ARMY AND NAVY.

The Russian Empire possesses the biggest fighting machine in the world in the shape of its army and navy, and there is no other military force of which the world knows so little.

Even the numerical strength of the army is largely a matter of conjecture. As nearly as can be reckoned, the force available for carrying on the earlier stages of a war amounts to nearly 3,100,000. But in case of national emergency this force could be swelled to about 7,500,000 fighting men by the calling out of the Territorial Reserve and the Opolchenie, or militia.

This vast army is more than twice as large as the population of New York City, more than twice as large as the German army, which, when mobolized, is estimated to have a total of 3,036,000 trained men. Under the order of October 24, 1902, the strength of the United States army was fixed at 107,855 men—less than one-seventieth of that of the Russian.

But Russia does not depend upon this immense army alone. She has one of the biggest navies in the world, or, rather, three distinct navies, each with its separate organization and separate base. One is in the Pacific, a second in the Baltic and a third in the Black Sea.

In many respects the Russian army and navy differ materially from the forces of other powers. Reticence is the keynote of the administration of both services. The secrets of both the army and the navy are carefully concealed, and so are many things not usually hidden by other nations.

For example, the allowance of ammunition for target practice in the Russian navy has been as large in the past year or two as that in the American navy. Even this fact is not generally known, and no outsider can tell whether the recent extraordinary efforts to bring the marksmanship of the gun crews up to the highest point of efficiency have been successful.

The scores are not divulged, even the fact that a ship has gone through a course of target practice is concealed. The keen rivalry between ships, so prevalent in the American navy, is thus impossible, and no Russian vessel could ever enjoy the wide fame of the Alabama, however much she might deserve it. Absolute secrecy is maintained concerning all naval and military maneuvers.

Even cases of individual heroism are similarly concealed, except in time of war. The theory of the service is that every man is equal in all respects to his comrade of the same rank. He is as brave, as efficient, and as loyal.

It is considered bad for the service to allow the limelight to fall upon particular men, however heroically they may have acted. And it is considered to be bad for the men, too—in which belief the Russian administrators show a pretty good knowledge of human nature.

A sailor may jump overboard and rescue his captain from death in shark infested waters, or a stoker may dare appalling danger to save the life of a comrade in an engine room accident. In due course, he will be rewarded and promoted, and throughout his career his superiors will remember

the deed in his favor, but it will never become public.

Rewards, promotions and distinctions are announced only in war time or in cases of very exceptional merit, and even in those cases no reference whatever is made to the occasion of the reward or special commendation in any published reports or orders.

No criticism of anything connected with the army or navy is allowed, even though it be of a commendatory nature. No officer or enlisted man is permitted to criticise a brother officer or enlisted man, except in the strictest line of duty. Breaches of this rule are most strictly punished, and to it are largely due the harmony and good fellowship of the Russian service.

Any public criticism of the service, or even of any minor department of its administration, is sternly prohibited and heavily punished. This rule prevails, of course, in other services, but is often more honored in the breach than in the observance. In Russia it is most faithfully observed. The Sampson-Schley quarrel and the Buller controversy would be equally impossible there.

The Russian naval and military services are compulsory, the rule being that every male of sound physique shall enter one service or the other at the age of twenty years. But the recruit is allowed to choose which service he will enter.

It might be supposed that this would lead to difficulty, as there might be more men choosing one service than were needed, and fewer choosing the other. But it is not so. The system works well, and helps to make the men contented.

Enlistment is for three years, with the privilege of re-enlistment only upon condition that the candidate has been promoted during his term. In this respect the Russian service differs from most other services.

This peculiar provision has the merit of insuring that all the veterans are picked men, while soldiers and sailors of only average quality are eliminated in due course.

The recruit for the naval service is usually received, after passing his physical examination, at one of the great Russian naval bases—Kronstadt, St. Petersburg, Port Arthur or Vladisvostok. After a brief term in barracks there he is sent to a training ship, and thence promoted to a battleship, cruiser or other vessel—the class of ship to which he is sent being determined by his proficiency, a peculiar feature of the Russian service.

The Russian navy is modeled very closely upon that of England. The Russian army is modeled on the German. In both cases the examples chosen as the best have been copied to the minutest detail.

There is hardly any difference in the day's routine on a Russian and an English man-of-war. The duties of men and officers, the messing arrangements, the stations, the drills, the regulations—all are practically the same.

Discipline is administered under Articles of War formulated by imperial ukase. It is far stricter than in the British service, which, again, is far stricter than the American.

All government in Russia is, of course, essentially autocratic, and the spirit is nowhere stronger than in the naval and military services. Yet there is no discontent in the Russian army and navy, however much there may be among some grades of Russian civilians.

The reason is that the man in the enlisted ranks lives better, dresses better and has more money to spend than the average peasant of his class in civil life. He has profited mater-

ially by becoming a soldier or sailor, in which respect he differs from the enlisted man in most other services.

As for the rigid discipline, it is only what he has always known. The Russian peasant is accustomed to the iron heel from infancy.

As a general rule, the officers are liked by their men, and the mere fact that every Russian soldier and sailor refers habitually to the Czar as the Little Father will give foreigners some idea of the intense loyalty which pervades the service.

In the non-commissioned ranks, the grades are about the same as in the British navy, but the men have less authority, receive less pay and have fewer privileges. The pay of a Russian seaman is only 80 kopecks every ten days, a kopeck being about three-quarters of a cent.

Nevertheless, the seaman's mess on the Pacific and Baltic stations compares favorably even with that on American ships, where the sailors are said to be the best fed in the world. The same is measurably true of the Black Sea fleet.

The officers' messes are supported by fixed contributions from all the officers according to their rank, and the British idea of gunroom and wardrobe messes is carried out on the larger Russian ships.

Eligibility for the commissioned ranks in both services depends upon birth and educational qualification. It is necessary that candidates be well born.

Their parents must have been of noble birth, or members of the government or the civil service, or officers in the army or navy, or—to quote the words of the imperial ukase on the subject—"persons of substance, who never kept an open store or market." That is to say, the son of a rich merchant would be eligible for a commission, but a trader's son would not.

In addition to the qualification of birth and family, candidates must have passed the final examination in the gymnasium, which is about the equivalent of that for entrance to the higher class of American universities, or the final examination of the best American high schools.

The pay of officers in both services is practically nominal. That of a junior lieutenant in the navy is 100 roubles a month, about $50 in American money, as compared with $150 a month for the same rank in the American navy.

Russian officers enter the service for a career, never for a livelihood. Any man with social ambitions in Russia must become an officer of either the army or the navy, unless he be a person of transcendent ability. No father would think of entering his son in the cadet school unless he could give him a suitable income with which to maintain his rank.

In the British navy and other fleets the officers of the higher ranks receive liberal allowances from the government to defray the expenses of the frequent entertainments given when in port, or when foregathered with the warships of other countries. There are no such allowances in the Russian service.

The officers have to pay every cent out of their own pockets, and yet nowhere is hospitality more magnificently dispensed than on a Russian warship. It has become a proverb in all the ports of the world visited by naval vessels.

In point of seamanship, the Russian naval officer compares favorably with the officer of any other service. There are two good reasons for this.

In the first place, if not better educated, his education has certainly progressed further at the time of his

entrance into the Naval Academy at Kronstadt than that of either the English or American cadet; and, in the second place, he is under far more effective compulsion to keep up his studies when afloat.

But mere book learning will not take a lad far in the Russian service. No cadet is eligible for promotion to the rank of Lieutenant until he has made a trip around the world in a Russian man-of-war. That is his post-graduate course after he leaves the Naval Academy.

The standard of discipline in the commissioned ranks of both services is similar to that in the armies and navies of other nations, with this striking difference, that off duty there are practically no distinctions of rank among the officers.

In the messroom or at the card table, the junior lieutenant does not defer respectfully to the colonel of his regiment or to the captain of his ship, as he would do in other services. On the contrary, he is hail fellow well met with him.

There is a remarkable spirit of brotherhood in a Russian mess, and one officer stands absolutely upon an equality with another. It is this feature of Russian military life which most surprises foreign officers when they dine on a Russian warship or with a garrison mess.

They stare in amazement when they hear a mere boy of a lieutenant call his colonel by his Christian name, or even chaff him as he might have chaffed one of his chums at the Naval Academy.

Certain distinctions in the commissioned ranks are peculiar to the Russian Navy and form an interesting link with the past. A boy enters the service as a naval cadet, and the ranks to which he may be promoted are the following:

Cadet of the navy, junior lieutenant, lieutenant of the navy, captain of the navy, captain of corvette, captain of frigate, commodore, vice-admiral, admiral and admiral of the navy.

These ranks were adopted from the British navy in the time of Peter the Great, and have remained unchanged ever since then. The corvettes and frigates disappeared long ago, but the titles are retained.

One branch of the Russian army is totally unlike any force possessed by other civilized powers. It is, of course, the Cossack levy, which numbers 142,000 men. Every able-bodied Cossack is liable to service, without limit of age.

He becomes liable at eighteen, and the liability does not cease so long as he is able to ride a horse or carry a gun. But only a proportion of the Cossacks serve at one time. The rest have unlimited leave or belong to the reserve.

The Cossack feels the burden of military service more heavily than any other man in the world. At eighteen he begins three years' preparatory service in the locality where he dwells.

After that is over he is drafted into one of the three Cossack bans for twelve years' service in any part of the empire. He spends seven years with the colors and five years with the reserve.

After these fifteen years of service the veteran might be supposed to have done his duty to the nation. But there is a still further reserve, which comprises all able-bodied Cossacks not included in the other forces. The veteran has to join this body and remain in it until he is enfeebled by age.

The men of this last reserve have to supply and maintain at their own expense their horses, arms, clothing and equipment. Thus a highly important addition to the Russian army is kept up at the cost of the men themselves.—*New York Sun.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

Reminiscences of the Civil War. By General John B. Gordon of the Confederate Army, New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. Pp. 474.

This is one of the most fascinating of all the personal memoirs relating to the Civil War, and is written in a spirit so generous and considerate, and so entirely free from any narrow sectional feeling, that it will be read with interest, satisfaction and pleasure by North as well as by South. It prepares the way for the future historian of the war, who is to write without prejudice, in all fairness, and entirely free from bias, the final account of this great struggle. The author writes in the spirit of a new generation, with as full an appreciation and admiration of the bravery, chivalry and other high qualities of his enemies in war, as of his own people, and as great a contempt for the meanness and petty injustices of his compatriots as of his adversaries. He writes as a citizen of the United States for the united country, North and South, and as one who, after fighting well for his principles during the war, served his country when the war was over with the same unselfish devotion, and soon forgot all bitter sectional feeling, if he ever entertained any.

The work is truly a collection of *personal* recollections, and not in any sense a history, although it contains much that will be useful to the future historian of the war (especially in regard to some of the more important actions, such as Gettysburg, Antietam, the Wilderness and Cedar Creek), and the general events are made sufficiently clear to enable the reader to appreciate the author's record of his personal experiences.

Throughout the volume are many interesting estimates of the characters of the great leaders and commanders on both sides: Grant, Lee, Sheridan, Early, Stonewall Jackson, Sherman, Rosecrans, McClellan, Thomas, Breckinridge, Wright, Longstreet, Joseph E. Johnston, Ewell, etc.

The most interesting chapters, perhaps, are those relating to Gettysburg, the Wilderness and Cedar Creek, and these are also the most valuable historically, but the entire volume is most entertaining reading, not only on account of interest attaching to the events transpiring, but also because of the author's fluent style and his evident sincerity and kindly feeling towards all. His own character stands forth throughout the work, as that of a fine Southern gentleman of the highest type.

This volume will take its place with the great memoirs on the Civil War, and must be regarded as initiating a new era in such writings in that it presents *both* sides with equal fairness, and thus opens the road for the future historian of the great conflict.

J. P. W.

The New International Encyclopaedia. Editors: D. C. Gilman, LL. D., president of Johns Hopkins University and of Carnegie Institution; H. T. Peck, Ph. D., professor in Columbia University; F. M. Moore, M. A., professor in New York

University. Volumes XI., XIII., XIV. New York, Mead & Company, 1903.

This great work is n idly nearing completion, and .ccessive volume but emphas golden opinions expressed in to the initial volumes. Th nt of the *Beautiful* still ke with that of the *Useful* th the volumes, and makes the paedia not only valuable for ientific, historical and gener ation, but also as a work of ice in *art*. Indeed it const most interesting storeho ne treasures in this last- d domain.

plates include the usual num- of colored ones, some of which are perfectly exquisite in their delicacy of coloring and beauty of form, among which may be mentioned the two lovely plates of old and recent China, one of the three color process, and a plate of illuminated manuscripts, besides many in the domain of natural history, such as the fishes of the Philippines, American orchids, medusae, lilaceae, lizards (with splendid coloring), and many more.

The maps are both numerous and good. One of particular interest to us is that of Central Luzon. There is also a new map of Orange River Colony, as it is now designated.

The engravings are especially rich in works of art in these later volumes. We have here some beautiful reproductions of the masterpieces of Fra Filippo, Lippi, Raphael, Murillo, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, Guido Remi, Paul Potter, Millet and Meissonnier, besides Marshall's portrait of Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther (in the Dresden Gallery), Vertu's engraving of Milton, David's Napoleon I., Kneller's Sir Isaac Newton, Benjamin West's William Penn, not to mention the examples of ancient and modern architecture, especially the cathedrals, and finally the great works in sculpture.

The *military* articles are a special feature of this encyclopaedia, and are so fully treated and so well illustrated as to make this work a most valuable work of reference for military men. Indeed, at all isolated army posts, where larger libraries are not accessible, no other single work of reference will be found as generally useful as this one, for the enlisted men as well as for the officers.

J. P. W.

The Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington from 1799 to 1815. Selected and arranged by Walter Wood. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1902. Pp. 475.

This volume, dedicated to General Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum, consists of selections from the despatches and documents pertaining to the various campaigns of the Duke of Wellington, as well as those relating to America, from 1799 to 1815. It contains all that is of interest today in these documents, and the papers have been so selected that they present the Duke as "the historian of his own brilliant career."

The present work is an epitome of the monumental work compiled by Colonel Gurwood, which is published in twelve bulky volumes, but much that is dull and tedious and without present-day interest in the original has been omitted in this.

To quote the author's own words: "My task has been to choose the most interesting passages, to give them headings, and to bring together some of them—as in case of those relating to America—from several volumes, for convenience of reference, so that they may tell their own story of the unparalleled achievements of our greatest soldier."

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PAYMASTER H. E. BISCOE, U. S. NAVY

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THE

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THE FIRST TIME OUR MARINES WENT TO PANAMA.

THE geographical position of the Isthmus of Panama is well known. It is traversed by a railroad connecting the city of Aspinwall, or Colon, on the Caribbean Sea, with the city of Panama, on the Pacific Ocean. This railroad, forty-seven and one-half miles long, with ten and one-half miles of curves, passes through a country well watered by the Chagres River and its tributary streams.

Aspinwall sprang up at the opening of the railroad. It contained previous to its destruction by the rebel leader, Prestan, ten thousand inhabitants. The majority of these were natives, but there were a considerable number of Americans, English, French and Germans. In 1848 the United States, in a treaty with New Granada, now one of the Colombian States, guaranteed to protect the tariff across the Isthmus. The railroad seems to be well managed. The rolling stock previous to the destruction of Colon (one hundred and forty cars having been burned by the insurgents) was in excellent condition; the road-bed was well ballasted, the embankments were in good order, and the trains ran on schedule time. The few clusters of native huts which marked the stations before the advent of the canal company have grown into almost a continuous line of thriving villages.

The president of each of the eight states forming the United States of Colombia, as well as the national executive, are elected for terms of two years. Each state is independent in its local affairs.

In the election which occurred in Panama in 1884 two candidates were ballotted for—Señors Arosemena and Lambert. The former

was supposed to have had the support of the government at Bogota. Although the results of the balloting were disputed, it was claimed that Señor Lambert had been elected. The Constitutional Assembly, composed of thirty-two members, which met on the 6th of January, 1885, decided that there had been no election, and proceeded to elect a president, as provided for by law. General Santo Domingo Vila, who came to the Isthmus the previous November as a fiscal agent of the general government to examine into the contracts between the Panama Railroad Company and the State, was chosen president of the State of Panama January 7, 1885, by the Constitutional Assembly. Señors Arosemena and Vivas Leon were chosen first designado and second designado. The office and duties of the designado are similar to those of vice-president, and in the event of the death or absence of the president, they succeed to the presidency.

The other officers of the state government, such as secretary of state, governor of Panama, prefects, etc., are appointed by the president. The commander-in-chief of the Colombian forces is appointed from Bogota, and that office was filled by General Gonima.

The steamer Boyaca, which subsequently performed valuable service for the national government, was lying off Panama, formed part of Gonima's force, and was commanded by Colonel Ulloa. The Boyaca, intended for the revenue service of Colombia, had been built at Wilmington, Del., by the Pusey & Jones Company in 1844, and was a stanch craft, about the size of our seagoing revenue cutters. In February a portion of the national forces stationed on the Isthmus was sent to Buenaventura, the sea-port of the State of Cuaca, about 300 miles south of Panama, to aid in suppressing the revolution which had broken out in that state. About the 1st of March General Vila, obtaining two months' leave of absence, sailed himself with more national troops for Carthagena, to assist in suppressing the rebellion in the state of Bolivar. The strength of the national forces having been reduced in Panama, those who were discontented with the result of the recent election availed themselves of the opportunity to attempt a revolution. First Designado Arosemena had succeeded to the presidency of the state in the absence of Santo Domingo Vila, and General Gonima, the commander-in-chief, was in Colon. General Aizpuru, who had been president of the state of Panama for one term, six or seven years previously, and who had served in the national legislature, was recognized as the leader of the liberal party in the state. On the 16th of March he made a demonstration against the government which caused Señor Arosemena to take refuge on her

British Majesty's ship Heroine, then lying off Panama, broke open cars, opened and blocked switches, obstructed the road, prevented repairs to the same, cut the telegraph wires, seized and held railroad employes, claimed the right to exercise a censorship over the telegrams, and made it necessary to close the transit. General Gonima, hearing of this demonstration on the part of Aizpuru, proceeded by train to Panama with the national force then stationed at Colon. When Gonima arrived, on the 17th of March, Aizpuru retired from the city, and Señor Arosemena returned from the Heroine. Colon was now without troops. Prestan, a Haytian negro, with a trace of white blood, a lawyer of considerable ability and the leader of a faction of the radical wing of the liberal party, took advantage of the state of affairs and seized that city. Aizpuru and Prestan were pronounced in their dislike to all foreigners on the Isthmus, especially to the Americans living there, and this feeling was made use of to incite their adherents and hold them together.

About the 20th of March Arosemena resigned. Vivas Leon should then, in the absence of Santo Domingo Vila, have succeeded to the presidency of Panama, but was prevented by General Gonima, who declared himself "the military and civil chief of Panama." This title and office are established by law; the national government may, under certain circumstances, make such an appointment.

On the night of the 30th of March, General Gonima sent Colonel Ulloa (then commanding the Boyaca) by train to Colon, with a portion of the troops in Panama, to quell Prestan's revolution. In order to prevent a conflict within the limits of the city, the superintendent of the Panama Railroad (Mr. Burt, an American) requested Colonel Ulloa to disembark at Monkey Hill, about two miles from Colon. This was also made necessary by Prestan, who, hearing of the departure of the national troops, went out with his force to meet Ulloa, tearing up the railroad tracks between Colon and Monkey Hill. The two forces, numbering about 150 each, met on the Panama side of Monkey Hill. After a short conflict Prestan was driven from his position into Colon and behind his barricades in that city.

After fighting for several hours on the morning of April 1st, the insurgents were dislodged and put to flight by the national forces, led with great gallantry by Colonel Ulloa and his second in command, Colonel Broun, who was chief of police of Panama. Both officers were severely wounded in the engagements. During the conflict the city was fired by the insurgents, looted and destroyed.

The departure of Colonel Ulloa and his command from Panama

still further reduced the force in that city; and on the day of the fight in Colon, April 1st, Aizpuru, with the ammunition taken on the 16th of the preceding month from a sealed car in transit to Central America, captured Panama. General Gonima, with less than one hundred men in the cuartel, made a gallant defence, and held out for some time against a much larger force. He finally surrendered to Aizpuru to prevent the destruction of the cuartel by dynamite taken from contractors employed by the canal company and used for blasting.

When General Gonima surrendered, the Boyaca was included in the stipulations, but Señor José Obaldia, who was in command of her, refused to be governed by the terms of the surrender and sailed for Buenaventura, then held by the national government. General Aizpuru, having seized the reins of government, declared himself president of the State of Panama, and filled the offices with his friends. Colonel Ulloa, with less than one hundred national troops, held Colon; the remainder of the Isthmus included in the zone of transit was held by the insurgents under Aizpuru.

This was the condition of affairs on the arrival, on the night of the 11th of April, 1885, of the first battalion of marines, consisting of four companies, of fifty men each, under the command of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Charles Heywood. At 4 o'clock the next morning the battalion disembarked, and in two hours from that time Colonel Heywood, with his entire command, occupied the railroad company's buildings at the Panama end of the line, situated outside of the city of Panama, and the transit was open. The transit was kept open by a detachment on every train, and although attempts were made by the insurgents to attack the trains at various points, a few well directed shots, together with the firm bearing and admirable discipline of our men, prevented any disaster.

On the night of the 15th of April the second battalion of marines, consisting of five companies, under the command of Captain J. H. Higbee, arrived at Colon. On the steamer was also a detachment of 125 sailors, with gatling guns and three-inch rifles, commanded by naval officers. Commander B. H. McCalla, U. S. N., was also on board the steamer, who had been ordered by the Navy Department to assume command of all the forces on shore. The two battalions of marines were brigaded and placed under the command of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Heywood. Captain Higbee, of the second battalion, was placed in command of the force at Colon. Captain Huntington was ordered with his company to Matachin, and was placed in command of that turbulent district, twelve miles from Colon. Captain

Collum, on the 17th, proceeded to Panama, in command of the remaining four companies of the battalion and two pieces of artillery, and occupied a bridge at the intersection of the railroad and a country road, the main approach to the city, one mile from Panama. This was considered an important point, as the insurgents were in considerable force in the vicinity. A reconnaissance developed this fact, and while orders had been received to act on the defensive, the commanding officer was allowed to exercise his discretion in regard to the arrest of suspicious characters and the dispersion of armed bodies. The pickets were frequently fired upon, and shots exchanged, but not of sufficient gravity to cause a general alarm. During all of this time the trains ran regularly, guarded by marines and sailors. Armored cars were constructed, on which were placed two pieces of artillery, manned by sailors, with a detachment of marines in another car.

In the meantime the national forces were assembling at Buenaventura to embark for Panama, in order to attack that city. The insurgent force in Panama was engaged in loop-holing the Cathedral and the old monastery in the Plaza San Francisco, and mining a subterranean passage between the two. They were also making such dispositions of the strategic points in the Plaza Santa Anna as to render it a formidable place to resist attack. Anarchy reigned along the line of the railroad, negroes were shot and butchered by the Spaniards, and one man was caught at San Pablo by Lieutenant Elliott, of Company A, Second Battalion, who had in his possession a package of dynamite with fuse.

At this time the situation at Panama was as follows: Aizpuru occupied the city with 800 insurgents; the foreigners were much alarmed, but they were really in no danger until the arrival of the national troops. Then it was feared that during a conflict within the limits of the city, Panama would be fired and looted by the insurgents. The large sums of money paid semi-monthly to the employes of the canal company had attracted men of bad character from the West Indies and the West Coast. These men had nothing to lose, and the prospect of plunder was an incentive to fire Panama. The city was not supplied with water and had no fire apparatus. In the prevailing strong winds, the flames, in the event of conflagration, would have spread to the buildings and wharves of the railroad company and have destroyed them. Such disaster would have practically closed the transit for a long period, besides inflicting great losses, both of life and property, among the Americans, English, French and Germans in the city, who relied upon our force for protection.

The national troops were now being embarked at Buenaventura and were expected in a few days. On the 24th it was reported that barricades were being erected in the streets. Our consul general, Mr. Adamson, notified Commander McCalla that the erection of the barricades would cut off communication with the Central and South American cable office. It was, therefore, determined by the commander to occupy the city. The commanders of the different columns were notified to move at 1 P. M. and occupy the positions in the city as indicated by previous orders. Promptly at that hour the signal was made to advance. The centre column, under the command of Captain Meade, advanced from its position at the Panama Railroad Company's buildings to the Cable office, by the Carrera de Colon. The right column, under the command of Captain Collum, advanced from the bridge fifteen minutes earlier, the distance to be marched being greater, along the Chemin de la Savanne and the Carrera del Isthme, to the Plaza Santa Anna. The left column, under the immediate command of Colonel Heywood, advanced by a street running parallel with the beach, to the Plaza Alfaro; thence by the Carrera de Cordova to the American Consulate and the Pacific Mail office. The advance was made without music, by the right flank, deployed for street firing, a distance of one yard between each file, the front and rear ranks marching as close as possible to the houses on either side, and the artillery in the centre. Each man carried eighty rounds; the howitzer and gatlings were ready for action, and four men on the right of each company carried axes slung. The Plaza Santa Anna, a part of the city occupied by the worst classes, was reached by the right column without meeting resistance. On reaching this point, the assembly was sounded, and the artillery rapidly advanced to the centre of the Plaza, closely supported by the infantry. The Cathedral, a massive stone structure, was occupied without violence by Captain Collum and the men comfortably quartered within. A howitzer was placed in position, loaded with shrapnel, at the front entrance, and a gatling at the rear. A sentinel was posted at each corner of the Plaza and a line of pickets on three of the principal streets in the vicinity. The grog shops were closed and the streets of the entire city thoroughly patrolled during the night.

A barricade in the Carrera de Caldas was captured by the column under Captain Meade and destroyed. It was made of heavy wooden posts set in the ground three feet apart, connected by boarding to be backed with earth. A barricade in the Carrera de Ricuarté, constructed of sand-bags, was overcome by Colonel Heywood, occupied, and a gatling mounted behind it trained on a cuartel garrisoned by

300 insurgents. General Rafael Aizpuru, Senor Carlos Vallarino, secretary of war; Carlos Mendoza, secretary of state, and Bernardo Vallarino, governor of Panama, were arrested by Colonel Heywood near the consulate of the United States. General Aizpuru and his officers were confined in a spacious apartment in the Grand Central Hotel, in the custody of Lieutenant Reeder, with a suitable guard from Company A, First Battalion.

The occupation of the city of Panama was accomplished without resistance, and in thirty minutes from the time the signal was made, the United States forces had complete possession of the city. Had resistance been made, the slaughter on both sides would have been terrible. The want of unanimity among the insurgent officers within, together with the celerity of our movements, combined to accomplish this bloodless victory. When we had the city within our strong grasp, the insurgents however seemed to forget their differences, and threats were freely made that they would drive the "Gringos" into the sea. About 7 P. M. a quarrel occurred between some citizens in the Cathedral Square, during which several shots were exchanged. A gatling in the Calle Sucre, sufficiently elevated to clear the tops of the houses, was fired across the Plaza, clearing it in a few seconds. The Cathedral in the Plaza Santa Anna was surrounded on three sides by cuartels, but field pieces were trained on them, completely commanding the position. During the night great excitement prevailed among the populace, but when it was found that our forces were in the city to protect it from destruction, and that we did not propose to attack the cuartels, merely acting on the defensive, their fears were allayed, and the splendid conduct of our men commanded their admiration.

At 9 P. M. on the following day our force was quietly withdrawn from the city, the Second Battalion being the last to leave, and occupied the lines as before, a guarantee having been given by the rebel leader, who was released, that no barricades should be erected, and that should an engagement occur, the fighting would be outside the city. It was the intention to re-occupy the city in that event, and hand it over to the lawful authorities.

On the 27th the national troops arrived, and after a conference within our lines, between the rebel leader and Colonel Montoya, the commander-in-chief of the national forces, the quasi government disappeared, Aizpuru having capitulated. Twelve hundred stand of arms were surrendered, and the insurgents were permitted to disband and leave for their homes on parole.

At daylight on the morning of the 30th the government troops, numbering 800, landed at the railroad wharf and encamped near the

bridge occupied by the Second Battalion. At 1 P. M. the Second Battalion formed line at the entrance to the city, on the Carrera del Isthmus, and formally turned over the city to the national authorities, the troops under Colonel Reyes receiving the customary honors. Thus ended the Expedition to Panama. On the 2d of May the Second Battalion returned to Colon, and on the night of the 7th, the expeditionary force, with the exception of the First Battalion, sailed in the steamer Colon for home. Two weeks later the First Battalion sailed in the Para.

The total force on shore during the occupation of Panama amounted to 824 officers and men, five gatling guns, one 12-pound howitzer and seven 3-inch rifles.

R. S. COLLUM,
Major U. S. Marine Corps.

SOLEY'S LIFE OF ADMIRAL DAVID D. PORTER.

MUCH is demanded of biography at present. Perhaps the severest demand is that enthusiasm shall stand the test of line and level and that the eulogist shall make out his case. The tendency to substitute plea for proof has made many pages of biography dry reading, and there is a reaction which is manifested in the semi-cynical point of view of the truly modern biographer who takes care not to subject his own family history to latter-day biographical methods.

From the researches of fifteen or more years, in the possession of the family papers, and with his personal familiarity with history, the traditions and the technique of the Navy and the Navy Department, Professor James Russell Soley had the equipment to search minutely into the life and times of Admiral David D. Porter and to prepare a singularly illuminative biography after modern standards. That his connection with the family has, instead, given to the work something, perhaps much, of older standards of biography is to be accounted a gain or a loss in accordance with the tastes of the individual reader.

No topic of equivalent recent date is so obsolete as the consideration of the Navy previous to 1880. Even so recent a secretary as Hon. William E. Chandler confesses that the details of the Navy of to-day are entirely foreign to his experience. In the discussion of events, whose environments have vanished and whose associations have faded almost to forgetfulness, Professor Soley could have incurred no charge of disloyalty if he had dissected with scientific accuracy the characteristics of the vigorous career of which he is the biographer. That he constantly and palpably holds a brief for Admiral Porter detracts from the value of the book to the general reader.

One is not to be understood as saying that Professor Soley is not justified in statement and allegation. His estimate of Admiral Porter will stand or fall as the interested reader will find it to vary from or coincide with the official records. The operations at New Orleans, for example, are to be covered by the volume of the naval war records about to go to press. Professor Soley undoubtedly has had full access to the material included in these volumes, and his acknowledgments to

that accurate and indefatigable compiler, Mr. Charles Stewart, the chief of the office of Naval War Records, indicate that the future reader of the governmental publication will read as Professor Soley read and decide whether he has read aright.

The period of naval history which is comprised in Professor Soley's book is almost coincident with that of the old navy. The first chapter tells again the story of the Porter family in the navy, a story which bears repetition well. The history of a distinguished family in American annals is not important only in that it continued through generations to be represented in a particular sphere of activity—the fact alone of military service does not constitute a title to distinction—but when successive generations develop exceptional and distinguished services from the representatives of the family in question, that fact is the title to the consideration in which not a few families of military or civic fame are held. The achievements of the earlier naval heroes who bore the name of Porter are summarized in a not too long chapter, and the birthright of Admiral David Dixon Porter to a career at sea is established by a well condensed and arranged summary of ardent naval exploits by his grandfather and father, both of the name of David.

The life of Admiral Porter begins in detail when his father, Commodore Porter, threw up his commission in the navy of the United States and took command of the Mexican navy, inaugurating his son's career by making him a midshipman on one of the vessels of the very small navy list of the Mexican government. Under the command of Captain David H. Porter, a nephew of the commodore, young Porter saw a good deal of fighting of a semi-privateering sort and imbibed ideals of a high character as to personal gallantry and activity, though not, it may be assumed, and as is later suggested by the author, calculated to inculcate habits of thorough subordination or love of routine. It was a wild, adventurous life, with plenty of hard fighting and attractive possibilities for prize money, but it was probably for the benefit of the future admiral that the experience lasted less than two years, and that he was able at the age of sixteen to enter the navy of the United States as a midshipman.

But the experience, according to Professor Soley, was of great and lasting benefit to him. Thus it is said:

"(The Mexican service) had made him, even upon his first day's tour of duty a veteran naval officer. * * * He knew more about handling a ship and fighting a ship than all his companions (the midshipmen) put together, and from the moment that he joined the service he was regarded with a wholesome respect and became at once

the dominating spirit among his young shipmates. This accounts in part for the marked and distinctive place which Porter held in the navy all through the thirty years of his career prior to the Civil War."

Upon young Porter's appointment to the navy he experienced the kindness of his father's friends, then in political ascendency, and he was sent to the Mediterranean squadron, but the favor was marred by the fact that he was assigned to the Constellation, under Captain Wadsworth, who had been a member of the court-martial in the case of the older Porter, and there was friction, and, as young Porter thought, oppression. Commodore Biddle, who, also, as a member of the court-martial, was regarded as an enemy, was commander-in-chief of the station, yet his was the hand of friendship that put aside the whip of calamity in young Porter's case.

Porter's second cruise, the family friends still being in political ascendency, was again in the Mediterranean, but with a fast friend of the elder Porter, Commodore Patterson, who regarded young Porter in the light of a son, and afforded him every opportunity for improvement of the advantages of the Mediterranean station. Commodore Patterson's family accompanied him, and the youngest Miss Patterson became the Mrs. Porter of a later date. There is a description of life in the Mediterranean squadron of 1833, when Porter was nineteen and the favorite of the commanding officer, which may well be read with envy by the older junior officer of to-day, conscious of departmental expectations as to gun practice and other matters.

From 1834 to 1842 Porter was on shore duty, six years of the time being spent in the Coast Survey. In 1842 he went again to the Mediterranean station as a newly commissioned lieutenant. His ship, the Congress, was transferred to the Brazil station, from which Porter returned in 1845. In 1846 he made a tour of investigation of the newly established Dominican Republic, the interval being passed at the Naval Observatory. In November, 1846, Porter secured favorable action on his application for service in the Mexican War.

It was noted that in 1840, during this very considerable period of shore service, Porter had an altercation in the office with the officer afterwards Vice-Admiral Rowan, and Porter's successor. "While Porter was not a man of violent temper, he was as quick as any one to resent what he thought an insult," and as a result of an exchange of blows a challenge was passed. Friends accommodated the difference and neither officer was lost to the service.

Porter's first service in the Mexican War was on recruiting duty at New Orleans, a position which naturally chafed his active spirits. Professor Soley's summary of the naval events of that war is interest-

ing and, it is to be presumed, accurate, and a not widely known phase of the naval history of the United States is put in a form convenient for the general reader. Commodore David Conner, first in command, is described as a typical officer of the peaceful times following the War of 1812. A fine sailor, unrivalled in dispositions for forwarding the transportation and landing of the army, he lacked aggressiveness and confidence in military operations. Such aggressiveness and confidence the then Lieutenant Porter would have gladly lent him had he been permitted. Lieutenant Porter had, before joining the fleet, offered a plan for blowing up the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, at Vera Cruz, which, as Professor Soley suggests, offers opportunity for criticism as to its advisability, but which breathes a spirit of ardent desire to be up and at them.

Porter was finally afforded an opportunity for active service, and, going from New Orleans with a draft of men, reported to the commander of the fleet on February 27, 1847, and was assigned as first lieutenant of the Spitfire, of which Commander Josiah Tattnall was in command. When Porter joined, the operations for landing General Scott's army at Vera Cruz were well under way, but Conner was superseded by Commodore Matthew C. Perry on the eve of the hostilities. Tattnall and Porter, "to the breathless amazement and admiration" of the new commander-in-chief, put the Spitfire and flotilla between the batteries of Santiago and San Juan. They disregarded signals to retire from the position, and when Perry recovered his breath he sent his fleet captain in to enforce the retirement. It is to be questioned if there is wisdom in applauding an unauthorized and doubtful exploit of this kind. Perry was admittedly a sagacious and competent commander. The Spitfire and flotilla were put in jeopardy for no apparent cause, except the desire of her officers to be "doing something," and that the vessels came off without loss is not to be set against the lack of subordination on the part of the officers in charge. While certain things may be claimed for the effervescent genius of younger officers, commanders-in-chief certainly have the right to expect tolerance of impatience of such manifestations of genius as tend to spoil the operations of a campaign by a foolhardy exposure of matériel and personnel. The case of Tattnall and Porter was not unique, it is apparent, in the naval operations of the Mexican War, but the dismissal of "Alvarado Hunter" possibly enforced a suggestion that the office of commander-in-chief is to direct, and that of subordinate officers is to know and carry out the general policy formulated by their chief, rather than to seek individual applause on long chances.

At the capture of Tobasco, June 13, Porter led a landing party of seventy men, which captured the defences, and was in command of the force which defended them against later Mexican attack. It was an action, Professor Soley says, which was a source of especial pride to Admiral Porter, and he was fond of recounting the circumstances. It also brought him promotion and his first naval command, that of the Spitfire. It is in connection with the services of Admiral Porter in the Mexican War that Professor Soley gives an estimate of the Admiral which perhaps exceeds in accuracy the more sweeping characterization to be found in the latter part of the book. He says:

"In temperament Porter was restless, eager, energetic. He had the mental makeup of a born fighter, of an officer who finds his true opportunity only in war and in struggle, who before and during the contest has but one idea—to whip the enemy—and who bends all his ingenuity and resource, all his mental and physical force to that end without too much regard to the risk of consequences, either to himself, his ship or his men."

Returning from the Mexican War, Porter was for two years more in the Coast Survey, and then applied for leave and became a master in the mercantile marine, commanding mail line steamers with considerable success. At the expiration of this work he was sent to Syria for a load of camels to supply a demand for transportation in the arid lands of the Southwest. For three years following this novel experience he was at the Portsmouth, N. H., navy yard, and in 1860 he had practically decided to resign from the navy and take permanent employment with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Professor Soley covers much unwritten naval history in the following paragraph:

"His (Porter's) home during most of his life had been in Washington, which was then virtually a Southern capital, with a society closely attached to the successive administrations that had in turn represented for fifty years the dominant party in the country. Porter's connections both by birth and marriage had given him a conspicuous place in this society, and the great clan to which he belonged, comprising the Dallases, the Baches, the Pattersons and other important families had always had a commanding political and social influence; so much so that during the Polk administration, when they had representatives in the vice-presidency and at the head of the War Department and the Treasury, they had been familiarly known as the 'Coburgs,' a name which afterward passed into broader use. This sort of influence, however, could only have affected Porter by obtaining for him easy and attractive details suitable to his rank, which was not what he wanted. It may have had something to do with the fact

that his four cruises had been to the Mediterranean and that his shore service, except during the last three years, had been in and about Washington. But neither his native qualities nor any other consideration could advance Porter a single step in the inflexible order of the officers on the navy list where his advancement followed the simple and mechanical rule of seniority promotion, or give him a more important part in naval administration."

Without a system of retirement, death in the higher grades alone brought promotion, and in time of peace casualties were few and superior officers took excellent care of themselves. Porter, still a lieutenant and of twenty years' standing, could see little of promise in the future and determined to separate from the service. Before he could carry his purpose into effect the Civil War came.

One has but to read the sixth chapter of the book, devoted to the history of the Powhatan expedition against Fort Pickens, to understand the duration of the Civil War. The armed forces of the South were by no means the greatest of the opponents of the North, and the ignorance of the basic principle of military affairs that permitted the Secretary of the Navy to order the Powhatan to one duty and the President to secretly order her in another direction indicates a state of confusion and lack of knowledge that approaches chaos. "As was his usual custom, Porter did not hesitate to express himself freely about the course of events." His expressions came to the White House and the Powhatan expedition was the result. Professor Soley finds Porter blamable in the matter. It does not appear that he was any more to blame than any one else in Washington at that time. It was a governmental madhouse. Doubt, suspicion, fears and uncertainties, lack of knowledge and lack of experience, lack of settled standards and especially a fibre-breaking suspicion of the loyalty of men on whom trust had been placed for years made the course of the government in the first few months a clutching at straws, and the man who asseverated the loudest and promised the most received an amount of trust and confidence that might or might not be deserved.

But whatever may have been Porter's fault in the matter, it was expiated by the circumstances which nullified the purpose of the expedition. Professor Soley indicates that Captain Montgomery C. Meigs, who had a hand in the intrigue by which the Secretary of the Navy was distinctly made the subject of an affront, also turned a trick on Porter and took further advantage of the President by securing orders which gave the command of the operations to the army instead of the navy under Porter.

Porter took the Powhatan and supplies and went to Pensacola with

the purpose of clearing the harbor. He found his chief impediments, according to Professor Soley, in Colonel Brown of the army and Captain Adams of the navy, who negatived the offensive operations urged by Porter, and the expedition merely reinforced Fort Pickens. Professor Soley's account is that of a tactical giant tied up by the pigmies, and the narrative creates a desire for a critical examination of all the evidence in the case.

But nothing was done and the Powhatan later went on blockade. Subsequently, there is the unsuccessful search for the Sumter, and so back to New York; which brings the narrative up to the time of the New Orleans expedition.

In his account of the New Orleans expedition, Professor Soley has entered somewhat on the profitless discussion of who is entitled to the credit of things. As a historical fact recedes, this consideration becomes less important and is never so important as to those who had a part in the events, or, perhaps, to their immediate descendants. Professor Soley should be very sure of the facts on which he has worked and his deductions therefrom, because he has written Admiral Porter into the exclusive credit of the inception and organization of the New Orleans expedition and into a very considerable degree of credit for that famous victory. It was, according to Professor Soley, when Porter returned to Washington that the New Orleans expedition took on a semblance of life. He suggested, urged and accomplished the decision, named Farragut as the commander-in-chief and his own importance was recognized by a divisional command. Professor Soley also argues much to show that Porter occupied "exceptional" relations with the commander of the expedition, and held an exceptional position in the force of the expedition. Thus Professor Soley says that Porter's views as to the manner of the passage of the forts below New Orleans were given special consideration:

"* * * because Porter was recognized as the originator of the enterprise with which he had been identified from the beginning. It was because he had been the principal adviser of the Navy Department in the preparations for the undertaking; because in defiance of the established traditions of the service he had been given a distinct command of nearly thirty vessels * * *."

Professor Soley devotes much space to the consideration of Porter's memorandum of suggestion for the conduct of the passage of the river which is not especially germane except in a controversial sense, unless it is intended to sustain the proposition that the plan of attack as adopted was that of Porter and that his was the master mind which directed the course of the expedition to its successful outcome.

Of the part taken by Porter in the New Orleans expedition, Professor Soley says:

"In determining the precise share of Porter in the victory at New Orleans, the examination of the question is much aided by the fact that to Porter and to him alone was due the existence of the mortar flotilla; that he originated it, prepared it, commanded it and fought it, so that it stands out as his individual creation from beginning to end."

It is denied that the flotilla was a source of delay or that the bombardment by it gave injurious notice of the coming passage of Farragut's vessels. The results of the mortar fire enumerated are: first, the considerable neutralization of the fire of Fort Jackson; second, the influence of the mortars in keeping the Louisiana, which was vulnerable to vertical shell-fire, from coming below the forts; third, the effect of the mortar fire in front of the forts after the fleet had gone by and was concentrating its fire on the rear; fourth, that the demoralization due to the effects of the mortar fire on the morale of the troops at Fort Jackson brought about the surrender of that defence. The following is the final paragraph of the chapter on this expedition, which, as a premise demands a conclusion somewhat more sweeping than that which was found, that Porter was "a large and important factor," since the brain to plan, the energy to carry out, and the personality to inspire action are the attributes of a commander-in-chief de facto.

"The main contribution, however, of Porter to the New Orleans expedition was not in the mortar-boats, but in the personality of Porter himself. He it was who first originated the plan. His fire and energy in advocating it swept before them the 'speculative and uncertain' cogitations of the Navy Department. He secured its adoption by the President. He formulated the details as it was actually carried out. He made the minute preparations for its execution. He had the largest share in the selection of its commanding officer. He devised and organized the mortar flotilla and brought its raw officers and crews to the highest state of discipline, efficiency and self-devotion. He had the flotilla on the spot ready to co-operate a month before the fleet was prepared for action. He it was whose efforts carried the Pensacola, the Mississippi and the Richmond successfully across the bar. He planned and carried out the reconnoissance upon which the whole operation depended. For a week he directed with untiring energy the work of bombardment. By the stress of his attack he enabled Caldwell to perform his exploit of breaking through the obstructions without loss. His force, while its allotted task was not to pass above with Farragut, engaged Fort Jackson with consummate

gallantry, neutralized its fire and covered the passage of the fleet. After the passage he renewed the bombardment, provided for the disposition of the troops and hung upon the enemy until he received the final surrender. For six weeks from his arrival in the Mississippi until the occupation of the forts his activities were incessant. He was not the commander-in-chief; he did not win the battle; nor is it necessary in order to point out his services to detract one iota from the splendor of Farragut's achievement. But impartial history will recognize that in the success of that achievement from the beginning to the end he was an important factor."

The story of the operations of the Mississippi squadron is well told. Commodore Porter appears perhaps nowhere in his long career in so favorable a light as in the environment of that remarkable series of amphibious operations which resulted in the opening of the Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf. His activities had full scope and were used to their utmost. Maintaining commendable relations with the commanders of the land forces, he was enabled to render services which warrant the use of the phrases of the eulogist, and while means and methods were characteristic, they seem to have been peculiarly adapted to the duty to be done, and a more cautious, perhaps it may be said a wiser, man might have failed of reaching the success which attended Porter's work upon the great rivers. The several chapters in which the Vicksburg enterprise, the Red River expedition and the general course of river operations are detailed are of much and sustained interest and offer new and valuable readings of this portion of the history of the Civil War. They add nothing to the preconception of the admiral's character, however, serving mainly to emphasize his tremendous virility, his energy and resourcefulness, and his dislike of nothing so much as inactivity.

The closing incident of the admiral's Civil War activities, the assault on Fort Fisher, might in a fictional method of chapter heading be entitled "A Piece of Good Luck." The admiral determined upon what seems to Professor Soley a novel proposition for the times of making up a landing party of sailors. A force of fifteen hundred was sent on shore, whose initial and sanguinary repulse, with the subsequent success of the army, is familiar history. The diversion is said to have succeeded beyond the expectations of the admiral. It certainly turned out a fortunate one in the end, though it contained all the elements of possibility of a most disastrous undertaking.

An interesting series of anecdotes of scenes attending the close of the war close the consideration of Civil War history, and the following chapter sketches the admiral's subsequent career. His services

as superintendent of the academy are dwelt upon, but Professor Soley has chosen not to consider at any length the experience of the admiral in the administration of the Navy Department.

In view of the present consideration of questions affecting the details of administration of the increasing navy of the United States, some extended review of what Admiral Porter attempted to do and of the cause of his failure would have been of great value, especially as Professor Soley's familiarity with the machinery of naval administration makes him particularly well fitted for the work. He, however, dismisses the matter with the remark that the admiral from education, training, life work and characteristics was not fitted for the task. He also takes a somewhat pessimistic view of the ability of any officer holding the position of admiral of the navy to take any important and fitting part in naval administration. Possibly, with a lack of familiarity with the important, essential and entirely fitting duties that are being performed by the present admiral of the navy, Professor Soley has though best to minimize this aspect of Admiral Porter's career, and it is said with regret that something of much value to the proper consideration of naval administration has been omitted in an otherwise comprehensive biography.

In his summary of Admiral Porter's character and career, Professor Soley makes this statement: "Admiral Porter, more than any other man of his time, combined in himself all the qualities that go to make a great naval commander." If this be true, it is the ultimate word and demands for its subject a very high rank among the great admirals of history. It is likely that the statement will be challenged by individual opinion. In the history of naval exploits, while high rank has been given to dash and energy, the highest title goes to those who have seen more than the outcome of the immediate exploit. Patience and subordination in lower grades, combined with a high degree of activity, and the genius in command which sees and works toward the greater end, have marked the careers of the truly great admirals. To develop a campaign, and not to carry out an exploit; to utilize the resources of others, not to seek to carry all by personal push, are some of the characteristics of a great captain, whether by sea or land. Each reader of history will assign the actors therein to a place which seems fitting, and Professor Soley will have made a case with those to whom a pushing, hustling man who drives things through by personal impetus especially appeals. There were aspects of the Civil War in which men of the Porter characteristics were especially useful. Such an aspect was that of the operations on the Mississippi, with its constant demands for novel expedients and its

slight forfeitures for strategical mistakes. In this, his most conspicuous service, Admiral Porter can hardly be said to have been a naval commander, and it is a question for which opportunity for solution was not afforded if the same qualities which gave him success on the rivers would have brought him results on the sea. In the one strictly naval undertaking which his command shows, the search for the Sumter, he failed of success. Perhaps a more accurate estimate of Admiral Porter's qualities would include self-confidence, impatience of direction and restraint, and imaginative faculties that distorted the accuracy of his mental perceptions. He had not the self-control and poise of men who are ranked as great commanders and cannot be placed in the category of those who have taken part in the establishment of the science of war. He was fortunate in his environment and in the time in which he lived, and his place is a marked and distinguished one, but he added nothing to the sum total of the art of warfare, and it is the province and distinction of great commanders to mark some point of progress in the development of the art of the battle and the campaign.

H. C. GAUSS.

A WHIFF FROM AN OLD SAILOR'S PIPE.

THE MYSTERIOUS VOICE.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

In the year 18— I found myself attached as a watch-officer to the V——, one of the ships belonging to a squadron stationed on the west coast of Africa, cruising there for the suppression of the infamous slave-trade.

This V—— was a stanch, old-fashioned, deep-waisted sloop-of-war of nearly eight hundred tons burden, carrying twenty guns, with a complement of more than two hundred souls in her ship's company.

She had been built years previously, during the régime of the "Navy Commissioners," but at this time, from the many repairs that had been made upon her hull, there was scarcely a stick of the original timber remaining, although her model had been sacredly preserved

"Through all the changes of the changing years."

There was a report current in naval circles relative to the modeling of this vessel and of her sister-ships,—for we had six of these naval beauties in our service,—that the said Navy Commissioners, when they had assembled together for the purpose of examining plans and deciding upon the model by which these vessels should be constructed, had selected that one from which they were afterwards built, by first reducing their length of keel, as on the original plan, *from one hundred and sixty* to *one hundred and thirty feet,* and this reduction in their length was made by cutting those thirty feet *square off from the after part of the model.* As the V—— had very full quarters, and anything but a clean run, this current report was in all probability correct.

Notwithstanding this reduction of length the V—— was a comfortable "old tub," that could run along from six to eight knots under favorable conditions of wind and sea, while with a quartering gale she could go ten.

Our captain was a tall, thin, nervous old gentleman, who had not seen much service afloat, consequently was not a practical seaman. He had grave doubts as to the stability of any ship of war when under

canvas, and was particularly fearful that this one which he commanded would either be capsized during some squall, or else wrecked by running upon rocks or shoals. These dangers to navigation, although not laid down upon our charts, nevertheless existed, in his imagination, on every mile of the broad Atlantic.

It was his standing order that the officers of the deck should reduce sail whenever in their opinion it was necessary to do so, reporting the facts afterwards. But no one, not even the first lieutenant, could make sail; the captain, and the captain only, could order sail to be made after it had once been taken off the ship. In consequence of this order the officers were very chary in reducing sail, and did so only when in their opinion it was absolutely necessary.

In the ward-room we had six line officers and four idlers as messmates. The former were "old sea-dogs," each one of whom, from long experience, knew how to handle a ship under any and every occurring circumstance, and the latter were jolly fellows, who always kept the first watch when at sea under the starboard side of the topgallant forecastle, there smoking their pipes and spinning their yarns.

After a very warm day, hot even for the African coast, the sun had disappeared behind the horizon, leaving a breeze which seemed to us smokers, who were forward enjoying our pipes, to be deliciously cool; then, as star after star appeared, there was every promise of a lovely night.

Eight bells were struck, and the watch was called, as I went aft to relieve the officer of the deck, who, after passing me the orders, the sail set, and the courses to be steered, started forward for my vacated seat, there to have a whiff from his pipe, and to enjoy the lovely night ere turning in.

I walked around the deck, examined the weather-head braces, the trim of the yards, and the set of the sails. After satisfying myself on each of these points I looked at the compass, and went upon the poop to scan the horizon as to the present and future prospects of the weather. Everything appearing to be fair, I settled myself into a steady walk, which was to continue, as I supposed, during the four hours I was to be the guardian of the ship and her crew. The weather at this time was delightful, the stars were shining with remarkable brilliancy; indeed, they were so very brilliant that each particular star appeared to be *the star* that outshone all the others, and to be *the one* that singly and alone gave all the light illuminating the heavens.

Not a cloud could be seen in any direction; there was naught to mar the brightness of the sky above, and the waters beneath were scarcely ruffled by the gentle breeze that silently moved our ship over

their surface. Under royals and flying-jib, with the wind abeam, our ship sailed over this "summer sea" almost as noiselessly and gracefully as an albatross skimming the ocean's crest.

It was the custom on board, owing to the excessive heat during the daytime, to grant the ship's company the privilege of singing and smoking until nine o'clock, which is an hour later than the time usually allowed on board ships of war when at sea.

This hour having arrived, orders were given to pipe down, and for the watch to lie aft on the quarter-deck, and stow themselves on the weather side, between the guns; the log was hove and the lights reported out; five knots was the speed of the ship. Everything then became quiet about the decks; and there was at this time no appearance, in any quarter, of any change either in wind or weather. The night was so very beautiful, and the stars so very bright, that I could not refrain from repeating to myself,—

"If yon bright stars which gem the night
Be each a blissful dwelling-place,
Where kindred spirits reunite
And live to meet the loved of this—"

Thus far only had I spoken, when a voice whispered gently in my ear,—

"*You had better shorten sail.*"

The words were spoken very distinctly, and I turned around expecting to see the speaker; but I was alone at the break of the poop, and there was no one near me.

As I was certain that I had heard the words, it was some time before I could satisfy myself that I might have been mistaken, for if I was not, *from whence could the voice have proceeded?*

Resuming my walk and cogitating over the matter, the time passed quickly, and four bells were reported struck, then I gave the usual orders to—

Relieve the look-outs! Heave the log!

Muster the watch! Report the ten o'clock lights out!

The log again gave five knots as the speed, and there was still no change of wind or of weather. After this I took a stroll around the deck, felt of the weather-head braces, and looked at the yards; finding everything "taut and trim," I went upon the poop, and stood at the starboard quarter scanning the horizon, *and while in this position looking to the windward,* the same gentle voice again whispered in my ear,—

"*You had better shorten sail.*"

This time there was no mistake, and I looked around, as I had

upon the previous occasion, expecting to see the speaker, but there was no one in sight who could possibly have spoken; indeed, the only person on the poop besides myself was the look-out, stationed at the "life-buoy" on the port quarter, and he was standing *facing to leeward,* watching the phosphorescence of the sea, utterly oblivious to everything save his own thoughts.

He certainly was not the mysterious speaker. Who was? I am not easily startled, nor am I superstitious, but is it to be wondered at that I felt, to say the least, queerly, knowing mysterious beings were around who could make themselves heard, yet could neither be seen nor felt? Then I argued to myself, this whisper is evidently friendly, as accidents do not result from being under short sail, while many terrible ones have resulted from carrying too much; reasoning thus, although the stars were still as brilliantly shining, the wind as gently blowing, and the ship as quietly sailing as when my watch had commenced, and although there was not a cloud to be seen, I gave orders:

"Furl the royals and stow the flying-jib"; then ordered the watch to remain on their feet, not to lie down any more, but to see and keep everything clear for shortening sail; after this I went forward on the topgallant forecastle, looking at the horizon from all points of view there; but nothing could be seen indicating a change.

As I passed down the forecastle-ladder on my way aft each one of the idlers seated forward greeted me with,—

"Halloo, Bowline, what's the matter?"

"Why are you taking in sail?"

"Are there any squalls brewing?"

As I could give these questioners no good reasons for my action, I preserved a dignified silence and continued on my way, resuming my walk upon the poop, where, in less than five minutes' time and while I was in the act of walking the deck, that same mysterious voice whispered once more,—

"*You had better shorten sail.*"

This was the third time of the warning, and as at the previous time, so now, there was no one in sight or near who could have spoken. *I was alone!*

Hesitating no longer, I made every preparation for stripping the ship of her canvas, but before giving the final orders to do so, examined again the horizon to windward, and there in the far distance perceived a misty appearance, as of an Indian summer haze, and I also thought I could hear a sound like unto that made by wind as it soughs through a forest in winter-time.

Ordering the quartermaster to make a judicious luff and lift the

weather-leaches of the topgallant-sails, I took them in, and was about ordering them furled, when there came a sound, a rushing sound, increasing instantly to a roaring like unto that made by Niagara's mighty fall, and with time only to order—

Hard up the helm! Let go the main-sheet!

Let go the lee topsail-sheets! Let go the topsail-halliards!

When a furious blast struck the ship, forcing her over under its mighty power, until the muzzles of our lee guns were buried in the water, while at the same time a dense mass of spray or mist was driven over the rail with a force that blinded every one. As the ship herself was almost thrown on her beam-ends by the first puff of the squall, so all on deck were thrown down, and found themselves struggling in the lee-scuppers. For a few moments, what with the howling of the wind, the slapping of canvas, and the impossibility of standing upright, it appeared to me doubtful whether or no I should be able to save either the sails or the spars; but our stanch old ship paid off slowly and surely, and as the force of the wind was brought abaft the beam, the crew picked themselves up and worked with a will in carrying out my orders.

At length discipline, combined with the preparations that I had made, enabled me to triumph over the fury of the squall, and by the time the ship was before the wind, the topsails had been clewed up, and the main-sail hauled snugly up to the yard; then close-reefing the topsails, I set the fore and main, and furled the mizzen, then sent the topgallant and royal yards on deck. Looking around to see what damage had been done, I found the fore-sail and jib were split, and the fore-topgallant-sail blown away from the jack-stay; there were also a few bruised limbs among those who had been pitched to leeward. All the smokers forward lost their pipes and tobacco, and received a thorough drenching, while the watch-officers who had *"turned in,"* being on the weather side of the ship, were all *"turned out"* in a most unceremonious manner, finding themselves suddenly sprawling on the deck in their state-rooms.

Everything was "to rights" at last, the ship running before the wind, when, as suddenly as the squall had begun, so as suddenly it ceased, passing away in a cloud of mist, and disappearing in the distance to leeward, leaving nothing to mark its pathway save our good ship stripped of her canvas, and lying almost motionless on the water. I went to the cabin to report, and found the captain standing at the door, looking very pale and very miserable. After giving him the details of the squall and of my actions in regard to the ship, he remarked,—

"That was a terrific squall, Mr. Bowline."

"Yes, sir," I answered, "it was quite heavy. I think it must have been a *'white squall'*; but it is all over now; it has passed ahead; and as the weather is as it was previous to its advent, with every indication of continuing fair, shall I make sail?"

"*Make sail, sir!!*" he answered, with indignation expressed in his tones,—"*make sail, sir!!! No, sir!!!*" Thus the interview ended, and sail was not made on the ship in a hurry.

White squalls, so called, are of very rare occurrence. No seafaring person of my acquaintance has ever experienced one. Even with my fifty years of service, this was the first and last I have ever met. Showing, as they do, few or no signs of their approach, and traveling with great velocity, they are particularly dangerous, and woe betide that unfortunate vessel overtaken by one, if unprepared to meet it, for she must either be dismasted at the first fury of the blast, or else forced over by its mighty power, be capsized, and

"In the deep bosom of the ocean buried."

From the time when I discovered the far-distant mist that heralded the approach of this one, until the time when it had passed away, not an hour elapsed, and it left us with the stars as brightly shining, the wind as gently blowing, and the sea almost as smooth as it had been before its coming.

As I have stated, sail was not made again on the V—— in a *hurry*, for, during the space of four days and nights, she remained under the short sail I had reduced her to, the captain not permitting any more to be made, being fearful lest another white squall might be "bottled up" somewhere in the universe, only to be let loose upon his devoted head.

At last, to the surprise of every one, sail was ordered to be made, and in due time we arrived safely at Porto Praya, where, finding the commander-in-chief, our captain reported

"The dangers he had passed."

In conclusion, I ask, whence came that mysterious voice, but for whose repeated warnings I should not in all probability have discovered the approach of that squall in time to prevent at least serious damage to the ship, or perhaps her loss altogether?

I ascribe the voice and those warning words to that

"Sweet little cherub
That sits up aloft,
And looks out for the life of
Poor Jack."

E. Z. BOWLINE.

*FOUR NAVAL OFFICERS WHOM I KNEW.**

It is unquestionably true that the magnitude of our armies and the sanguinary nature of land engagements in our Civil War gave for the time a disproportionate prominence to the military arm of service, in contrast with the naval, in the work of re-establishing our national authority. Even yet the navy fails to receive its full meed of praise in the public mind for what it accomplished in that struggle, and for the character of its representative officers and men. Gradually, however, it is coming to be a recognized fact that the world learned more from our naval achievements on river and coast and on the high seas than from all that was done by our land forces. Our military successes were not unparalleled; our naval successes were. So impartial an observer as the *Edinburgh Review* said on this point, soon after our war closed: "The important part borne by the American navy in the contest; * * * the powerful share taken by it in the river campaigns which cut the seceded states in twain; the vast weight due to its exertions in the final successes of the Federal generals, have been but little noticed as compared to the din and shock of the great battles with which the New World rang. Yet nothing is more surprising in this great contest—no military, political, or financial success has more completely defied expectation, prophecy, and precedent—than the work wrought by this arm of the Union forces; and wrought by it in the very process of creation out of actual nonenity."

Dupont, whirling his vessels around the battle-ellipse at Port Royal, and battering into submissive ruins in four hours such earthworks as stood a siege of months from the foremost engineers of the Old World at Sevastopol; Foote, resistlessly sweeping down the Mississippi and its tributaries with his motley fleet of unique craft, making havoc with his foes on shore and stream six days in the week, and on the seventh standing in some riverside church, or on his quarter-deck, the earnest and eloquent preacher of Christ's salvation; Farragut, even by British critics "confessed the first seaman of the age," moving his mighty fleet at New Orleans through the grim gauntlet of commanding forts at dead of night by the light of flashing guns and blazing rafts, bursting through river-booms, scattering hostile gun-

*Reprinted from first series of United Service Magazine.

boats, sinking armored rams, eluding burning barges, and silencing shore batteries to bring the Crescent City in surrender at his lieutenant's feet; or again, as he stood in the Hartford's rigging at Mobile Bay, handling his squadron of monitors in cavalry tactics against the leviathan Tennessee and its attendant minor sea-monsters; D. D. Porter, in all his brilliant service from the relief of beleagured Fort Pickens in the very opening scenes of the war down to his magnificent fight at Fort Fisher as a closing act of the bloody drama; "Jack" Rodgers, in his lightning-like destruction of the supposed invincible Atlanta, in presence of the gayly-bedecked fleet of merry-making civilians from Savannah, with his subsequent hearty offer to his complaining prisoner to take back his huge ironclad and try the fight over again if one thrashing were not enough for him; Young Cushing—Phil Sheridan of the seas—raiding audaciously through the enemy's lines to destroy single-handed the dreaded ram Albemarle under the guns and watch of a vigilant, strong-armed foe, and performing a half score of similar feats of daring, either of which might have made a worldwide hero of that beardless boy; Morris, going down with the grand old Cumberland, sinking but not surrendering, firing his farewell broadside of defiance as his vessel settled calmly into her grave of glory, with the dear old flag still flying at her peak; Worden, coming up in the puny cheese-box Monitor, like the stripling David to beard and vanquish the defiant Goliath of the deep; Boggs, selling so dearly the life of "the vessel Varuna" at the Mississippi's mouth, Samsonlike carrying with him to destruction the Philistine host of gunboats; Winslow, fighting the decisive nautical duel with the representative freebooter of the seas, in the presence of its scowling seconds, the liberty-hating aristocracies of England and France; aye, and plain John Davis, the "Valley City" gunner, throwing his body across the open barrel of powder to protect the magazine from fire in the waters of North Carolina; and Frisbie, gunner's mate on the Pinola, when the berth-deck was on fire, closing the magazine against the flames, himself remaining inside—these starred names, with the countless host of their gallant fellows, famous or unknown, who dared and endured and suffered in the long months of dreary watching along three thousand miles of embargoed coast; in the perilous scouts of huge launches, or of swift-flying gigs within the enemy's closest harbor defenses; and in the ever-present danger from submerged torpedoes, or suddenly descending rams, or coast or ocean storms; or who went down in a moment to a sailor's living grave, as in the original Monitor, the Housatonic, the Weehawken, and the Tecumseh—are they not worthy of ever-fresh remembrance among the no-

blest and bravest defenders of our republic? Shall they not be borne always gratefully in mind, for what they did and for what they were, while heroism and unselfish devotion to country are held in honor by those who reap the fruits of their patriotic daring?

As a hearty tribute of respect for the ability and worth of the many officers of our navy whom I have known personally, I wish to tell now of four of these—of widely different characteristics, yet each one the representative of a class—with whom I was brought into somewhat intimate relations in a Southern prison, or in active service on the Southern coast.

And first there was Lieutenant Benjamin H. Porter—Ben Porter as he was commonly called—an admirable specimen of the wide-awake, enthusiastic American sailor boy; for boy he was to the last, being barely twenty years old when he yielded his noble young life in the assaulting column at Fort Fisher, after four years of active naval service. When about fifteen young Porter was appointed to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, from Lockport, New York. This was in 1859, before the first mutterings were heard of the coming storm of civil war. Little thought had he of what was really before him. "Just think of my being here," he wrote, "going to school, and the government paying me thirty dollars a month for my company! Ain't it bunkum?" The government had the worth of its money from that school-boy before it was through with him. At the opening of the year 1861 Porter was joyous in the thought of his first vacation. His new uniform was a delight to him, and he had a boyish pride in the thought of showing it off before his home neighbors. His letters of that period showed him utterly free from any forebodings of national peril, or any anticipation of the weighty responsibilities so soon to rest on him. "Last Saturday," he wrote about this time, "I sent one of the servants out into town to get some oysters. After 'taps,' at night, we got out our chafing-dish, crackers, butter, pepper, and salt. I got down under my bed, and took the chafing-dish with me. After all was ready, P—— and H—— hauled down the bedclothes over the front part of the bed, so the light could not reflect from the opposite wall out of the window. Everything being ready, I struck the light and lay down on the floor to wait for the oysters to cook. After they were cooked we drew the table up to the window, and then commenced the fun! We ate a quart this time, and as soon as we had finished we cooked another quart and ate them." It was while young Porter was thus fun-loving and careless, at Annapolis, that the storm-cloud of civil war burst suddenly upon our country. Beautifully, then, did he illustrate the change which seemed to transform the

people of the loyal North. As by a single bound he sprang from light-hearted boyishness to a mature young manhood, ready for the severest patriot service. No more talk of home leave and gold lace. No more time wasted in student frolics. "I suppose you have heard before this that civil war has commenced," he wrote home on the dark 14th of April. "Fort Sumter has been taken. * * * I think that the Secretary (of the Navy) will graduate the first class immediately, and that the third and fourth classes will go on leave. I think I shall apply to be sent down to the Gulf if my class goes on leave. * * * I have sworn to stand by the glorious Stars and Stripes, and just as long as there is a star left I will fight for it." Nobly did the young hero fulfill the spirit of that pledge!

Porter's first service was as midshipman on the Roanoke, on blockade duty off the Atlantic coast. That was dull work for him; and he was glad enough when his petition for a share in the then fitting Burnside expedition was favorably received, and he was put in command of six launches, with a battery of Dahlgren howitzers and one hundred and fifty men. At the battle of Roanoke Island, Midshipman Porter's battery was in a position on land, with the army's extreme advance. In that fight, one of the sharpest of the war for the numbers engaged—that boy of seventeen stood at his guns, under a destructive fire, inspiring his men by his magnetic presence and irrepressible enthusiasm, and doing eminent execution by the fire he directed. Admiral Goldsborough, Commodore Marston, and Generals Burnside and Foster commended his "admirable conduct" as "deserving of the highest praise," and as having "not only contributed largely to the success of the day, but won the admiration of all who witnessed the display." After this battle young Porter was assigned, as an acting master, to the command of the gunboat Ellis, on duty in the North Carolina waters. Not yet eighteen, with such a responsible command! He had an active part in the reduction of Fort Macon. In the fall of 1862, on his promotion as ensign, he was ordered to report to Admiral Dupont at Port Royal. After several months of blockading service he was, in the summer of 1863, selected by Admiral Dahlgren to explore Charleston Harbor and learn its obstructions and channel-ways. This was a difficult and delicate task, requiring judgment and caution as well as energy and daring. The work must be done by night, in the face of dangers from sunken torpedoes and from an ever-watchful enemy. For twenty-four consecutive nights that eighteen-year-old boy was on this service, while during sixteen of the intervening days his vessel was in action and he on duty there. Night after night he groped his way in the dark-

ness among the harbor obstructions, and day after day he was active on his ship's gun-deck. He found the passageway of the blockade-runners, passed the enemy's forts again and again, and actually skirted the wharves of the city of Charleston. On one occasion, when a boat from the fleet was run down by the Confederate steamer Alice, that daring and chivalrous boy flashed his lights and rescued eight of the drowning men, although thereby making himself the target of guns from land and sea. It is not to be wondered at that such was the strain of this service on his nervous system that the brave young ensign would at times be so exhausted on his return to his ship that his men must lift him from the boat, and his loss of flesh averaged a pound a day during the more than three weeks of this venturesome scouting.

For a night attack on Fort Sumter, in September, 1863, Ensign Porter volunteered to join a scaling party, and was taken prisoner with the few other officers who were brave enough to persevere in the assault after most of the boats had been driven from the scene. Carried first to Charleston, he was soon sent up to Columbia, and it was there that I was his fellow-prisoner for several months. Prison life was more trying to young Porter than scouting in Charleston Harbor had been; but he submitted to it as cheerfully as he did to every other privation or trial in the line of duty. He had fourteen months in prison. A part of the time he was in irons as one of the hostages for two Confederate privateersmen, who were held by our government as pirates. Once he aided in digging a tunnel under the jail building in the hope of escape; but the plan was frustrated, through treachery, just on the eve of its realization. The boy side of Porter's nature showed itself in prison as elsewhere. He was the life of the party. He was always taking a cheery view of the situation. If at times he would seem to give way under the heavy pressure, and would stand in the jail window with his fair young face pressed against the bars, evidently longing for liberty, the first call of a comrade would bring him back to his wonted joyousness, and he would spring to the floor with a hopeful word, and perhaps follow a joking sentence with his hearty and contagious laugh. In a room of the jail adjoining that of the naval officers there was confined in irons Captain Harris, of Tennessee, held as a hostage for some Confederate prisoner under special charges. It was a delight of Ben Porter to put his mouth to the keyhole of the intervening door and whistle a lively tune, while the captain danced to it with the accompanying clanking of chains. After Porter had been himself in irons he taught Captain Harris how to remove and replace his handcuffs and fetters without the knowledge

of the prison officials. It was through this instruction that Captain Harris's life was saved when the Columbia jail burned, early in 1865.

At last Porter was out of prison. Passing his examination for promotion before a special board at Washington, he was commissioned as lieutenant, to rank from the month when he was nineteen years old. He was then—early in 1865—ordered to report to Admiral Porter at Hampton Roads. By the admiral he was put in command of the Malvern, flagship of the squadron, a high honor for a boy of his years, but an honor well deserved. At the second attack on Fort Fisher, Lieutenant Porter led an assaulting party on the beach against the sea face of the fort, and fell at the head of his men. He died as he had lived, bravely and unselfishly doing his duty. He had lived the life of only a boy in years. He had shown the spirit and done the work of the manliest and maturest of men. His life was one of high achievement, and of yet higher promise. Ben Porter's character and record are typical of some of the choicest specimens of American naval officers; of those who began to do great things in boyhood, and continued to do better and greater things throughout their lives; of the Perrys and Rodgerses and McDonoughs and Farraguts and Porters, and a host of others like them. Of this young officer Admiral Porter said, he was "the most splendid fellow I ever knew; * * * my beau ideal of an officer." And his classmate, Cushing, added, "I have never known an officer more truly loved and admired, and justly, too; for the earth contained few like him." Dear Ben Porter, his memory will never pass from the minds of those who knew his real attractiveness and worth.

The second naval officer to whose characteristics I would call attention was Lieutenant S. W. Preston, who, although somewhat older than Ben Porter, was with him for a time in the Naval Academy, was his companion in imprisonment, and fell by his side at Fort Fisher. Preston was pre-eminently the courtly officer, the gentleman sailor. Not that his comrades were lacking in gentlemanly qualities, but that he was distinguished even among them for his courtliness, his gracefulness, and his remarkable native refinement of person and manner. Entering the Naval Academy from Illinois, Preston went thence into active service at the outbreak of the Civil War. He was on duty as midshipman and ensign until August, 1862, when he was promoted lieutenant. His ability was everywhere recognized; and his character and bearing invariably commanded respect and admiration. Under Admiral Dahlgren, in the first attack on Charleston, young Preston was flag-lieutenant of the Wabash. Afterwards he was on duty for a time on the New Ironsides.

In the bold attempt by Admiral Dahlgren to carry Fort Sumter by storm, in September, 1863, Lieutenant Preston volunteered to lead a division of the scaling party. He was one of the first to land; and he bore himself most gallantly through the brief but sharp contest that resulted in his capture with the remnant of the vanquished party. With Ben Porter he was sent from Charleston to Columbia. It was there that I met the two together. My first impression of Lieutenant Preston was in the line of his typical character. The naval officers were brought into the jail during the night. When we of the army were permitted to go into the yard for our morning exercise, we found the new-comers there. Preston I remember seeing at the hydrant, washing. His clear complexion, fine features, intelligent face, and bared chest—his skin fair as a woman's—stamped him as a gentleman of unusual delicacy and refinement. I was drawn to him from the start. Then we were shut up together for months; and I learned to admire him more and more. He was a man of cultivated tastes and faculties, well read, and well informed. He had a poetic mind, with a transcendental turn, and a love of the mystical. Nor did he neglect special studies in science and languages during his long imprisonment. He was a fine conversationalist. He had a high sense of honor, and a sensitive conscience. And he was remarkably pure in thought and speech. There was withal a love of adventure and a touch of romance in his nature that, with his other qualities, would have fitted him for a prominent place in the age of chivalry. During his imprisonment his handsome face attracted attention at the jail windows looking out on the public square of the Palmetto State capital; and a love-affair was the result,—one which by itself would form the substantial basis of a glowing poem or a thrilling novel. There were all the desired accessories: the imprisoned brave and handsome hero, the wealthy and beautiful demoiselle, the clandestine correspondence, the bribed guards, the temporary release of the young officer, the midnight meeting and the plighted troth, the hero's return to captivity, his final release from imprisonment, and his death in the battle's front before the nuptials could be celebrated. The picture of life and love stood out in bright colors against the dark background of prison gloom before those who were fellow-captives in Columbia; and it is told and re-told among the survivors, so that it is fresh in their memories to-day.

After fourteen months of imprisonment Preston was again at liberty. Refusing a proffered leave of absence, he was assigned to duty with the North Atlantic Squadron, and became Admiral Porter's flag-lieutenant on the Malvern. In the second attack on Fort Fisher he went on shore with the storming party, and had charge of an intrench-

ing force in advance of the main column moving against the sea-face of the fort. He went into action in full uniform, in accordance with the traditional etiquette of the navy, and was consequently a conspicuous mark for the enemy's sharpshooters. The special service assigned to him in this action was fully completed, and just as he had reported his work finished, and asked of his commanding officer what further duty he could perform, he fell mortally wounded. He was the courtly gentleman to the last. As I was told by a comrade who lay near him, when Preston found that he was dying he turned himself on his back on the beach, straightened out his handsome form to the full, reached up his arms, and with both hands carefully gathered under his head the soft sand and a tuft or two of the shore-grass, as a supporting pillow, then folded his arms, with his neatly-gloved hands across his chest, and deliberately composed himself to die. Committing his soul, as I doubt not, to a merciful Redeemer, he fell asleep

> "Calmly as to a night's repose,
> Like flowers at set of sun."

Although Porter and Preston are named by me as illustrating different types of the naval officer, they had much in common in their characters as they had in their experiences. Their common qualities are well brought out in the tribute to their memory by Fleet-Captain Breese, in his official report of their death to Admiral Porter. He says of them: "Preston, after accomplishing most splendidly the work assigned him by you,—which was both dangerous and laborious, under constant fire,—came to me, as my aid, for orders, showing no flagging of spirit or body; and, returning from the rear, whither he had been sent, [he] fell—among the foremost at the front—as he had lived, the thorough embodiment of a United States officer. Porter, conspicuous by his figure and uniform, as well as by his great gallantry, claimed the right to lead the headmost column, with the Malvern's men he had taken with him, carrying your flag; and [he] fell at its very head. Two more noble spirits the world never saw; nor had the navy ever two more intrepid men. Young, talented, and handsome, the bravest of the brave, pure in their lives, surely their names deserve something more than a passing mention, and are worthy to be handed down to posterity with the greatest and best of naval heroes. * * * I must speak of their singleness of purpose to do their whole duty; always cheerful and willing, desirous of undertaking anything which might redound to the credit of the service, * * * combining with their intelligence a ready perception as to the best mode of accomplishing their orders."

Quite a different person from either Porter or Preston, yet well known to and respected by both, was Commander E. P. Williams, familiarly called "Barney" Williams. He was a good specimen of the genuine sailor, of the duty-loving follower of the sea,—one of that sort of men who, under the lead of its officers of genius and brilliancy, have given a substantial character to the United States navy in all its honored history. Williams was from " 'way down East," from Castine, Me., a region of hardy sailors. From his entrance into the navy to the opening of our Civil War he was most of the time on sea-duty. In the Indian Ocean, on the coast of Africa, along the shores of Brazil, and in the Paraguay Expedition he served with credit, gaining sea experience, and growing in the confidence of his superiors. For a short time he was on duty at the Naval Academy. Early in the war he was doing efficient service in the South Atlantic squadron, in command of the steam gunboat Paul Jones. He had a lively engagement with the enemy at St. John's Bluff, in Florida, and made a venturesome run up the St. John's River to Enterprise. Off Morris Island he had a sharp contest with the Confederate ram Chicora, while seeking to draw off the enemy from the wreck of our double-turreted monitor Keokuk.

In September, 1863, Williams was in command of a division of the assaulting column in the night attack from the navy on Fort Sumter. He there bore himself most gallantly, and his subsequent feeling was that had he been well supported by his entire force the move would have been successful. He was taken prisoner at the same time with Porter and Preston, who were his juniors, and with them he came to Columbia. In prison he was the ranking naval officer, and as such was looked up to with respect by his comrades. His characteristics stood out there as elsewhere. He chafed less in confinement than some others; he adapted himself more easily to the situation. The prevailing desire in his mind was not a love of adventure, nor a wish for promotion and renown; it was to do a sailor's duty wherever his lot was cast; hence he could be more contented in prison, when he must be there. There was, moreover, a genial heartiness about the man which attached his friends to him warmly. He did much to make the prison-life endurable to others, and he is remembered most pleasantly by his Richland jail companions. He naturally longed for liberty, and he was engaged in more than one unsuccessful plan of escape. He had a most trying experience while held in irons for several months as one of the hostages for Beale and McGuire, who were on trial for piracy; yet even this he could stand better than young Porter, who was his companion in it all. When, after fourteen months of im-

prisonment, Williams, with his brother-officers, was again at liberty, he had no such brilliant service, nor such tragic end in battle, as gives point to the story of Preston and Porter. He survived the war, and after it was all over I more than once recalled with him its varied and thrilling experiences as I visited him in his Roxbury home, or at his office at the naval rendezvous in Boston.

Yet Commander Williams died a sailor's death,—died as bravely and as grandly as either of his prison comrades,—died a death which entitles his memory to love and honor from all. It was on the afternoon of January 24, 1870, that Williams, in command of the sloop-of-war Oneida, left the port of Yokohama, Japan, to return to the United States after a three-years' cruise. When fifteen miles from port, in the Bay of Yedo, after the darkness of night had shut in, the Oneida was run into by the British mail-steamer Bombay, bound for Yokohama, and cut down to the water's edge. Commander Williams was in his cabin at the time. He was in a reclining chair, having fallen asleep, perhaps to dream of home, when the shock of the collision came, and he was thrown violently to the cabin-floor, while the water rushed in upon him, and the sounds of confusion were heard on the deck above. In an instant he was on deck, as calm and collected as if nothing unusual demanded attention. Seeing the lights of the moving steamer which had done the foul deed, he at once comprehended the situation. "I told him," says one of his surviving officers, "that the ship had ported her helm and cut us down." "I know it, sir," he quietly replied; and, with a sailor's instinct, added, "Let us save the ship." But the ship was not to be saved. His executive officer came up and reported: "Captain, we shall sink by the stern in three minutes," urging him at the same time to take at once to one of the two remaining boats. His own safety was not, however, the thought of Commander Williams at such a time as that. There were twenty-four officers and one hundred and fifty-two men on that vessel, and he was responsible for them all. He would not desert his ship while they were on it in peril. "I saw him," said one of his sailors, "on the port side of the bridge, one hand resting on the iron rail of the bridge, and the other on the gunwale of the first cutter. I said to him, 'Captain, you had better get into this boat!' and he answered me, 'Never mind me; I will go down with the ship; you stay in the boat.'" And there, unmoved, he stood,—stood at the post of a sailor's duty, even when the standing there took him under forty fathoms of water. Twenty-one officers and ninety-five men went with him to the bottom. There was no scramble for places of safety; no neglect of discipline. Those who left the ship did so under orders; those who went down with it were where for the time they belonged.

It was no false pride, no undue sensitiveness to his reputation, which made Commander Williams ready to sink with his ship. His life was a life of duty,—a sailor's duty,—duty to his vessel, duty to his flag, duty to his country: his death was consistent with his life. It is examples like his that make discipline and coolness and heroic unselfishness possible in such a scene of disaster on the seas; and that secure the safety of many who would otherwise be lost, and the honor of those who perish. How much better it is to thus conform to the scriptural duty of being "faithful unto death," than to heed the heathenish and godless suggestion, that "*self*-preservation is the first law of nature!"

Fourth on the list of naval officers whose memories I am now recalling, and chief of all, comes Captain George W. Rodgers. He stands out in my mind as distinctively the Christian officer,—a naval Havelock or Headly Vickers. Yet he combined the choicest qualities of the other three officers of whom I have told. Like Ben Porter, as a youth George Rodgers had gallantry, attractiveness, and promise. He was, like Preston, a refined and polished gentleman. No less than Williams was he the skilled and duty-loving seaman. And over and above all he was the pronounced and consistent Christian, whose sincerity and earnestness in the service of the "Captain of our salvation" were recognized by all who knew him.

George Rodgers was, as it were, born into the navy. He was a son of Commodore George W. Rodgers, who for his services in the War of 1812 received a sword from his native State, and from Congress a gold medal and a vote of thanks; a nephew of Commodore John Rodgers, who fired the first gun of that war, and was for some years senior officer of our navy; a cousin of Admiral John Rodgers, and a brother of Admiral C. Raymond Rodgers. This on his father's side. His mother was a daughter of the first Commodore Perry; a sister of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, of Lake Erie fame; of Commodore M. C. Perry, who opened Japan to our commerce; of the two young Perrys who commanded under McDonough at Lake Champlain; and of Ensign Alexander Perry, who at ten years old served so bravely at Lake Erie as to win the thanks of Congress and a sword of honor. In army service his grandfather was Colonel Rodgers, who commanded the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War; an uncle was Colonel Robert Rodgers, of the Third Massachusetts Infantry in our Civil War; one of his brothers was Lieutenant Alexander Rodgers, who fell at Chépultepec; another brother was for a time in the quartermaster's department; and a brother-in-law, Lieutenant Smith, went down in mid-ocean in command of troops on the San Francisco. Thus George Rodgers seemed predestined to the United States service, and by his

own free will he was in the navy from boyhood, entering it before he was fourteen years old. It is unnecessary here to speak of the varied service to which he was called before our civil war, the opening of which found him an instructor at the Naval Academy at Annapolis, giving the impress of his character and spirit to the young men like Preston and Porter and Cushing, who were there preparing for a greater work than they yet suspected. My purpose is to speak of him in his distinctive characteristics, as I saw them during my intercourse with him in the latter months of his life.

I had known George Rodgers in his mother's home, in the days of my boyhood. In war-time I first met him again in the waters of South Carolina, in the spring of 1863, where he was in command of the fleet of ironclads in North Edisto Inlet. My regiment was on duty on Seabrook Island. He called on me there, and invited me to visit him on his vessel, the monitor Cattskill. On the occasion of my first dining with him, I was impressed with the symmetry of his Christian character. Our only companion at table was my tent-mate and loved friend, Adjutant Camp, the "Knightly Soldier." As we three sat together the steward brought wine to us. The adjutant and I declined it. "Would you like a lighter wine than this?" asked Commander Rodgers. "Thank you, no," was the reply from each of us. "Do neither of you drink wine?" "Neither of us." "Then, steward, you can remove the wine," he said. "I have not used wine for twenty years." Strictly abstemious himself, he did not force his views upon others. It was only when he found that we three were in accord on this point that he told of his practice of total abstinence. Then in the freedom of after-dinner chat he spoke of his interest in the religious welfare of his men. He had already invited me to come when I could and preach on his vessel on a Sunday, or on a week-day evening. I now learned that while an Episcopalian, and accustomed to the more formal services of that communion, he would leave his cabin of a Sunday evening, and, despite the barrier which necessarily separates officers and men in the discipline of a man-of-war, would lead a social prayer-meeting among the men of his command. Reading a portion of Scripture, he would make familiar comments on it, would lead in prayer and singing, and then would call on one and another of his godly sailors to take part in the meeting at their pleasure. As we talked together of such work as this, he raised a cushion from one of his cabin seats, and opened below it a capacious locker stowed with religious books and papers and tracts, of which he kept a constant supply for judicious distribution among his men. The impressions of that first visit to his vessel were deepened in my mind by all our sub-

sequent intercourse. I was frequently with him on ship and on shore. He made an arrangement with my honored commander, General "Tom" Stevenson, to signal to him from headquarters when the church call notified a religious service in our camp; and he rarely failed of coming at once on shore for a part in the service. I had many delightful conversations with him; and latterly his increasing spirituality and deepening interest in religious themes forced upon me a conviction that he was rapidly ripening for heaven. I had never seen anything of this nature so marked in one in full health. It was not a presentiment of death; for he apparently had no conscious anticipation of his speedy decease. Neither was there anything of gloom in his manner. He was always cheerful; and he seemed to thoroughly enjoy life. But there was manifest in him a growing power of spirit over matter; and his face came to glow, as with a preternatural light from the already opening gates of glory towards which his steps were trending. Again and again I spoke of this to my friend, the adjutant.

On the first Sunday in July, 1863, when Commander Rodgers had been signaled of an approaching church-service in our camp, he came hurriedly on shore to say that he had just received orders to coal up at once for a new move against Charleston, and he could not remain at the meeting as he wished to. As we stood together then for a few minutes, and he spoke with deep-toned earnestness of the duty of the hour, of the impending engagement, and of his regret at losing the privileges of worship that day, I was more than ever convinced that his days in this life were few. As he bade us good-bye, and I turned with my tent-mate towards our little rustic chapel, I said, "We shall never see George Rodgers again on earth." In a few weeks the army and navy were co-operating actively against the defenses of Charleston. Adjutant Camp and I were prisoners of war, and George Rodgers was thundering with his huge Dahlgrens against Wagner and Sumter and Moultrie. When, in August, he had been called to duty as chief-of-staff to Admiral Dahlgren, he asked the privilege of running the Cattskill once more up towards Fort Sumter, before leaving his monitor for his new place on the admiral's vessel. It was while he was on this service, far in advance of the rest of the fleet, that a huge shot from the fort struck the iron pilot-house in which he stood, and shivered a scale and bolt from its inner surface, killing him instantly. When I learned through the papers at my prison home in Columbia that a prominent officer—unnamed—had been killed on one of the Federal ironclads, I said to my friend, the adjutant, "That is George Rodgers!" "You seem determined to kill him off," he replied. "Ah, but he was almost ready for translation when we left him!" The cor-

rectness of my impression of his identity was verified when the captured naval officers from Fort Sumter brought the story of his death to Columbia. Six years later I found unlooked-for evidence that the remarkable change in the spirit and appearance of George Rodgers was not a mere fancy of mine, but that it was noted by others as well. In a sketch of this gallant officer, Mr. William Swinton, a well-known war correspondent, who was with him for several weeks before his death, said "Latterly there was seen in him a strange unworldliness that seemed to withdraw him from life, lifting him above the evils and confusions of this 'weary and unintelligible world'; and there was that in his mood and manner which struck his friends with the sad premonition that he was not long to move among us." And Mr. Swinton told of looking out from his berth through the open state-room door, and seeing Commander Rodgers with his open Bible before him on the cabin table of the Cattskill, or again upon his knees in prayer, and this for hour after hour through the livelong night before his fatal move against Fort Sumter. It was not that George Rodgers had any fear of death, nor yet that he was preparing by these prolonged and unusual devotions for the fighting before him. It was rather that his fighting was now at an end, and he was drawing closer to Him whom he had served and trusted in peace and in war. Like the soldier-apostle of old, he could say, "The time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing." And while thus calmly expectant, "he was not; for God took him."

These four officers were types each of a class. They represent the sort of men who have been in the United States navy from its beginning, and who are still to be found there. The service which can develop such characters is worthy of honor from all. The country for which such men live and battle and pray and die may well have grateful pride in the heroism and devotedness of its faithful servants.

H. CLAY TRUMBULL,
Late Chaplain U. S. Volunteers.

OUR PATRIOTIC AIRS.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER THE MOST POETIC.

It will be as difficult to ascertain the origin of "Yankee Doodle" as it will be to find out who was Junius. One account says the air was composed by Dr. Shackburg in 1755, when the colonial troops united with the British regulars near Albany preparatory to the attack on the French posts of Niagara and Frontenac, and that it was produced in derision of the old-fashioned equipments of the provincial soldiers as contrasted with the neat and orderly appointments of the regulars.

In a musical magazine, printed in Boston some years ago, this was the account given of the origin of the famous song:

"During the attacks on the French outposts in 1755 Governor Shirley and General Jackson led the force directed against the enemy at the posts mentioned. In the early part of June the descendants of the Pilgrim fathers flocked in from the East. Never was seen such a motley regiment as took up its position on the left wing of the British army. Their band played music as antiquated and outre as their uniforms; officers and privates had adopted regimentals, each man after his own fashion; one wore a flowing wig, while his neighbor rejoiced in hair cropped closely to his head; this one had a coat with wonderfully long skirts, while his fellow marched without his upper garment; various as the colors of the raindbow were the clothes worn by the gallant band. It so happened that there was a certain Dr. Shackburg, wit, musician and surgeon, and one evening after mess he produced a tune, which he earnestly commended as a well known piece of music to the officers of the militia. The joke succeeded and 'Yankee Doodle' was hailed by acclamation as 'their own march.'"

This account is apocryphal, as there is no song; the tune in the United States is a march; there are no words to it of a national character. The only words ever affixed to the air in this country are those in the following doggerel quatrain:

Yankee Doodle came to town
  Upon a little pony,
He stuck a feather in his hat
  And called it macaroni,

and so on a score or more of similar twaddle.

It has been asserted by English writers that the air and words are as old as Cromwell's time. If it be so, the only alteration is in making "Yankee Doodle" of what was then called "Nankee Doodle," the latter name having been applied to Cromwell, and the other lines having been designed to allude to his going into Oxford with a single plume fastened in a knot called a macaroni.

The tune was known in New England before the Revolution as "Kitty Fisher's Jig," a name derived from a famous character of the days of George II., and which has been perpetuated in the following nursery rhyme:

Lucy Locket lost her pocket,
  Kitty Fisher found it;
Not a bit of money in it,
  Only binding round it.

And the British regulars in Boston in 1775 are said to have sung verses to the same air:

Yankee Doodle came to town
  For to buy a firelock;
We will tar and feather him,
  And so we will John Hancock.

The manner in which the tune came to be adopted by the Americans is shown in the following letter of Rev. W. Gordon, who, in describing the battles of Lexington and Concord, says:

"The brigade under Lord Percy marched out of Boston, playing, by way of contempt, 'Yankee Doodle'; after they returned to Boston they were told they had been made to dance to it."

It is more than likely, say some, that "Yankee Doodle" was originally derived from Holland. A song with the following burden has long been in use among the laborers, who, in the time of harvest, migrate from Germany to the low countries, where they receive for their work as much buttermilk as they can drink and a tenth of the grain secured by their exertions:

Yanker didel, doodel down,
  Didel, dudel lauter;
Yanke viver, voover vown,
  Botermilk und Tauther.

That is, butermilk and a tenth.

Dr. Brewer, in his "Phrase and Fable," gives the origin of the song to the Cromwellian story heretofore related. Another writer says the

song was composed in New England, and gives the origin of the word Yankee as a term of reproach, thus: "About the year 1713 one Jonathan Hastings, a farmer at Cambridge, used the word 'Yankee' as a short word to express excellence, as a Yankee horse, Yankee cider and so on. The Harvard students, having frequent intercourse with Jonathan, and hearing him employ the word on all occasions when he desired to express his approbation, applied it sarcastically and called him Yankee Jonathan. It soon became a slang phrase among the collegians to designate a simple, awkward fellow; thence it spread over the country, till from its commencement in New England it was at length taken up and applied to the New Englanders indiscriminately, and, says the writer, "It was in consequence of this common use that the song was composed."

Sir George Grove says, in his "Dictionary of Music and Musicians": "The origin of the American national air, so called, is enveloped in almost as great obscurity as that which surrounds the authorship of 'God Save the King'; and, though the song is but little more than a century old, the number of different accounts of its origin which are given in American works is extremely bewildering." Each succeeding authority seems to have lighted upon a fresh legend concerning it.

The Cromwell story should have been revised before printing, because the introduction of the word "macaroni" into English common use did not occur until the establishment of the Macaroni Club in London earlier than 1750. Rev. J. Woodfal Ebsworth effectually disproved of the Cromwellian origin of "Yankee Doodle."

There are several nursery rhymes now sung by children to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," such as "Lucy Locket" and "Rosy's in the Garden." It is very evident that the melody was popular at a date earlier than that on which Lord Percy led his brigade out of Boston to Lexington.

But no matter what may be said for or against the song, there is no doubt of one thing, beyond all question—it belongs to America and the Americans by right of long possession.

Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, said in an address delivered before the American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 21, 1872: " 'Yankee Doodle' is national property, but it is not a treasure of the highest

value. It has some antiquarian claims for which its friends do not care. It cannot be disowned, and it will not be disused. In its own words:

> It suits for feasts, it suits for fun,
> And just as well for fighting.

"It exists now as an instrumental and not as a vocal performance. Its words are rarely heard, and would not, I think, be acceptable for public or private entertainments, and its music must be silent, where serious purposes are entertained and men's hearts are moved to high efforts and great sacrifices."

In the "Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians" (Scribner, New York), against "Yankee Doodle" may be found: "A national air of America, origin unknown." It is said that the tune of "Yankee Doodle" appears in Dr. Samuel Arnold's opera, of "Two to One," the words written by George Colman, the elder, produced in London in 1784, and published by Hamilton & Co., Paternoster Row, and the tune is called "Yankee Doodle" in the score of the opera, showing that it was well known by that name before that time. In the opera it was sung by a character, called Dicky Ditto, impersonated by the celebrated John Edwin, one of the finest burletta singers and comic actors of the day. The words of the song were execrable. There is a copy of the original words of "Yankee Doodle" or "The Yankee's Return from Camp," in the British Museum, on a single sheet quarto, sold at an unknown date by L. Deming, Hanover street, Boston; there are fifteen stanzas and a chorus, each succeeding stanza from the beginning being more idiotic than its predecessor. The first verse is:

> Father and I went down to camp,
> Along with Captain Gooding;
> There we see the men and boys,
> As thick as hasty pudding.

And here is the eleventh:

> And there was Captain Washington,
> And gentlefolks about him;
> They say he's grown so 'tarnal proud,
> He will not ride without 'em.

It is said that Kitty Fisher's portrait, after whom the jig was named, and which was set to "Yankee Doodle," was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the suggestive character of "Cleopatra Dissolving the Pearl," for a nobleman of George the Second's day.

There is no doubt that no American composer has yet succeeded in writing any anthem worthy of the eminence and power of the nation. The only national productions, if they can be so called, which have appeared from the Revolution down to the present time are "Yankee Doodle," "Star Spangled Banner," "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean," "Hail Columbia," and "America."

The melodies of "Yankee Doodle" and "America" are not American at all. "The Star Spangled Banner," according to one writer, was written by Francis Scott Key while a prisoner to the British during the bombardment of Fort McHenry in 1814. Another writer has stated that Key was not a prisoner, but had visited the fleet under a flag of truce, to obtain the release of a friend; he was compelled to witness the bombardment. On reaching deck next morning, and seeing the flag still floating from the ramparts, the words of "The Star Spangled Banner" took form almost involuntarily in his mind.

An interesting account by Chief Justice Taney, Key's brother-in-law, of the circumstances connected with the composition of this stirring song will be found in the preface to Volume I. of Key's songs. Herndon, who was one of the party who heard the first reading of "The Star Spangled Banner," describes the occasion as follows: "Key read it aloud once, twice, three times, until the entire division seemed electrified by its pathetic eloquence. An idea seized Ferdinand Durang. Hunting up a volume of the old flute music, which was in my tent, he impatiently whistled snatches of tune after tune as they caught his eye. One, called 'Anacreon in Heaven,' struck his fancy and rivetted his attention. Note after note fell from his puckered lips, until, with a leap and a shout, he exclaimed: 'Boys, I've hit it!' and, fitting the tune to the words, there rang out for the first time the song of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' How the men shouted and clapped, for never was there poetry to music made under such inspiring influences! It was caught up in the camps, sung around our bivouac fires and whistled in the streets; and when peace was declared and we scattered to our homes, it was carried to thousands of firesides as the most precious relic of the War of 1812."

Here are the verses of "The Star Spangled Banner," as written by Francis Scott Key, who was born in 1780 and died in 1843:

"Oh! say, can you see by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous flight
Oe'r the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?

And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there!
Oh! say, does the Star Spangled Banner yet wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

"On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected—now shines on the stream?
'Tis the Star Spangled Banner! Oh! long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

"Oh! thus be it ever, when foeman shall stand
Between their loved home and foul war's desolation;
Blest with vict'ry and peace may the heav'n rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserved as a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause is so just,
And this be our motto—'In God is our trust!'
And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

The tune, "Anacreon in Heaven," was composed by John Stafford Smith between 1770 and 1775 to the words by Ralph Tomlinson, president of the Anacreontic Society, which held its meetings at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, London.

"Hail Columbia" possesses no special attribute, although written by Judge Joseph Hopkinson, who was the son of Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. One account says that the song was written in 1798 to oblige an actor named Fox, who sang it with great success at one of the theatres in Philadelphia. The music was taken from a piece called "The President's March," which was composed by a German ten years or so before, on the occasion of a visit by Washington to the John Street Theatre, New York. Here follow the first verse and chorus:

Hail, Columbia, happy land!
Hail ye heroes! Heaven-born band!
Who fought and bled in freedom's cause!
Who fought and bled in freedom's cause!
And when the storm of war had gone,
Enjoy'd the peace your valor won!
Let independence be your boast,

Ever mindful what it cost—
Ever grateful for the prize,
Let its altar reach the skies.
Firm, united, let us be—
Rallying round our liberty.
As a band of brothers joined
Peace and safety we shall find.

"Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," was written by Timothy Dwight, the famous president of Yale College. A dearth of chaplains in the Revolutionary army induced him to join a Connecticut brigade, and it was during the time he held the office of chaplain that he wrote this lyric, the only one of his many poems and songs that is remembered at this day.

"America," by the late Rev. S. F. Smith, has secured a prominent place in the hearts of the people, but its music has no claim to originality.

During the great Civil War many stirring lays were produced, the majority of which are now forgotten. Dr. George F. Root and Henry C. Work, Jr., are left among the number of contributors in this respect.

Of Dr. Root's "Battle Cry of Freedom," Charles Francis Adams has written the following tribute: "From the year 1861 till the very close of hostilities it was heard everywhere; and it is a matter of history that the Union cause was aided in many a critical juncture by its stirring strains." Dr. Root is doubtless entitled to the position of America's foremost writer of war songs. His compositions in all number nearly thirty, among them being "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp! the Boys are Marching," and "Just Before the Battle, Mother."

BENJAMIN F. STEVENS.

THE BATTLE OF PORT ROYAL.

(NOVEMBER 7, 1861.)

WHEN first I saw the sunny land
  And happy homes mid vines and flowers,
Warm welcomes sprung from heart and hand
  In lofty halls and ladies' bowers;
And song and cheer and beaming eyes
Made the fair land a Paradise.

And Peace and Plenty, hand in hand,
Seemed guardian spirits of the land;
And Grace and Beauty's witching power
Filled with delight the passing hour,
When Life was young and youth ablaze
With radiance of those golden days.

Alas the change! Alas for all,
In lowly hut or lordly hall,
As Time and Death with silent blow
Wither our hopes and lay them low!
And musing thus I saw once more
This doom'd land through the gloom of war.

From where our fleet at anchor lay
To seaward of Port Royal Bay,
The night-wind bears from far-off shore
The cries and notes of coming war;
When thou, old friend, and I shall be
Like riven rocks by stormy sea.

I wear the blue and thou the gray;
Such the colors we don to-day.
You bear a flag both strange and new;
Mine the old flag our fathers knew,
And proudly bore in peace and war
From sea to sea and shore to shore.

The night goes by, the morning comes;—
We wake from dreams to roll of drums;
To boatswain's call and piercing fife;
To sights and sounds of coming strife.
The lofty ships are under way
To storm the forts in yonder bay.

And few that tread those decks, I ween,
A more majestic sight have seen,
As slow the ships their course pursue,
Straight as an arrow, and as true,
To the north'ard fort, that sullen lay
To guard that entrance to the bay.

The ships sail on;—a moment more,
And rushing comes the blast of war!
With thud of shot and burst of shell,
And roar of guns,—a fire of hell,—
Riddled and torn the proud ships lay
Close to the forts in Port Royal Bay.

On we sail, till our broadsides bore
Right abeam of the forts on shore;
When from the silent guns there came
A deafening peal,—a burst of flame,—
And wreck and ruin mark the path
Where swept the cyclone in its wrath.

Like eagles swooping to their prey
The great ships circle round the bay;
First to starboard and then to port,
Their broadsides pour to either fort.
The guns o'erthrown,—the dying tell
Where the raking fire of gunboats fell.

In yon fair towns where Astley glides,
And where Savannah rolls its tides,
Borne by the sea-breeze from the bay
They hear the echoes of the fray!
What anxious visions fill their souls
As on the tide of battle flows!

The hours go by,—through sulph'rous smoke
Still fierce the storm of battle broke,—
Till the fitful fire from guns ashore
Tells that the strife is almost o'er;
And forts deserted silent lay
That guard in vain Port Royal Bay.

My tale is told. 'Twere vain to tell
Who fought the best where all fought well;
But when the *old flag* rose on high,
What loud hosannas rend the sky!
From twice ten thousand men that lay
On troop-ships anchored off the bay.

By the late T. H. Stevens,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. N.

*THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM.**

DURING the last few weeks the crisis in the Far East has been—intermittently—occupying the attention of the public. The action, or rather the non-action, of Japan at this critical time has caused various criticisms. By those who hold that the present moment is the most opportune one which Japan can hope to have for entering into a war with Russia, for the protection of her most vital national interests, the opinion is expressed that the failure of the Japanese Government to take advantage of this psychological moment shows a lack of confidence in the national strength and finances and a fear of incurring the risk of a lengthy war with so powerful an adversary as Russia. This pro-Japanese element feels disappointed that Japan has not seen the necessity of adopting more active measures in her foreign policy, but maintains a lingering belief that her apparent inactivity has arisen from the calmness always possessed by the master of the situation, and from no lower motive. On the other hand, there are the unfriendly critics to Japan, who, taking heart from the inertia of the last few weeks, confidently remark that Japan has given up all idea of negotiating with Russia over the Manchurian question, and is now confining her efforts to endeavoring to safeguard her own interests in Korea. This latter view would seem to be the extreme and without adequate foundation. In the first place, it must be remembered that it would appear almost as sensible to the Japanese to negotiate with Russia for a right to the control over Korea as it would seem to the British Government to carry on long and serious diplomatic pourparlers with France as to the British right to control Ireland. Perhaps even a closer parallel would be drawn by imagining England seeking to negotiate officially with Russia as to the latter's right to control Ireland. Excluding any Japanese point of view, however, it is certain that it was too much against Russian interests for it to be anything but extremely unlikely that Russia would have prolonged the negotiations with Japan for so many weeks had it been only the question of Korea. Admiral Alexieff has expressed himself in the most positive language upon this very question, and declared that Russia did not feel that Korea was or ever could be a question of

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sufficient gravity to cause any international rupture. Holding Manchuria, the Russians would always be in a position to move against Korea from the north should the occupation of that country be demanded. The failure of Dalny may of necessity modify this view, and whether it coincides now with the views held in St. Petersburg cannot be ascertained, but it certainly expresses the views of the official circles in Asiatic Russia.

By refusing for so long to answer Japan's *minimum* demands, which I have the highest authority for stating were presented in October, the Russian Government gave the clearest proof that it was a question of Manchuria as well as of Korea. By the prolongation of the tension the advance into Thibet, that territory earmarked for many years by the Russians, and the extension of British influence in Southern Persia were made possible. No Russian acquainted with the facts would think of endangering the spreading of the shadow of the Tsar over Thibet for any partial hold over Korea. A demand by Japan for even the fulfillment of Russia's promises to the world with regard to Manchuria would explain the delay, but purely Korean matters, never.

There has been much speculation as to what constituted these minimum demands of Japan. It may, however, be taken that the following summary adequately and authoritatively covers the main points. As to Korea, an absolutely free hand and a rigid observance by Russia of her treaty obligations. As to Manchuria, Japan insists upon the practical evacuation of the Chinese territory by the Russian troops, the limiting to a defined number of the railway guards, and of their sphere of action; the absolute return of full Chineses authority over all the towns and districts of Manchuria, especially Newchwang; the opening of Manchuria to the trade of the world on the same terms as prevail in China, and the right of Japan or any other country to build railways in Manchuria. This last condition relates more especially to the linking up of the Japanese lines in Korea with the North Chineses system by a line from Wiju to Newchwang. The right of Japan and others powers to appoint consuls to Moukden and other Manchurian towns, follows from the resumption by the Chinese of full administrative authority over the country. To those who think the Japanese have opened their mouths too wide in making these demands, a study of recent Russian promises to America and other nations may be recommended.

But why, it may be asked, does Japan hold so tenaciously to the fulfilment of Russia's promises in Manchuria? An equally pertinent question would be one as to why England esteems the independence of Afghanistan of vital importance to her Indian Empire. The key to

this, as well as to many other Far Eastern problems, is to be sought in Pekin rather than in Tokyo. What statesman indulging in day dreams, which may later change the map of the world, could see a greater future in store for his country than the controlling of another nation, some four hundred millions strong? The domination of China!—that is the stake for which the diplomatists at St. Petersburg and at Tokyo are striving, and have been striving ever since their countries came into touch with the Celestial Empire. To be the motive power of China, to stand behind the inert mass of Chinese, to control, through the Manchu or any other Chinese dynasty, the greatest national force in the world, here indeed is a unique stake. To Japan and Russia alone it is given to play the game; the other nations can only stand and watch. It is not a game of to-day, or yet of yesterday's growth; its beginnings are so far back and so insignificant that history bears but little record of them. But the same policy on the part of Russia which made her maintain friendly relations with Pekin while other European powers were at war with China and there was the greatest national feeling against all foreigners, exists to-day, and is demonstrated at every step; and that wise sentiment on the part of Japanese statesmen which, in order to gain the confidence of the rulers at Pekin, prevented Japan from allying herself with France when that country was at war with China has not grown any less strong with the progress of years.

Both nations understand China, and both can enter into her point of view and her feelings. But while in the case of the Japanese it is a natural sentiment of friendliness which animates the national policy towards China, with Russia it is only too much to be feared that it is merely a question of cupidity and a desire for expansion. What the union of the English-speaking races is to many in England and America, what Pan-Americanism, Pan-Slavism, or Pan-Germanism is to the Americans, the Slavs, or the Germans, the regeneration of China is to Japan. It would be indeed strange if the Japanese had not this sentiment, since from China so much of their literature and their art and science have sprung. Be this as it may, the sentiment exists, and it is therein that may be found the reason for Japan's insistence upon the Manchurian question. What better passport to the confidence and gratitude of the Manchu dynasty could be conceived than the restoring into their keeping of their ancestral tombs? Probably only an ancestor-worshipper can understand the full significance of such action; Europeans can only judge of the importance of the ancestral element from such facts as the insistence in all Chinese railway concessions of the inclusion of a clause protecting graveyards

from demolition; and Russia, it is plain, lost the first move in the diplomatic game of the last few weeks by her reoccupation of Mukden, the City of the Imperial Manchu Tombs. This threw the Pekin authorities into a paroxysm of nervous fear, and enabled Japan to strengthen her hold upon many Chinese officials.

By including Manchuria in the scope of the negotiations, Japan ceases to be arguing about an almost parochial affair, as would be the case were Korea alone involved, and is standing for all the powers having treaty rights in China, and also for the integrity of that country. Taking this stand, she cannot but receive a greater amount of official sympathy and approval than if she were only concerned with her own interests in Korea. Pledges have been given and received by many nations on the subject of China and the open door, and these cannot be absolutely ignored. It must be remembered that Japan, in seeking for the settlement of the Manchurian question, stands for a principle and not merely sordid considerations. Indeed, had it been only a question of securing Manchurian trade for themselves, Japan would have been the last of nations to go to war with Russia to secure the "open door" in that country. For even should Russia build tariff walls around Manchuria, Japan, by mere force of her proximity and superior knowledge of Manchurian conditions, could always count on securing the greater share of the trade there.

The fact that China plays so great a part in the question has a vital importance in the internal politics of Japan. It is this hope of a Japanese ascendency over China which reconciles the elder statesmen of Japan to a forward policy against Russia at the present moment. The group of elder statesmen of the old school, headed by Marquis Ito, has always opposed to the utmost any war with Russia. The enemies of Marquis Ito have spoken often far more plainly and bitterly than the facts justify against his partiality for that country. But one is sure that, however loath he is to break with Russia, it would be inexpressibly more painful to him to have to relinquish any chance of realizing that hope which took him to Pekin before the Boxer outbreak, and which has filled his busy, able brain for years. The knowledge of the imminence of the possible danger of losing control of China might remove what has been well described as the "brake" upon Japaneses political exuberance, the opposition of the elder statesmen.

With this removed or not actively asserted, what would remain the sentiment of Japan? First and foremost there is the Cabinet, led by Count Katsura, Marquis Yamagata's friend and follower, who has shown remarkable courage and firmness of purpose during his term of office. But this is the first Cabinet ever formed by the younger

statesmen, and though naturally it holds more liberal views about the expansion of Japan, and might be more hot-headed over rushing into new fields, it is still largely dominated by the elder statesmen. For it must be remembered that Marquis Ito, Marquis Yamagata, and Count Matsukata, the three leading elder statesmen, form by direct mandate of the Emperor a species of advisory board between the Cabinet and the head of state. Also, the Cabinet is responsible only to the Emperor, and remains in full possession of its powers even when the house of representatives is dissolved. It would seem, therefore, that the Cabinet's decision would rest upon the decision of the Emperor, although it might be forced to recognize a consensus of public opinion. The Emperor's is the deciding voice, since in him personally is invested the power to declare war, to make peace, and to conclude treaties (Article XIII. Constitution), irrespective of whether Parliament is sitting or has been dissolved. His brief reference to the situation in the speech from the throne was at once dignified and fraught with the full sense of the gravity of the position. He said: "The ministers have been instructed carefully to conduct important negotiations for securing the peace of the East and maintaining the rights of the Empire." The very mention of securing peace points to the possibility of war, a grave admission for the head of state to make were he not sure of his ground. All the ancestry, all the atmosphere of the aristocracy of Japan will tend to war; nothing approaching to a lowering of Japanese national pride could be entertained for a moment, or if entertained ultimately succeed. As it is with the nobles, so it is with the people. On any question of national moment they stand united, ready to give up everything, even life itself, for their country. Even those sections of the community which have been most active against the present clan government, whereby the majority of the public offices are secured to two great clans, will be the most trustworthy supporters of the government should a serious situation arise in Japanese foreign relations.

The business men of Japan, who, after all, are the most likely to lose by a war, are wonderfully unanimous in favor of strong measures. Baron Shibusawa, who is no hot-headed youth, but a peace-loving business man of over sixty years, at a recent meeting of the Bankers' Club in Tokyo gave utterance to the following statement which gives the sentiment of financial Japan better than anything else could do: "If Russia persists in showing no disposition to make concessions; if, pursuing her own selfish ambition to the end, she brings dishonor on our country, then we, peace-loving bankers though we be, can no longer keep patience, but will obey the true spirit of the Yamato people

and stand forth sword in hand. I am an old man, but I have some courage left, and I know how it must be with you, my hearers, who are in the prime of life."

The Japanese press during a crisis is muzzled with regard to the divulging of state and military secrets; therefore, the papers, especially the sensational ones, have to fall back upon rumors and surmises. Many of the foreign correspondents in Japan are quite out of touch with the Japanese, and have no chance of viewing events from the Japanese point of view. Thus, save from the telegrams of a few well-informed men, little can be learned from the daily newspapers.

However, it is clearly distinguishable, that Japanese opinion is solid enough to ensure a very disagreeable time for any Cabinet against which might be brought the accusation of a betrayal of the country's interests. Japan cannot be accused of being in the position of "spoiling" for a fight—her last war showed her clearly enough the serious consequences even of a victorious one. Her statesmen cherish no illusions upon this point. Neither do they expect any active assistance upon the part of any other nation. All the Japanese plans have been laid upon the assumption that the contest when it comes will be a contest between herself and Russia alone. There has never been any question of dragging Great Britain into the arena. This, it must be admitted, is self-sacrifice on Japan's part, since she would have much to gain from British assistance, and little to fear from the resulting French aggression in the Far East. The alliance of China against Russia has been declined, but there is a very clear understanding between Tokyo and Pekin. It would be interesting to learn how far the British government is involved at Pekin with reference to Chinese acquiescence in the Thibetan expedition. Japan will look to England for assistance in raising loans during a war, but there need be no fear that her needs will ever even approach in magnitude the sums necessary for the South African war.

Standing for a principle to which both America and England have pledged themselves, Japan counts upon the moral support of those two countries, and their influence to prevent any such a termination to a war as was the forced retrocession of the Liatong peninsula after the war with China.

ALFRED STEAD.

GENERAL GARFIELD, THE SOLDIER.

No purer patriot, truer soldier, or better man drew sword or shouldered musket for the preservation of his country and the restoration of the human race to the right of liberty during the late war in behalf of the integrity of the Union than General Garfield. He seemed the embodiment of the spirit of freedom, justice, and nationality. His military career, though brief and not brilliant with opportunity, was remarkably sturdy, steadfast, enthusiastic, and memorable. Springing at a single step from the presidency of a civil college to the colonelcy of a regiment in the field of battle, his native talent enabled him to master almost by intuition the rudiments of theoretical warfare, to honorably compete with graduated and experienced officers in action, and to boldly meet and rout the enemy on his own ground, commanded by far more practically and professionally trained leaders than he himself ever pretended to be. By a successful hand-to-hand struggle with an old Mexican captain he earned his brigadier's stars, and on the fearful, yet glorious, field of Chickamauga, under the eagle eye of Thomas, he won, by heroic bravery and devotion, the distinguished rank of major-general of volunteers. The pages of Garfield's war record are rich and replete with lessons of ability, love of country, and deathless devotion to the cause of humanity. His patriotism had no blemish. What manner of man was he who passed at once from self-wrought supremacy in walks of learning and civil life to a position of highly honorable, if not illustrious, eminence among the prominent and deserving military heroes of his native land? The glowing annals of our country tell us, whose recent history and his are woven tenderly together.

Born of simple farmer stock, bred among rude Western scenes, treading the tow-path of a canal or felling forest-trees for a scant living, toiling for elemental knowledge out of few books, qualifying cursorily for a college course in intervals of hard manual labor, graduating respectably with high reputation as a metaphysician, stepping to a professorship, and, presently, the presidency of an institution of science and classical culture,—James Abram Garfield, at the moment of his yielding up the pen for the unsheathed sword, had well drilled himself in the sterling acquirements of a lofty and ambitious manhood. Mentally, he possessed breadth and depth, thoroughly trained

habits of thought, wide information in letters, arts, and science, ancient erudition, and, above all, systematic and philosophical arrangement of profound attainments. Physically, he enjoyed the advantages of a fine person, commanding stature, robust health, a spacious, intellectual brow, handsome features, and a modest, manly bearing striking in the extreme. He was a signal illustration of the Roman requirements of wholesome manliness,—*sana mens in sano corpore.* This was the character of the citizen who fervently tendered his services to the republic in her gravest hour of trial. And what sort of a soldier did such good material make in the emergency? Very soon the sequel showed.

By December, 1861, civil war had become a fixed, appalling fact. The nation was rent to the core, and warring ranks stood front to front in deadly hate, the strangely fierce ferocity of hostile brothers. The country was still under the shock of the firing on the flag of Sumter, and spell-bound by the subsequent disastrous defeat at Bull Run. The rival Federals and Confederates were frowningly confronted, each waiting in impatience for the onset of the other. Between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi nothing of moment had occurred save the short campaign in Western Virginia, and the quick advance and attack of Grant at Belmont. Buell was making ready to march on Bowling Green, when suddenly he found himself hemmed in and hampered by two co-operating armies which were stealthily and skillfully creeping up and closing in upon his flanks. Zollicoffer was on the way from Cumberland Gap in the direction of Mill Spring, and Marshall was moving down Sandy Valley from Virginia with the purpose of overrunning and securing Eastern Kentucky. Buell's position was becoming jeopardized, and no attention could be given to the projected advance on Bowling Green until those threatening forces could be met and driven off. This was partly the attitude of affairs in the West when Garfield came into the arena of action at the head of the gallant Ohio Forty-second. He it was who helped, in conjunction with the immortal Thomas, to finally turn the tide in favor of the endangered Union forces and redeem Kentucky, then trembling in the balance, from the ruinous influences of secession and rebellion. Kentucky owes a debt of gratitude to General Garfield for saving her from the wasting and protracted ravages of fratricidal war, an obligation which the State of the loyal Clay will not forget.

When the war broke out Garfield was State Senator at Columbus. He hesitated not an instant to volunteer. The three months' regiments were allowed to elect their own officers, and upon the organization of the Ohio Seventh, Tyler was chosen colonel, and Garfield its lieuten-

ant-colonel; but the latter's services here were brief, for, during the first battle-summer, Governor Dennison commissioned him colonel of the Forty-second Ohio, a regiment not then fully formed, and with which his name is inseparably associated. This excellent body of troops was enlisted chiefly in Portage and Summit Counties, and some of the officers and many of the men had been students at Hiram under the martial president of the Campbellite Christian College. Five weeks were spent in the drilling of the Forty-second in the evolutions of Casey's Tactics in Camp Chase, at the State capital, the colonel himself learning as he taught the art of war. On December 15, in obedience to an order of General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, the Forty-second proceeded to Catlettsville, Kentucky, and its young colonel reported at headquarters in Louisville.

Buell was perhaps the most cultured military scholar in the army of the United States. Silent, stern, astute, a regular through and through, he naturally regarded a volunteer with suspicion, if not aversion, until the volunteer proved himself a soldier, when dislike and distrust were changed to confidence and esteem. When Colonel Garfield reported for duty, then, his general looked at him with considerable curiosity. Here was a president of a college, and sometimes a preacher of piety, in a United States uniform at the head of a regiment and ready for a fight. Buell's great anxiety at the time was Humphrey Marshall and his command stealing along the Big Sandy Valley to seize upon Kentucky. Pointing out the position of this vigorous enemy to his new colonel upon a map which he had before him, General Buell in few but forcible words stated the route and numbers of the foe, and, fixing his steel eye upon the face of his silent subordinate, said, "If you were in charge of this sub-district, colonel, what would you do? Report your answer to me at nine o'clock to-morrow morning." The citizen-soldier, with a bow of respect, withdrew. He was not unprepared for such an exigency, however. During his two or three months of service he had been hard at work upon the study of the theory of military movements, books on strategy as well as tactics having been his daily and nightly companions. Sitting up engrossed in thought and study of the map until daylight, at nine o'clock sharp he laid his plan of action before his superior in command. The expert eye of the soldier saw its merit at a glance. That same morning General Buell issued an order, to the surprise of his officers, creating the Eighteenth Brigade of the Army of the Cumberland, and assigning the author of the midnight plan of operations to its command, with the terse direction, "Proceed with

the least possible delay to the mouth of the Sandy; move with the force in that vicinity up that river, and drive the enemy back or cut him off." Distrust had given place to confidence. Kentucky was the purse at stake, but the young theorist was equal to the race, for the disciplined mind can turn with equal facility, and grasp and scope, to almost any toil of brain demanded, and the simple problem was to save Kentucky to the Union.

Marshall was believed to be advancing upon Lexington in order to unite with Zollicoffer in an attempt to capture the capital of the State, and Marshall was the man who had led the plucky charge of the Kentucky Volunteers at the battle of Buena Vista. Garfield had in his brigade about two thousand four hundred men all told, eleven hundred of whom were at Paris, Kentucky, and the remainder, consisting of his own Ohio regiment and the half-formed Kentucky Fourteenth, in camp at Catlettsburg; nearly a hundred miles of mountain thronged with armed rebels lying between these points. On the 22d of December the citizen-colonel was at the latter place, his little force there having been just thrown forward, by his order, some thirty miles up the Big Sandy to Louisa, where he immediately joined it upon arranging for the forwarding of sufficient supplies of food. On the 24th he was in the field. The story of the Big Sandy campaign will be read hereafter with interest, for upon it mainly depends General Garfield's fame as a commander. Chickamauga displayed the soldier and patriot in the glowing light of a fearless and spirited hero, but with less pretension or opportunity as a general, although for daring, discretion, and devotion to duty on that desperate day, President Lincoln bestowed upon him his triple stars. Garfield won his laurels promptly; his spurs at the Big Sandy; his stars at Chickamauga, besides evincing his zeal and ability in the presence of the general of his special love and honor always, who sensibly felt the value of the younger officer's services to his country, respected him accordingly, and esteemed him ever as his son. Whoever has heard Garfield allude in private or public to the "Rock of Chickamauga," well knows the admiration and enthusiasm of his great regard for General George H. Thomas.

General Garfield was at this time a man of thirty years and a soldier of six months. He had never seen an armed enemy or a bayonet charge, or heard a cannon fired in the field, or known the deadly danger of a line of battle. Yet he found himself at the head of four regiments of infantry and eight companies of cavalry, and not only responsible for their lives and conduct, but also for the salvation of a State. Marshall, a competent commander, had with him some

five thousand men, well drilled, supplied, and equipped, and eager for a brush with the Yankees. The Union general had two things to do without delay,—namely, open communication with his eleven hundred men under Colonel Cranor, and form an immediate junction with that body in the presence of a strong and superior army, perfectly cognizant of his object and its vital desirability, and possessing every facility of preventing its attainment.

A trustworthy scout must first be procured. Consultation with Colonel Moore, of the Fourteenth Kentucky, resulted in the selection of a faithful Scotchman named Jordan. The colonel commanding read him over carefully. "Will you die rather than let this dispatch be taken?" he asked. "I will," answered the man. "Very well," said the student of men as well as books, "I will trust you." At midnight of the second day thereafter the message was handed safely to Colonel Cranor, who had gone forward as far as McCormick's Gap. It was dated "Midnight, December 24," and ordered him to march his column at once to Prestonburg. At dawn next day Cranor's force was in motion for the front, with every nerve strained. On the way it was to pick up about three hundred cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Woolford, stationed at Stamford, the whole number of the little army then amounting to only fourteen hundred men, but all fighters.

The Big Sandy, a muddy, shoal river running into the Ohio through the Cumberland spurs, is only navigable to Louisa, except for small, shallow scows, which may be pushed or pulled along as far as Piketon. In midwinter this stream is low and narrow, and the poor roads of that country are next to impassable from mire. Garfield decided to rely mainly on mud-scows or flat-boats for transportation of camp supplies, and his scant army-train of mules, horses and wagons, for cannon he had none. Preparing ten days' rations and filling his cartridge boxes, Colonel Garfield placed part of his little force on board of all the scows and flat-boats he could muster and impress, and set off in search of Humphrey Marshall. It was New Year's Day, 1862. What a contrast the scene there to that of the civil social life in cities at the same hour, where safe and happy callers were exchanging visits and compliments of the season in cozy, fire-lit parlors!

The march through the mud of the rough roads alongside the ice-lined stream was slow and painful, an average day's rate of travel being but five or six miles, so that it was the 6th of January when the Union army reached a point seven miles distant from Paintville, near where, it was reported, Marshall had made a stand. At midnight of

that day Colonel Garfield was aroused from heavy sleep, after the fatigues and exhaustion of the journey, in a wretched log hut where he lay, by a sentry, who stated that a man wanted to see him upon urgent business. He bade him to be admitted. It was Jordan. "Back safe?" asked the colonel, at once awake and alert. "I am." "Have you seen Cranor?" "Yes, colonel." "Well?" "He can't be more than two days' march behind me." "You have done us a great service, Jordan," said Garfield, warmly grasping his hand. "That is more pay that I expected!" exclaimed the mud-stained and weary but delighted scout.

Presently a picket came in with news that the enemy, several thousand strong, was certainly encamped at Paintville, and impatiently expecting an attack on the following morning, sure of a speedy victory. At daybreak all was bustle and preparation in the Union camp. Then arose the anxious question among the officers, "Will we move at once, or must we wait for Cranor?" The matter was settled at sunrise. "Forward, march!" was the explicit order which came from the log shanty, to the relief of the brave fellows. There were three approaches to Paintville. One was easterly, by the bank of the Sandy; another westerly, to the right of the village; and the other, the straight way, running between the right and left roads over jagged, perpendicular ridges, by broken paths, steep and stumpy and stony. These were all held by rebel pickets, while a regiment was outlying in the van of the town, commanding the direct defile over the mountain.

Garfield decided to try stratagem, knowing that Marshall was an old campaigner and too wily and wary to suspect a mere beginner of shrewdness. Throwing out a small force of infantry and cavalry along the east or river road, with directions to drive in the pickets there, a couple of hours after he sent off a similar detachment of skirmishers by the west or right road, and at about the same interval of time still another party of attack by way of the middle or mountain road. The first body duly drove in the pickets on the river-bank, who, flying homeward to headquarters, reported to Marshall that the enemy were advancing by that route in force, and he excitedly hurried off a thousand infantry, with a battery of six-pounders, to protect that approach. The same result took place with the western pickets, who likewise fled, and in accordance with their report, the rebel infantry and battery were hastily recalled and urged to the defense of the right road. A couple of hours later the encouraged Union troops, impetuously scaling the rocks, drove in the pickets of this last or central pass, and these, finding the town deserted by its vigilant guard,

which had been withdrawn to the support of either wing in turn, carried in the story to the rebel camp that the enemy were at the threshold of Paintville. In alarm Marshall accordingly called in his roving and rambling regiment and battery, and took up a fortified position in the rear of the village, well protected by his guns. As the pickets fled, Garfield, rapidly advancing by the middle road across the ridges, took possession of the abandoned settlement and hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the wavering population of Paintville. Then, Federal and Confederate lay face to face for the moment, each anxious and impatient for the pending struggle of the morrow.

Late in the evening of the 8th of January a spy came into the rebel camp with news that Cranor and his regiment were close at hand to join the little force of Garfield. Marshall straightway determined to stampede in the darkness. Colonel Garfield was surprised at midnight to see a great fire ablaze in the Confederate camp, and, mounting his horse and placing himself at the head of his regiment, rode forward only to find a deserted position and the retreating enemy out of sight, while his munitions and stores flamed and smoked upon the clouds of the night. He at once surmised that Cranor must be near, and joyfully awaited the arrival of his reinforcement. In the morning the trusty regiment marched gayly into camp, cheering and cheered, and with their battle-flags flying in the winter wind. It was the 9th of January and the day before the first glorious defeat of rebellion and the redemption of Kentucky from the treacherous toils of secession. The signal and decisive battle of Middle Creek was at hand. After breakfast and many glad hand-shakings, Garfield ordered his impatient forces to march toward the foe. They advanced slowly and surely until dusk, when they went into bivouac on the top of Abbott's Hill. It was a raw night, with a bleak north blast and falling rain, and camp-fires before drenched tents were rudely blown out by the fitful, chilly gusts. Yet men slept soundly before the action on the very brink of death and wounds far worse than death.

The morning's engagement began with the Union skirmishers sweeping the Confederate cavalry in repulse from the heights in front of Garfield's position, beyond which protecting ridges the enemy was massed. At noon the Federals occupied this crest, and could look down upon the ranks of the hostile host below. The ground was fully exposed to view, the battle-field of Middle Creek, with its meadow, marshes, and marching men. It was watered by an inland rivulet and traversed by a rough road about ten feet broad; on either side of the stream and highway steep pointed rocks, rising a few hundred feet, overhung the bush-grown, swampy banks. The enemy

were seen to hold the two ridges on the left of the creek, while a battery of twelve pieces at the forks of the little river was ready to rake that approach. To the right a heavy detachment was massed. Marshall's plan was evidently to enfilade the advancing column of attack by an artillery fire. Colonel Garfield's quick eye, however, in an instant saw through the purposes of his adversary's able disposition of his resources, and enabled him to skillfully avoid the dangerous trap. He decided to storm the overhanging heights, an operation of great difficulty. A band of his own college boys was ordered to swim the creek and scale the abrupt ascent. With a shout they plunged into the icy water, holding their muskets and cartridge boxes above their heads, soon gained the opposite bank, and commenced the sharp climb, under the stinging fire of a thousand small-arms from the swarm of gray-backs on the sides and summit of the cliff. 'To the trees!" was the order of the Union officers. Under cover of the trunks and stumps they sought refuge; but Garfield saw that they were helpless to seize the hill and ordered on the support. Five hundred men of the Fortieth and Forty-second Ohio, commanded by Colonel Cranor and Major Pardee, rushed to the rescue but to be driven down the plane after a desperate hand-to-hand fight with the death-dealing foe, while the rebel cannon were brought to bear with fury on the main body of the boys in blue. Then Garfield called up his rifles, having no artillery, and the enemy's battery was forced to fly, as the battle raged along the ragged ridge. The crest was a crown of fire. Sharper and sharper rattled the musketry. Thicker and thicker fell the ranks of dead and dying. All day long, until the sun set in clouds, the struggle ebbed and flowed. As the sun sank out of sight and the twilight descended, as if to throw a mantle of concealment over the dreadful scene, Garfield with spirit threw forward his reserve. All or nothing! On ran the valiant line of Federals, firing volley after volley, and charging with the bayonet any rallying group of Confederates, until by sheer force of metal they hurled the rebels from the peaks of the rocky and rugged mount, and planted on its top their bullet-riddled colors. It was a glorious ending of an anxious day, indeed. Writes Captain Mason, in his graphic history of the Ohio Forty-second:

"The battle of Middle Creek, trifling though it may be considered in comparison with later contests, was the *first substantial victory* won for the Union cause. At Big Bethel, Bull Run, in Missouri, and at various points at which the Union and Confederate forces had come in contact, the latter had been uniformly victorious. The people of the North, giving feely of their men and substance in response to each

successive call of the government, had long anxiously watched and waited for a gleam of victory to show that Northern valor was a match for Southern impetuosity in the field. They had waited in vain since the disaster at Bull Run during the previous summer, and hope had almost yielded to despair. This story of Garfield's success at Middle Creek came, therefore, like a benediction to the Union cause. Though won at a comparatively small cost, it was decisive so far as concerned the purposes of that immediate campaign. Marshall's force was driven from Kentucky and made no further attempt to occupy the Sandy Valley. The important victories at Mill Spring, Forts Donelson and Henry, and the repulse at Shiloh followed. The triumph at Middle Creek proved the first wave of a returning tide."

The morning after the battle, Colonel Garfield issued this stirring and spirited congratulatory address to his gallant little army of victors:

"SOLDIERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BRIGADE: I am proud of you all! In four weeks you have marched, some eighty, and some a hundred miles, over almost impassable roads. One night in four you have slept, often in the storm, with only a wintry sky above your heads. You have marched in the face of a foe of more than double your numbers, led on by chiefs who have won a national renown under the old flag, intrenched in hills of his own choosing, and strengthened by all the appliances of military art. With no experience but the consciousness of your own manhood, you have driven him from his strongholds, pursued his inglorious flight, and compelled him to meet you in battle. When forced to fight, he sought the shelter of rocks and hills. You drove him from his position, leaving scores of his bloody dead unburied. His artillery thundered against you, but you compelled him to flee by the light of his burning stores, and to leave even the banner of his rebellion behind him. I greet you as brave men! Our common country will not forget you. She will not forget the sacred dead who fell beside you, nor those of your comrades who won scars of honor on the field. I have recalled you from the pursuit that you may regain vigor for still greater exertions. Let no one tarnish his well-earned honors by any act unworthy an American soldier. Remember your duties as American citizens, and sacredly respect the rights and property of those with whom you may come in contact. Let it not be said that good men dread the approach of an American army. Officers and soldiers, your duty has been nobly done. For this I thank you!

"J. A. GARFIELD,
"Colonel Commanding Brigade."

At the receipt of the news of Garfield's triumph over Marshall, and the repulse and rout of the rebel army of invasion, General Buell issued the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF OHIO,
"LOUISVILLE, KY., January 20, 1862.

"*General Order, No.* 40.

"The general commanding takes occasion to thank General Garfield and his troops for their successful campaign against the rebel force under General Marshall on the Big Sandy, and their gallant conduct in battle. They have overcome formidable difficulties in the character of the country, condition of the roads, and the inclemency of the season; and, without artillery, have in several engagements, terminating in the battle of Middle Creek, on the 10th instant, driven the enemy from his intrenched position and forced him back into the mountains, with a loss of a large amount of baggage and stores, and many of his men killed or captured. These services have called into action the highest qualities of a soldier,—fortitude, perseverance, and courage.

"By order,
"DON CARLOS BUELL,
"Major-General Commanding."

The War Department, also, in acknowledgment and appreciation of Garfield's soldierly services in the action of Middle Creek, his subsequent breaking up of Marshall's last stand at Pound Gap, and the ultimate saving of Kentucky to the Union, made him a brigadier-general, his commission complimentarily bearing date the day of the victory, January 10, 1862. From that hour the country learned to know his name as that of an earnest, energetic, and efficient officer of the United States. The literary and studious chief of a college had become at a bound the distinguished general of volunteers. Is not a trained mind a mine of wealth to the community as well as the possessor?

It may be of interest to give the views of one or two eminent civilians as to the military merits of General Garfield in his memorable campaign of the big Sandy. Writes Whitelaw Reid, in his "Ohio in the War": "Later criticism will confirm the general verdict then passed upon the Sandy Valley campaign. It was the first of the brilliant series of successes which made the spring of 1862 so memorable. Mill Spring, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Nashville, Island No. 10, and Memphis followed in quick succession, but it was to Garfield's honor that he opened this season of victories. His plans, as we have seen, were based on sound military principles; the energy which he

threw into their execution was thoroughly admirable, and his management of the raw volunteers was such that they acquired the fullest confidence in their commander, and endured the hardships of the campaign with fortitude not often shown in the first field-service of new troops. But the operations were on a small scale, and their chief significance lay in the capacity they developed, rather than in their intrinsic importance."

Writes Edmund Kirke, enthusiastically, of the battle of Middle Creek, "In the history of the late war there is not another like it. Measured by the forces engaged, the valor displayed, and the results that followed, it throws into the shade the achievements of even that mighty host that saved the nation. Eleven hundred foot-sore and weary men, without cannon, charged up a rocky hill, over stumps, over stones, over fallen trees, over high intrenchments, right into the face of over five thousand fresh troops with twelve pieces of artillery."

Says Judge Clarke, himself one of the old Forty-second, "And during it all, Garfield was the soldier's friend. Such was his affection for the men that he would divide his last ration with them, and nobody ever found anything better at headquarters than the rest got."

"He was formed," says Riddle, "for a soldier's idol."

At the close of his famous campaign against Marshall, Garfield's prompt promotion for military prowess resulted in a personal misfortune. He was compelled to separate from his beloved regiment in assuming a general's command, nor ever again did the Forty-second serve with its old colonel, under whom it had won such abiding honors in the vicissitudes of the war, although his affections always fondly clung around its early memories.

General Garfield, in his manly modesty, far underrated his signal achievements at Middle Creek. He was wont to say when the victory was alluded to by others, and pressed to a remark, "It was a very rash and imprudent affair on my part. If I had been an officer of more experience I probably should not have made the attack. Practical war produces prudence. As it was, *having gone into the army with the notion that fighting was our business, I didn't know any better.*" If others of our officers had made the same mistake as Grant and Garfield in this respect, with a similar result, doubtless they would have been only too willingly forgiven by a grateful country. Many more tributes and testimonials on the part of understanding critics to the satisfactory nature of the action at Middle Creek might be given, but we must hasten on to the glories of Pittsburg Landing and Chickamauga, in which Garfield bore an associate share with a host of glowing heroes and patriots of the Union; but, as here he did not hold

an independent command, the recital of his career will be less ample than in the preceding pages.

When Garfield reached Louisville the Army of the Ohio was already beyond Nashville on its way to join Grant at Pittsburg Landing. He accordingly reported to General Buell near Columbia, and was assigned to the command of the Twentieth Brigade, in the division of General Thomas J. Wood. On the morning of April 6, 1862, Wood was at Savannah, when he received this order from General Grant: "You will move your command, with the utmost dispatch, to the river at this point, where steamers will be in readiness to convey you to Pittsburg." After the check of the Federals on the morning of the 6th, it was decided on the same evening that the fresh Ohio troops were to form upon the left of the line when the battle should be renewed next day. The ferries were active all night conveying our forces across the river to be placed in position on the field. Grant's firm orders were, "As soon as it is light enough to see, attack with a heavy skirmish line, and when you have found the enemy, throw upon him your whole force, *leaving no reserve.*" When the morning broke, as quickly as the Ohio boys came up they were put into action. About 1 P. M., Garfield, with his gallant brigade, reached the front, and with a wild Western cheer dashed full at the rebel line, breaking it at that point, and aiding and sharing in the glorious fortunes of the day. On the 9th the War Department issued the following order: "The thanks of the Department are hereby given to Generals Grant and Buell, and their forces, for the glorious repulse of Beauregard, at Pittsburg, in Tennessee."

After Shiloh, General Garfield was for a while employed in bridge-building, reopening railroads, and constructing military ways. Then he was detailed upon court-martial duty in the respective cases of Colonel Turchin and Fitz-John Porter. When at Washington he favorably impressed General Hunter, who applied to have him in his own command in South Carolina, but the battle of Stone River again changed his fate. Colonel Garesche, General Rosecrans's chief of staff, was killed in the field, and the Secretary of War appointed General Garfield to that responsible position in January, 1863. At that memorable time General Rosecrans commanded the Army of the Cumberland, and General Grant the Army of the Tennessee. The Army of the Potomac was operating against Richmond; the Army of the Tennessee was preparing to invest Vicksburg; the Army of the Cumberland, which had been united with the Army of the Ohio, was in camp at Murfreesborough. When Garfield reported to General Rosecrans, the latter was in some doubt as to the value of his

new chief of staff. Said he, "When Garfield arrived, I must confess I had a prejudice against him, as I understood he was a preacher who had gone into politics, and a man of that cast I was naturally opposed to. I found him to be a competent and efficient officer, an earnest and devoted patriot, and a man of the highest honor." An instant and lasting friendship was formed between the old regular and the young volunteer. Garfield's assignment gave general satisfaction. He became a general favorite with the soldiery. A personal description is thus given of him by Edmund Kirke: "In a corner by the window, seated at a small pine desk, a sort of packing-box perched on a long-legged stool and divided into pigeon-holes, was a tall, deep-chested, sinewy-built man, with regular massive features, a full, clear blue eye, slightly tinted with gray, and a high, broad forehead, rising into a ridge over the eyes, as if it had been thrown up by a plow. There was something singularly engaging in his open, expressive face, and his whole appearance indicated great reserve power. His uniform, though cleanly brushed, and fitting easily upon him, had a sort of democratic air, and everything about him seemed to denote that he was a 'man of the people.' A rusty slouched hat, large enough to have fitted Daniel Webster" (the size eight and one-seventh), "lay on the desk before him, but a glance at that was not needed to convince me that his head held more than the common share of brains. Though he is yet young,—not thirty-three,—the reader has heard of him, and if he lives he will make his name long remembered in our history." Garfield's associates upon the staff were Captain Thompson, Major Bond, Colonel Michler, Captain Brooke, Major Porter, and Major McMichael.

General Rosecrans's justifiable quarrels with the War Department are too well remembered to need retelling here; suffice it to say, in this connection, that his chief of staff did his best to calm the fiery spirit of his respected superior and keep the government at Washington as amiable as possible,—no easy task. From the 4th of January until the 24th of June poor Rosecrans lay at Murfreesborough expecting necessary reinforcements, which never came. At length, weary of waiting, and heartsore with disappointment, he called his corps commanders to him in his tent, and formally consulted them as to the propriety of an onward movement. The same evening the advice of his division, brigade, and cavalry generals was also asked. Out of seventeen written opinions not one was in favor of an advance. Garfield sadly read the seventeen letters, and, with the consent of his chief, proceeded to answer them *seriatim*. His reply carried conviction to the mind of his commanding officer at least, and a forward

march was promptly ordered. The result of Garfield's judgment was the signally successful campaign of Tullahoma. Bragg received a severe check, and would have been entirely destroyed but for the extraordinary violence of the storms of that most inclement season. As it was, he was forced out of Shelbyville, Wartrace, and Tullahoma, and finally, in hot haste, of Chattanooga. Longstreet's veteran army, however, was now on its way from Northern Virginia to reinforce Bragg, when Chattanooga would be threatened, if not endangered, with its small force of occupation, which so gallantly but inadequately held it against all odds. Up to this moment every item of General Garfield's anticipations had come to pass. He had said, in his reply to the seventeen generals, "You have, in my judgment, wisely delayed a general movement hitherto, till your army could be massed and your cavalry could be mounted. Your mobile force can now be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and your cavalry, if not equal in numerical strength to that of the enemy, is greatly superior in efficiency. For these reasons I believe an immediate advance of all our available forces is advisable, and, under the providence of God, will be successful." Whitelaw Reid pronounces this paper "the ablest military document submitted by a chief of staff to his superior during the war."

Bragg in alarm gathered in every possible reinforcement, Longstreet from Virginia, Buckner from Tennessee, Walker from Joseph Johnson's army, a detachment of Georgia militia, and whatever else offered. He had had some forty-two thousand muskets and sabres before Tullahoma, now he had got together certainly not less than seventy-five thousand fighting men, with the purpose of hurling himself upon Chattanooga and annihilating Rosecrans and his little army at a single blow. Rosecrans wisely anticipated his action, and, marching boldly and rapidly upon him, precipitated the brilliant battle of Chickamauga. Rosecrans claimed that Bragg's army numbered ninety-two thousand. The Union troops amounted to fifty-five thousand, all told. Bragg's design, when he found himself grappled, seems to have been to turn the Federal left flank and thus open the way to Chattanooga. Rosecrans, divining this danger with soldierly instinct and intuition, sent reinforcements to Thomas, who held this point, at once, but none too soon, for the first shock of the impetuous rebel charge had shaken the left a little. However, Thomas instantly recovered and drove back the enemy with great gallantry, regaining all that had been lost, and firmly holding his exposed position and splendidly bearing the brunt of the enemy's fiercest onslaught throughout the terrible day. For his stable tenacity and wall-like firmness of

bearing under the severest strain of attack General George H. Thomas was well christened by his brave command and grateful and unforgetful country, the Rock of Chickamauga, for surely he showed the true granite grit of American will and perseverance and courage under the stress of hardest trial. During the eventful day the rest of the line thoroughly sustained itself, though largely outnumbered, and at night only, when darkness broke up the battle for a few hours, was it known how perilous the posture of affairs had really been, when the fact was told that *every brigade in the army with but two exceptions* had been brought into the struggle during the engrossing hours of action to sustain the thin and broken line and beat back the desperate foe.

Discouraged by his unavailing assaults on the Union left, Bragg made ready that night to redouble his efforts in the same direction. Apprehending this, Rosecrans transferred Negley's division to Thomas's corps, placing two more in reserve to aid in case of unusual strain. Before Negley could reach Thomas, however, the battle had been resumed. At daylight it began to rage with unabated fury. On Thomas's front and flank the tempest broke. Recognizing the imminence of the situation, Rosecrans ordered over Van Cleve's division from his right, directing the other divisions to close up the open line. In the confusion General Wood, of Kentucky, unfortunately misunderstood the order, and though realizing that to break the engaged line of battle would prove fatal, literally obeyed his mistaken conception of the command and moved off to the rear. Longstreet, with surprise, perceived the unusual movement, and, with supreme presence of mind, instantly flung Hood into the breach, cutting off the right from the centre and left, and crumbling the devoted right wing to powder. It was the end of brave McCook's corps, and the gallant fellows who had so pluckily striven for victory fell back in confusion to Chattanooga. Rosecrans himself was whirled into the foaming eddy of defeat. Writes Riddle, "The tramping flood of mere human beings, reft of reason, caught the general and chief of staff in the rush. One eye-witness says that the conduct of the two men, stripped in an instant of all power to command by the dissolving of the charm of discipline, was superb. Garfield, dismounted, with his figure above the surging mass and his resonant voice heard above the din, seized the colors from the fleeing bearer, who had instinctively borne them off, planted them, seized men to the right and left, faced them about, and formed the nucleus of a stand, shouting his ringing appeals in the ears of unhearing men, reft of all human attributes. His exertions were vain." It was plain to Garfield that the battle was lost but

for the amazing and indomitable stand of Thomas and the unwavering left, fire-fringed with the flame and smoke of deadly fight, but it was his duty to stay by the side of his chief, who could see no way of helping his sturdy subordinate (Thomas) to redeem the day, borne back as he himself was by the unreasoning flood. Writes Brisbin, "Garfield followed his commander about half-way to Chattanooga. Riding up to Rosecrans, he said, *'General, I ask permission to return and join General Thomas.'* Some slight remonstrance was made, but Garfield persevered in his desire, and obtained permission."*

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*The circumstances under which General Garfield proceeded to join General Thomas on the occasion here alluded to have been recently made the subject of a communication from General Rosecrans to the editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, from which we extract as follows:

"When Davis's two brigades, next to Sheridan's division on the right, were broken, and that division thereby temporarily separated from the rest of the army, General Garfield, my chief of staff, and Major Frank S. Bond, senior aide, accompanied me toward the rear of our centre. When we reached a point near the forks of the Dry Valley road, on which our right rested, and the Rossville road, leading up to our left, I addressed General Garfield as follows:

"'By the sound of battle we yet hold the field; but we do not know with what force the enemy may come down the Dry Valley road through the gap just opened. General Post's brigade is over the ridge to our west, in the valley of Chattanooga Creek, with all our commissary stores, and Mitchell, with the cavalry, is south of him. Sheridan, cut off from us, is on the ridge coming down this way. Orders must go to Post to move with the utmost dispatch with his commissary train down Chattanooga Creek across into Chattanooga. Mitchell must be ordered to cover the movement with his cavalry, extending his left across the ridge this way to connect in this valley with General Sheridan's command and the remnants of Davis's division, which will concentrate on this road and cover it, keeping the enemy from penetrating to our rear unless too heavily pushed. General Spear must be ordered to guard the bridge across Chattanooga Creek at the rolling-mill, and be ready to move to the front, if required, as soon as our commissary train has passed over it. Wagner with his brigade, now in Chattanooga, must be ordered to park our spare artillery train defensively in the best position and be ready to defend it in any emergency.

"'Do you think you can give these orders?'

"General Garfield replied, 'General Rosecrans, they are too many and important for me to feel sure of doing so.'

"I said, 'They are indispensable precautions in the present condition of things, and one of us must give them while the other must go to General Thomas and ascertain how the battle goes there.'

"He replied, 'I can go to General Thomas and report the situation to you much better than I can give those orders.'

"I said, 'Well, go and tell General Thomas my precautions to hold the Dry Valley road and secure our commissary stores and artillery and to report the situation to me, and to use his discretion as to continuing the fight on the

Writes Riddle, "Garfield's mission was by a long and perilous ride, crossing the lines of the fleeing and their pursuers, having an orderly killed on the way. Finally, almost alone, he reached Thomas, half circled by a cordon of fire, and explained the untoward fate of the right. He informed him how he could withdraw his own right, form on a new line and meet Longstreet, who had turned Thomas's right and was marching on his rear. The movement was suddenly made, but the line was too short to reach ground that would have rendered it unassailable save in front. At that time Gordon Granger came up with Steadman's division, met Longstreet at the opening thus left, and, after a fearful struggle, forced him back. Thomas, the army and its honor, notwithstanding the disaster on the right, was saved. It is said, as night closed on that awful day with the warm stream of blood from the ghastly wounded and lately killed rising from the burdened earth, that Garfield and Granger, on foot, personally directed the loading and pointing of a battery of Napoleons, and sent their shot crashing after the retiring foe, and thus closed the battle of Chickamauga."

Another account of Garfield's dashing adventure at Chickamauga is thus rendered by Captain Mason, in his short but thrilling story of his old colonel's military career in the crusade against secession: "General Rosecrans with his staff was borne back by the broken corps of McCook, and believing the battle lost, started at a gallop for Chattanooga to rally his broken columns and prepare for defense. They had gone perhaps three miles, when the chief of staff pulled up his horse and told his general that he believed the battle was not lost. He could hear the roar of heavy fighting where the Army of the Cumberland, led by General George H. Thomas, was holding the centre and left of the Federal lines against the whole of Bragg's now confident legions. Garfield begged of Rosecrans permission to return to the front, find General Thomas, and fight the battle out. It was his first taste of anything like defeat, and he could not endure the thought of leaving the field while a single regiment was capable of resistance. Attended only by a captain and two or three mounted orderlies, he set

ground we occupy at the close of the afternoon, or retiring to a position in the rear near Rossville.'

"He obeyed these orders gallantly and well, and by the time I had made the disposition above alluded to and reached the telegraph office, I got a dispatch from General Garfield over the line from Rossville announcing that, having held the field till the close of the day, in pursuance of my directions to use his discretion, General Thomas had decided to withdraw to the Rossville position, where the men could get drinking water, which was not to be had on that hotly contested field of battle."—Eds.

out on his perilous ride through the dense thickets and across ravines and hills. After they encountered the enemy's skirmishers an orderly was killed by Garfield's side, and his own horse was wounded by a bullet, but he pushed on, and finally found the heroic Thomas nearly surrounded, but yielding not an inch. As Garfield approached Thomas's position he saw Longstreet's corps massed in column, thrusting its front between the right of Thomas's line and the ridge of rising ground behind it. It was a dangerous moment, but, warned and guided by Garfield, *Thomas withdrew his right, formed a new line facing the advancing enemy, launched a fresh division which had just reached the field against Longstreet's advance,* and the Army of the Cumberland was saved. The long, bloody day closed at last, and, as the sun went down, the Confederates, baffled and repulsed, withdrew from the fight. Garfield, on foot and enveloped in smoke, directed the pointing of a field-battery, which, as the rebels retreated up the valley, flashed after them in the gathering darkness the last light that shone upon the red field of Chickamauga. Notwithstanding the disaster of the morning on the right, the battle was a drawn one, and Rosecrans, in possession of Chattanooga, was secure from future attack. This brilliant day's work, in which the chief of staff shared with General Thomas the first honors of that memorable engagement, practically ended General Garfield's military service. A few days after the battle he was sent by Rosecrans to Washington to report to the President and Secretary of War in minute detail the situation and necessities of the army at Chattanooga. On arriving at the capital he found that he had been promoted to the full rank of major-general 'for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chickamauga,' his commission dating from the 19th of September, 1863." Says Brisbin, most happily, apropos of General Garfield's heroic exploit, "His was the true soldier's spirit, his the true soldier's creed, Napoleon's advice to his generals, 'March in the direction of the heaviest firing!' "

General T. J. Wood, in his official report of his own unfortunate part in the battle, thus generously speaks of General Garfield's gallantry: "It affords me much pleasure to signalize the presence with my command for a length of time during the afternoon, present during the period of hottest firing, of another distinguished officer, Brigadier-General James A. Garfield, chief of the staff. After the disastrous rout on the right, General Garfield made his way back to the battlefield, showing clearly that the road was open to all who might choose to follow it, and came to where my command was engaged. The brigade which made so determined a resistance on the crest of the

narrow ridge during all the long September afternoon had been commanded by General Garfield when he belonged to my division. The men remarked his presence with much satisfaction, and were delighted that he was a witness of the splendid fighting they were doing."

The Republicans of the Nineteenth Congressional District of Ohio had in October, 1862, elected General Garfield as Representative in the Thirty-eighth Congress, which was to assemble in December, 1863. When he was sent to Washington with dispatches from the army at Chattanooga, President Lincoln welcomed him with open arms and warm and friendly words. He urgently advised him to resign his commission, that of major-general just gratefully bestowed, and to take his seat in the House of Representatives. "I have plenty of good generals," said the President, "and but few able, loyal, and *understanding* members of Congress. I want you." President Lincoln too well knew the crying need of national representatives who perfectly understood the requirements of the army and were capable of dealing with government questions in the right spirit of patriotism. Garfield he saw was the very man for the country and the hour. Two years of war had then desolated the land. Vicksburg, Gettysburg, and Antietam had been won, but the Confederates were yet in the field, unconquered and as persistent as ever in the work of hostility and destruction. It was seen that the rebels would bitterly fight to the last ditch, and the vital question was whether Congress, the War Department, and the Treasury were of the same mind and strong enough to save the United States. Copperheadism was rampant, and the old Democracy of the North lukewarm. Washington had often proved a blundering embarrassment to the general in the field. General Garfield had an invaluable and imperative opportunity in the direct line of duty. The call of his country was irresistible to the conscience of the citizen and patriot, and he accepted it, resigning a major-generalcy for a membership of Congress, the annual salary of the latter being less than half that of the former. The formal resignation of his commission in the army was dated the 5th of December, 1863. When Garfield consulted his chief, General Rosecrans, on the subject, substantially the following conversation occurred. Said General Garfield,—

"General, I have been asked to accept the Republican nomination for Congress from the Ashtabula District of Ohio. What ought I to do? What is your advice? Ought I to accept? Can I do so honorably? Give me your opinion freely."

"I am glad for your sake," replied Rosecrans, "that you have a

new distinction, and I certainly think you can accept with honor; and what is more, I deem it your duty to do so. The war is not yet over, nor is it likely to be for some time to come. There will be, of necessity, many questions arising in Congress which will require not alone the statesmanlike treatment for which you have the ability, but the advice of men possessing a practical acquaintance with present military affairs. For these and other reasons I believe you will be able to do equally good service to your country in Congress as in the field. That is my best judgment."

That General Rosecrans highly appreciated Garfield's valuable services as a soldier is seen in his official report of operations in Middle Tennessee. He writes, "All my staff merited my warm approbation for ability, zeal, and devotion to duty; but I am sure they will not consider it invidious if I especially mention Brigadier-General Garfield, ever active, prudent, and sagacious. I feel much indebted to him for both counsel and assistance in the administration of this army. He possesses the energy and the instinct of a great commander."

In the Ohio Senate Garfield had spoken brave and sensible words before war broke out in behalf of union and liberty and fidelity to the old flag. When hostilities began he was among the first to volunteer for battle, backing brave words with a brave heart and gallant sword. When standing in the front rank of United States generals, he relinquished certain distinction and deserved advancement as a military commander for the no less honorable post of Congressman, so as to do loyal and heroic work where his services were the most needed. At the call of duty he went into the field, at the call of duty he stood upon the floor of legislation to put down treason with his tongue as he had helped to put it down with his ready sword at Middle Creek, Pittsburg, and Chickamauga.

Says Bundy: "Even after he went to Congress, as the war was still doubtful, his impulse to resign and go back into the army was very strong. After the removal of General Rosecrans, his former commander, General Thomas, who was a dear friend of Garfield, was very anxious to have him come back into the army, and tendered him, in a private letter, the command of an army corps if he would go there. Thomas had become the head of the whole Army of the Cumberland, and with such an invitation Garfield's impulse to go back was almost irresistible. But on going to Mr. Lincoln with the matter the President made a personal point with him. 'In the first place,' said he, 'the Republican majority in Congress is very small, and there is great doubt whether or not we can carry our measures; and in the next place, we are greatly lacking in men of military experience in the House to regulate the legislation about the army.' "

It will be of interest to learn General Garfield's first impressions of his old gallant and uncrushed general in the fearful fight of Chickamauga, as expressed in a letter to President Hinsdale, of Hiram College:

"MURFREESBOROUGH, TENN., February 16, 1863.

"My horses and part of my staff were delayed on the Cumberland by the attack on Fort Donelson, and did not reach here until a few days ago. I have been the guest of General Rosecrans since my arrival, and I have never been more acquainted with the interior life of any man in the same length of time in my life. He wants me to stay with him as chief of staff instead of taking command of a division. I am greatly in doubt which to choose. He is one of the few men in the war who enters upon all his duties with a deeply devout religious feeling, and looks to God as the disposer of the victory. His very able report of the late battle here ends with this fine sentence from the Catholic Church service, which he does not quote with any cant or affectation, '*Non nobis Domine, non nobis sed tuo nomine da gloriam!*'"

After the battle of Chickamauga, General Rosecrans thus warmly spoke of Garfield in his official report: "To Brigadier-General Garfield, chief of staff, I am especially indebted for the clear and ready manner in which he seized the points of action and movement, and expressed in orders the ideas of the general commanding." Such a measure of praise from an officer like Rosecrans is worth a volume of loose laudations by the inexperienced and less sincere. General Thomas never differed from General Rosecrans in his estimation of the soldierly qualities and intellectual superiority of the young citizen-volunteer who did such faithful duty to his country and his commanders in the darkest hour of peril, nor will the nation he loved give him a lower place in its history than theirs, for equally moved by patriotism were they all.

When President Garfield lay dying, the country weeping at his bedside, he was heard one evening to murmur to himself in troubled sleep, "The heart of the people will not let the old soldier die." We could not save our hero do what we would, but we will enshrine him in our love, and in the fullness of our reverence and fervent feeling fitly say, "The heart of the people will keep the memory of the dear soldier green and fresh and fragrant for ever, for he was true to us, 'the people, the people, his trust,' unto the end."

BY THE LATE DAVID GRAHAM ADEE.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

An analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the most important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. Army Promotion.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Jan.
2. Seniority or Selection, Which?—*Army and Navy Jour.*, Jan. 9.
3. Peace or War?—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Dec. 26.
4. The Future of the Volunteers.—*Unit Serv. Mag.*, Jan.
5. Is Compulsion Coming?—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Dec. 19.
6. The Indian Empire and Its Army.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, Dec. 19.
7. Changes in the World's Armies and Navies.—*Int. Rev.*, Dec.

These articles refer mainly to our own army and the British, and to the Russian and Japanese armies.

The *first* bears on a subject of grave interest to us at the present moment, when Secretary Root is trying hard to overcome the difficulties in the way of promotion by selection, that great desideratum of a live army.

We can quote but a few extracts of use to us:

"I have received so many letters from people interested in the question of Army *v.* Regimental Promotion, suggested by me in an article in the November number of the United Service Magazine, that I am tempted to make a few more remarks upon the subject.

"That article was written, as I said at the time, rather with a view of inducing thought than of making out a case, so it may be presumed that there is something more to be said for each suggestion put forward. In the case in point there is much more to be said. Without, however, exceeding the limit of available space, the question may be further developed.

"The present system entails the prostitution of army rank, making it neither the sign of merit nor of long service. Let cadet officers be commissioned as lieutenant-colonels and let each take his chance of being finally promoted to the rank of second-lieutenant. The propo-

sition seems absurd, and yet, to any one who takes the trouble to think, it is but the continued application of the system which at present obtains.

"But admit that army rank means nothing, as is the case at present, and we see how a really serious element is introduced and fostered, one which strikes at the root of all discipline, namely, a strong and growing contempt among the junior ranks for those whom accident has made their seniors. 'The subaltern knows nothing and does everything, the captain knows everything and does nothing, the major knows nothing and does nothing.' I only quote a well-known epigram. But epigrams are not made without reason, nor repeated without foundation, and the danger only slightly veiled in this one is very real."

The *second* article is an able editorial on the proposed bill for promotion by selection, which deserves most careful study and consideration.

"It is well known that many officers of the army seriously oppose the policy of selecting for the rank of general officer officers holding rank below that of colonel. So strong is this opposition that serious consideration is being given to the question of bringing the matter to the attention of Congress with a view to changing the law so that the President would be limited in his selection of general officers to colonels. To accomplish this purpose it is proposed to introduce the following bill in Congress: 'An act to increase the efficiency of the permanent military establishment of the United States. Be it enacted, etc., that in time of peace the lieutenant general of the army shall be selected from the major generals thereof; that the major generals shall be selected from the brigadier generals thereof; and that the brigadier generals of the United States Army shall be selected from the colonels thereof who have served as commissioned officers in the army for thirty or more years.'

"We have never been disposed to give more than a qualified assent to the principles of selection, foreseeing an application of it that would work great injustice and evoke a spirit of profound discontent in the army. This result seems to us to have been reached and the principle of selection is on trial accordingly. As General Grant once said: 'If you wish to secure the repeal of an obnoxious law, enforce it!' In this case it is only proposed to limit the application of the law, not to repeal it wholly, and the War Department has itself furnished the most powerful argument for doing so. The secretary, in his testimony before the House Committee on Military Affairs, said: 'The only

principle of selection we have is that of general efficiency.' This is a term of broad application. What does the secretary mean by 'efficiency'? Is it efficiency from the civilian or from the military points of view? The two standards do not always agree; to the civilian the spectacular and the exceptional appeal, while to the man of military training it is all around efficiency and a regard for the conservative methods of the service, approved by long experience. It is not merely getting done the things which at the moment appear important to have done, but getting things done with proper considerations for the methods and the traditions which distinguish a military from a civil service. Pride of position, honorable ambition for advancement, and a recognition of the claims of rank and the necessity for military subordination are not to be disregarded without awakening a sense of injustice in the army which is seriously prejudicial to esprit de corps.

"The secretary rightly says that 'there is no presumption whatever that the best man will be at the head of the list of colonels'; but if, as he further says, 'it does not follow that a colonel is more competent to perform the duties of a general officer than those below him,' then we have been most unfortunate in our selection of officers and our army is in a bad way. The secretary also says that a reasonable part of the promotions to general officers 'should be made primarily with reference to the performance of duty.' Again we require a definition. What kind of duty is here referred to? Is it duty at Washington, under the eye of the President, or that steady devotion to the often disagreeable and most trying experience of service with troops which, while it may take an officer far from Washington, furnishes precisely the knowledge and training he most needs when it comes to handling troops in the field? It was the patient, plodding Grant who, during the Civil War, distanced all of the brilliant contemporaries who started so much ahead of him in the race. He was probably one of the very last of all those in our service who would at the beginning of his career have been pointed out by selection for advancement. Our Butlers and our Bankses were able to push ahead of him. Why? Because they had a skill in bringing influence to bear at Washington which the modest Grant did not possess, and would not have exercised if he had had it, and which, if all reports do not go astray, is still effective in controlling military selection.

"One great secret of General Grant's success was the fact that, during the Mexican War, he received a most thorough training in a subordinate position. And the most trying experiences of his life were those which he found in the end most valuable, teaching him

those lessons of patience, subordination and self-abnegation, which it is all important that a soldier should learn, and especially important that he should learn in early life. 'It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.' It is true, of course, that a man may linger too long in the routine of subordination and thus become unfitted for the larger duty of a more exalted position, but it is equally true that by rapid advancement a younger man may be too soon deprived of lessons that it is necessary that he should learn, and which can only be learned by that direct contact with troops from which advance to the position of general officer removes him. As a volunteer officer of our Civil War said, explaining why he passed direct from civil life to the rank of general officer, without going through the intermediate grade of field officer, as he at first thought of doing; he learned on inquiry from a military friend that 'it was a darned sight easier to be a general than a colonel.'

"The position of the army with reference to selection is illustrated by that of the man who was in favor of the Maine liquor law, but opposed its enforcement. They believe in the principle of selection, but they have a very profound distrust of the ability of our civil administration, or even our military administrators, to select with sole regard to military efficiency, experience and knowledge, wholly unbiased by personal and political solicitation or other considerations of like nature.

"If an avoidance of personality did not compel us to refrain from comparisons, we could easily show what excellent reasons the army have for this distrust of selection. Whatever the advantages of selecting for the rank of brigadier general, young officers with comparatively limited experience, there is certainly one obvious disadvantage. If the selection made upon short acquaintance does not prove to be a happy one, the officer continues longer in a position to which he is not adapted, and for a longer time blocks promotion, to the discouragement and disgust of the hundreds of officers who follow after him."

The *third* article refers to the situation in the Far East, and incidentally gives us some useful information on the organization and strength of the opposing forces:

"At this season of peace and good will among men an ominous war cloud overshadows the Far East. As it may burst at any time, it is of importance to know the relative strength of the Russians and Japanese in that far country. The total forces of the first, taking the whole dominions of the Czar, of course, preponderate enormously, but

the latter makes a very equal show at the decisive point. The Russian army on a war footing totals up to 4,500,000 men with 5,000 guns, but at the point of contact the numbers available, according to the best accounts, are no more than 200,000 men and 250 guns. Japan, on the other hand, has 600,000 men on a war footing and 700 guns, two-thirds of which are now concentrated and immediately available. In total naval strength, again, Russia has the general advantage, but calls upon her ships nearer home are such as to seriously reduce the number available as compared to Japan's in her own waters. In this respect Russia possesses twenty-eight battleships and thirty-three cruisers, as against seven Japanese battleships and twenty-four cruisers. There are 64,000 Russian seamen and 30,000 reserves, while Japan has 40,000 seamen and 20,000 reserves. Any precise comparison of quality is impossible, and can be decided only by the actual result of conflict; but it is generally supposed that the Japanese navy is in the finest order and quite equal to any afloat, either in weight of armament or the sea-going powers of ships. As the quarrel must almost inevitably be fought out at sea, the advantage seems to lie with the Japs, and if they decide to take action at once they must benefit greatly by the present winter season and the ice which will block up the port of Vladivostock. How far Japan is wise in engaging a first-class power is a doubtful question. Even if she wins the day it can only be for a time, for Russia will inevitably continue her policy of aggression; and if Japan loses she will be set back in progress for a great number of years. But Russia also has tremendous risks, for it is no exaggeration to say that the vast empire of the Czar is undermined by the most disruptive elements, and may at any time be torn to pieces by revolution. The disaffection in the Russian army, to which we not long since drew attention in these columns, is an ominous and portentous symptom of the spirit abroad.

"Little that is accurate is known concerning the naval reinforcements sent overland by the Russians to Port Arthur. It has been rumored that the material resources are very incomplete, but a correspondent says this is a mistake, and that stores have been collected at Port Arthur, Vladivostock, and other places upon the coasts which would enable war to be conducted for twelve months or more, if no other supplies were received. Russian officers of high rank are said to discourage any attempt to force on hostilities, having in view the state of the Russian fleet, which consists mostly of new vessels hastily despatched from Europe. Admiral Alexeieff some time since sent an urgent request to St. Petersburg for officers trained in special branches and for artificers and others to be sent for the ships, and it is under-

stood that they were supplied. Intelligence from Odessa is to the effect that another detachment of first-class seamen and gunners belonging to the Black Sea fleet has been sent overland to Port Arthur, and that almost all reserve seamen of the Black Sea provinces have been called out and assigned to the various 'equipages' of the fleet, with the view of despatching them successively to Port Arthur. When Admiral Virenius was at Biserta with the squadron which is proceeding to the Far East, he and his officers received a warm welcome from the authorities, and, to the remark that the port could offer little for their entertainment, he replied that they had not come to Biserta to witness theatrical performances, but to work and train their men, and find a friendly port where they could supply their ships. The admiral had with him the Dmitri Donskoi and Aurora, with five destroyers, and is expected to proceed with the battleship Oslabya, which has been under repair at Spezia."

The *fourth* article is of moment to Great Britain, but perhaps a few remarks may find application to our own future armies:

"Although Mr. Brodrick was able to state last autumn that the strength of the volunteer force had increased during the preceding few months, it is now apparent that the total number of men enrolled at the end of the volunteer year which closed on the 31st of October is some thousands less than at the end of last year, and there is likely to be a large number of resignations of time-expired men in the near future. Four years have elapsed since the commencement of the great patriotic 'boom' of 1900, when thousands of men joined the force. These men have now completed their term of service, and a great proportion of them will probably resign during the next few months. Much, however, depends on the inducements which can be held out to volunteers to remain in the service, and in many corps efforts are being made to delay men sending in their resignations until after the report of the Royal Commission, now sitting, has been issued—in the hope that the recommendations of that commission may make the force more attractive than it is now.

"The present moment is, therefore, an opportune one for some suggestions as to improvements which might be made in the volunteer force, and which would probably be welcomed by all keen volunteers.

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"In the first place, the volunteer force is far too large to be really efficient; according to Mr. Brodrick it numbered 257,000 on July 1st. Now, everyone who has any inside knowledge of the prevailing conditions must recognize that in all corps there are large numbers of

men who, though nominally efficient, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as really efficient; they do the bare number of drills and the amount of musketry required by the regulations, but no more. But there is also is every corps a certain proportion of men who are really keen, who turn out to drill and musketry practice on every possible occasion and work to the best of their ability to become really efficient soldiers and not mere earners of the capitation grant. Why not, then, get rid of the "slackers," who are not worth the money expended on them, and keep the keen men who are worth twice or three times the amount of the capitation grant?

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"But the volunteer of the future will have to be paid. If greater efficiency and a greater sacrifice of time are demanded, the volunteer must receive a *quid pro quo* in the shape of payment either direct or indirect. One of the greatest obstacles to recruiting for the volunteer force during the last year has been the fact that the new yeomanry are paid for their services.

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"Probably the most serious question affecting the future of the volunteer force is that of the officers. It is not too much to say that the present officering of the force is ludicrously inadequate, not only in numbers but also as regards the military attainments of the commissioned ranks. It is difficult to see how any other state of affairs could prevail under the present conditions."

The *fifth* article is also specially of British interest, but the drift of public sentiment should be noted as having some possible bearing on our future:

"Very ominous symptoms are in evidence with regard to the volunteer force. For some time past resignations have been increasing in numbers, and the exodus is by no means compensated for by activity in recruiting. Returns recently published show that many regiments, especially in the metropolitan area, are greatly below strength, and to add to this their finances are also in a very depressed condition. The immediate effect of the irksome regulations that make attendance in camp compulsory has been to greatly diminish the capitation grant, which is only allowed for efficients who meet the requirements as now understood. It is nothing new to hear that volunteer officers are scarce, but the difficulty is becoming more and more accentuated, and no effective remedy can be found. It must be remembered, moreover, that the strength of the volunteer force, respectable enough as

it may still appear, is after all only on paper, and that if all regiments were simultaneously put to the crucial test of embodiment for actual work, they would show at less than half their numbers in the returns. It may be doubted whether, when all deductions were made of men physically unfit or professionally incompetent, the total army of volunteers would exceed 100,000 men. Pursuing this disquieting reflection further, equally unsatisfactory figures are exhibited by the militia. As we know, the effective strength of the whole constitutional force has for years past fallen below the establishment. To-day there are some 30,000 vacancies in the ranks, and of these a very large percentage, forty per cent., perhaps, are from the same causes as operate in the volunteer force not available for service. Yet more the recruiting returns of the regular army do not appear to be very satisfactory just now. It is becoming more and more certain that there will be a serious deficit in the Guards. The permission to enlist for three years only is no longer the peculiar privilege of the Household Brigade; the same system is now applied to recruiting for all branches of the service, and the Guards are not especially popular to candidates for the army. The extension of this enlistment for three years has another serious inconvenience which is daily felt more and more. The period is so brief that there is increased difficulty in finding men to make up the drafts for India. Already rumors are current that recourse to the old system of a special army for India may become necessary, and in the teeth of the many proved objections to the plan.

"If the men will not come forward voluntarily, they must be got by other means, either first, by offering greater inducements; or, secondly, by exerting some sort of pressure. The first, in the present trend towards increased economy, we may almost certainly dismiss as out of the question, and if the second, the only alternative, when will the nation be brought to admit that dire necessity must override objections that are largely sentimental, but yet entail distinct surrender of independence? The theory of universal obligation to serve is incontestably sound; it is in the personal application of it that the shoe pinches and the wearer hesitates to put it on. Men are, however, defiers of compulsion, and it may be that by adopting the least irksome, hostility to it would in time disappear. The simplest form, that of compulsory military education in all schools, would not be found very irksome, and it would be useful if some really practical scheme for it were formulated by experts. But even if the whole able-bodied adult population were taught to ride and shoot, some further powers must exist by which on emergency the necessary numbers could be drawn in the ranks and utilized, under compulsion, in the national service."

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. Grand Maneuvers in Switzerland, 1903.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, Dec. 19.

2. Grand Maneuvers in Italy, 1903.—*Int Rev. Beih.*, 46; *Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 10.

3. Field Artillery Target Practice in France.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 10.

4. Firing Against an Armored Turret in France.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 57.

5. Enlarging Sandhurst.—*Mil. Mail*, Nov. 27.

The *first* of these is a good account of the Swiss maneuvers by a French officer.

The *second* is a very thorough review of the Italian maneuvers; first, in a tactical and strategical sense; secondly, in a technical sense. The latter include automobiles, balloons, telegraph lines, radiotelegraphy, field telephones, field intrenching tools, war dogs, etc., and is of great interest.

The third is a brief account of the French field artillery target practice of the past year, in which one of the most important points is the fact that the *estimation of distances* has lost much of its former value, in view of the fact that a battery salvo can be fired every three seconds, consequently ranging is greatly simplified.

The *fourth* is a good article on the firing on the Suffren, referred to previously by us.

The *fifth* relates to the British Military Academy and War College at Sandhurst:

"The enlargement of the Royal Military College is the necessary sequel to the decision recently arrived at to increase the course of instruction from twelve months to two years. A large sum, £365,000, has been provided by the treasury for the purpose of providing the further accommodation required, and the whole of this sum is to be expended on the Royal Military College, exclusively. It was originally the intention of the authorities to divide this amount between the Royal Military College and the Staff College, but this decision has now been altered. At the present time Sandhurst provides accommodation, of a kind, for something like 300 cadets, and with the doubling of the period of instruction it becomes necessary to provide accommodation for twice the number of cadets. The chief work to be undertaken is that of an entirely new block of buildings, which are expected to be ready for occupation in about two years' time, when the new course will be just commencing.

"This decision to increase the Royal Military College is, of course, the direct outcome of the recent report of the Royal Commission, which stated that the committee, 'whilst strongly of the opinion that the Sandhurst course should be extended to two years, are not prepared, in view of the financial considerations involved, to insist that this should be done at once. They trust, however, that when circumstances permit, funds will be provided for the erection of additional accommodation at Sandhurst sufficient to enable not less than 650 cadets to be received at one time, thus permitting the course to be extended to two years.'

"This course is now to be adopted, though it is open to question whether any good purpose would be served by increasing the number of cadets beyond, say, 700. This is about the number of the average public school, and is quite enough for the maintenance of discipline. It should be remembered, however, that there will only be about the same number of cadets passing out each year as at present, and it is on this question of the actual requirements of the army in the way of junior officers that the question of a further increase of cadets at Sandhurst must hinge.

"With the adoption of the new course ample time will be provided for the teaching of many subjects which have now, perforce, to be neglected. It is hopeless and absurd to expect, as the government and the country has expected in the past, to convert a raw, untrained public school boy into an efficient junior officer in twelve months. Two years is little enough, and in the ideal scheme of training officers for our army, even this latter period would be at least doubled. Among the subjects to which more careful attention is likely to be given in future are musketry, signalling, surveying, map-drawing, and veterinary science—for cavalry candidates at all events."

MILITARY HISTORY, TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

1. Machine Guns and Their Use.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 10.
2. New Guns—New Tactics.—*Same.*
3. Importance of Numbers in the Attack and Defence of Fortified Positions.—*Int. Rev., Suppl.*, 57.
4. Hints for Military Cyclists.—*Vol. Rec.*; Nov. 30.
5. The Naval Policy of Canada.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Jan.
6. The Colonies and Free Trade.—*Same.*
7. The Evolution of Modern Strategy.—*Same.*
8. Transport and Supply.—*Same.*

The *first* article is a historical account of the use of the mitrailleuse by the French in the war of 1870-71.

The *second* is a tactical study of the influence of the new field pieces on battle tactics. It is written by one of the most prominent of the younger officers of the German army, and is worthy of careful study.

The *third* is a tactical study of the influence of numbers in the attack and defence of positions which have been more or less strengthened by fortifications. It is illustrated by the defence of Plevna, the battles of Weissenburg, Wörth, Spicheren, St. Privat, Koeniggraetz, Noisseville and Beaune la Rolande, and the actions on the Lisaine.

The *fourth* has some interesting points:

"Before giving a few hints to military cyclists, based on some seven years' experience in that capacity, it might be as well to shortly define the duties of cyclists as distinguished from other infantry soldiers.

"The primary function of cyclists is to act as a cheap form of scout in the absence of cavalry, more especially with a view to home defence, for though we have between two and three hundred thousand volunteers in the kingdom, their organization is absolutely deficient in cavalry, artillery or transport, for they are not organized in larger units than brigades, and it is only when two brigades are grouped together to form a division or third part of an army corps that any cavalry is allotted to them.

"Another duty of cyclists is to save the use of cavalry for orderly work, and as cycles require no forage this effects another economy in transport.

"Again, cyclists from their mobility may be utilized for pushing on rapidly to occupy positions in the front till the slower moving infantry can come up, or in making a rapid movement to cut off a retiring enemy by a march along roads parallel to but some distance from his line of march.

"Now all these duties demand certain qualifications, qualifications which all soldiers should possess, but which cyclists should possess in a higher degree than others, since they have to work to a large extent independently of higher control and each man has to be prepared to take on responsibility and think and act for himself at a moment's notice.

"Let us take the qualifications of an ideal cyclist and let each of us think how for we fall short of the ideal and what we can do towards attaining it.

"First, the cyclist must be a good shot.

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"Cyclists must cultivate an eye for country and be able to judge distance.

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"The cyclists ought to be the eyes and ears of the infantry battalion to which they belong and they ought to know every nook and corner and byelane within a radius of ten miles round their home. They should know all the main roads, where they lead, what towns and villages they pass through, all connecting and parallel roads, their condition, width and suitability for marching, and should be able to act as guides to any column moving in the vicinity.

"The whole aim of scouting is to see without being seen."

The *fifth* article is of interest to us as well as to Great Britain:

"To my mind the Canadian Imperalist's arguments are unanswerable. If Canada is to form part of the British Empire she cannot confine herself to land defences, she must take her share in the policy of the Empire, and in all which that implies. This Empire is founded on the sea, and can only exist by sea-power. To throw cold water on one of the first expressions from Canada of this feeling seems to me a pity, and I venture to think that Canada will never consent to hold 10,000, or even ten men at our disposal. We in Great Britain are not the Empire, we are only the richest and most populous State in it. We have no right to presume on that position, and we shall have to learn that the other States are not Colonies tied to our beck and call, but equal independent units, and as such that we must treat them as equals. They have been our children, they may become our partners, but they will never hold themselves at our disposal; they have been given their freedom and will hold it—aye, against us if necessary. I look upon the idea of the Colonies providing and maintaining troops to be despatched to any threatened point where we consider there is a need of their services as absolutely out of the question. When they are able to maintain a larger military force than they need for their own defence they will claim and receive a voice in their disposal. And Canada, with her enormous land frontier, is the last of the Colonies to be able to do this; even now we are obliged to keep troops there because her own forces cannot protect our naval bases.

"But Canada can contribute to an Imperial Navy, both in men and money, and she has a right if she provides either men or money to a voice in the matter. Whether it would be wise to train officers there may be open to question, but personally the only objection I can see is that the numbers would be insufficient for a really good school. We must meet colonial wishes and not shut our ears and say we know best, for their circumstances are different, and they are not so convinced of the correctness of our judgment as we are ourselves."

The *sixth* article also has interest for us:

"To ask the Colonies to adopt Free Trade, is to ask of them a sacrifice which no people ever made, or is ever likely to make, and therefore places us in a false position. They never forget, if we do, that the Mother Country, in breaking away from the trade system, by means of which she rose, consulted only her own interests.

"The Colonies, then, see in Free Trade a policy which develops foreign countries at the expense of the British Empire. Every settler who goes to Canada, Australasia, or South Africa adds to our wealth and vigor; whereas every settler who goes to the United States is not only lost to us, but a source of strength to a rival. This view is now held by a powerful party in the United Kingdom itself. Seeing that British surplus capital and skill constantly overflows, where can it find a safer outlet than in British Colonies? For half a century the Mother Country favored the United States and Argentina, but, putting aside every consideration except that of business, it is by no means certain that the results have justified her choice. When all is said and done, the despised British Colonies are the best investments England ever made. That she has been blind to it for a whole era is as inexplicable to them as it will be to posterity. 'Experience is a good school,' said Heine, 'but the fees are high.'

"To charge the Canadians with unreasonableness, is merely a sign of lack of sympathy. We look at the award as a detached incident; they look at it with the eyes of cumulative experience, for at intervals of a few years during the past century they have had to endure similar mortifications. We are vastly enamored of our own impartiality; but we flatter ourselves."

"It is not only Canada which complains of this attitude of mind in English statesmen. She is echoed by Australasia. For the sake of foreign trade, which is gradually shrinking, we are ready at any time to come to terms with a rival, at the expense of the Empire. New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and Raiatea, are instances which Australasians remember, as Canadians remember Maine, Oregon, and the Lake of the Woods. The cession of Samoa is, perhaps, felt the most keenly, because it is the most recent. The late Lord Salisbury, who was responsible for it, confessed that he was unable to understand why Germany coveted the islands at all. For the same reason that the statesmen, who built up the British Empire, coveted the Cape, India, Singapore, and Hong Kong, to strengthen England's position as a maritime power. Samoa, with a fine harbor, stands directly in the trade route between Sydney and Vancouver. Its significance is, therefore, political and strategical; and was so regarded by the Germans, who won it, and by the Australians, who lost it.

The *seventh* and *eighth* articles are also excellent studies by most competent men, and deserve special study by all interested.

ARTILLERY AND FORTIFICATION.

1. The Artillery Material in the South African War.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 57.

2. Machine Guns and Their Use.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 10.

3. Stability Tests for Smokeless Powders.—*Scien. Amer. Suppl.*, Jan. 9.

WARSHIPS.

1. Germany's New Warships.—*Int. Rev.*, December.

2. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Same.*

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENT.

1. The New Service Rifle.—*Vol. Rec.*, Nov. 30.

This article is a discussion of the qualities of the new British service rifle. We quote a few statements:

"The calibre of the new rifle is the same as that of the Lee-Enfield, namely, .303 in. It also has five grooves, with a 'spiral' of one in ten inches. The general principle of the bolt action remains unaltered; but a great improvement has been effected in the cocking-piece and the striking gear, the components of the Lee-Enfield rifle which proved in South Africa most prone to get out of order. The origin of the greater number of 'misfires' in the war was the 'way' of the striker in the bolt being clogged with sand or dirt. In the new rifle it is not only much more difficult for foreign substances to work into the path of the striker, but it is by no means so difficult a matter to withdraw and clean it as was formerly the case. The magazine will contain eleven cartridges when properly nested. It is loaded from a light steel slide which holds the cartridges in a line by their flanged base. The cartridges may be loaded in batches of five or ten. Firing must be from the magazine in the Army rifle, inasmuch as the military authorities have discarded the use of the 'cut-off,' a contrivance which enabled the Lee-Enfield to be fired as a single-loader. It is a curious point that, acting upon a report of their advisers, the Lords of the Admiralty have decided to have the rifles which are to be supplied to the Royal Navy and Royal Marines fitted with a 'cut-off' in order to retain the advantage of being able to load a single shot at a time. This, however, is the only respect in which the rifles for the Navy and Army will differ."

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Printing Telegraph.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 10

2. Telegraphy in War.—*Same.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Not long ago we asked a veteran naval officer what he thought of the Naval Reserve question.

"I should be careful," he said, "in expressing an opinion about a thing of which I know little; but it seems to me that if a Naval Reserve is wanted it should include the coasters and beach-men, ay, and the fishermen and oystermen; people who 'follow the water,' in other words. The present organization, under the militia or State guard laws of certain of our commonwealths, seems to have attracted a certain number of intelligent young men who, either from association or by descent, are drawn towards the naval rather than the military service. Some may merely be taken by the novelty of the thing, and others attracted by the glamour of sea-life, as they understand it. Some of the officers, who were formerly connected with the navy, are no doubt quite competent, and inspired by the best of motives, and the men, during their few days on board ship, work willingly and intelligently. But, in the end, what do they learn of real cruising or sea work? As Sir Charles Coldstream says in the play, 'There's nothing in it.'"

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The long list of retirements and new assignments of the month will bring about marked changes in the personnel in important administrative places in the Army. The retirements include those of Major General Wm. A. Kobbe, Brig. Gen. Alfred Mordecai, Maj. Gen. Joseph P. Sanger, Brig. Gen. Harry L. Haskell, Maj. Gen. Alfred E. Bates and Brig. Gens. F. H. Hathaway and Frank M. Coxe. These retirements took place in the order named and Cols. A. C. Taylor, John G. Butler, Jacob Kline, Wm. E. Dougherty, Chas. J. Allen and Theodore E. True were promoted to be brigadier generals and then retired. As the result of the various retirements, Brig. Gen. George L. Gillespie was made permanent major general and assigned to duty as assistant chief of the general staff, Brig. Gen. Alexander Mackenzie assuming his place as chief of engineers. Brig. Gen. Francis S. Dodge has assumed the duties of

paymaster general and Brig. Gen. John P. Story has assumed the duties of chief of artillery. Brig. Gen. Wm. S. McCaskey, recently confirmed, has been relieved from duty in the Philippines and takes command of a military department within the continental limits of the United States. Col. Albert M. Mills, appointed a permanent brigadier general, will continue at the head of the Academy at West Point. The readjustment made by the many retirements is a sweeping one and will cause corresponding changes of considerable scope in many directions in army assignments.

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In a note to a work by the Marquis de Sassenay, entitled "Napoléon I. et la fondation de la République Argentine,"—with a vast amount of information upon the secret history of the time preceding the independence of that country,—we find the following note which is of interest. The writer is speaking of the return of the remains of De Liniers and La Concha to be finally interred in the vaults of the church of the Naval College of San Fernando, near Cadiz.

"The church of the College at San Fernando is called the *Pantheon of Illustrious Seamen.* Monuments have here been erected not only to distinguished sailors, but to others who were instrumental in giving the new world to Spain; and there are, besides, memorials of some of her great generals. By the side of inscriptions to Don John of Austria, the Marquis de Santa Cruz, and Admiral Gravina, are seen those of Christopher Columbus, of Magellan, of Fernan Cortez, of Gonzalvo de Cordova, and Prince Philibert of Savoy. In one of the chapels is erected a statue of the Virgin, known under the name of Our Lady of Victory, which was given by the Venetians to Don John of Austria, and which was on board the capitana galley, or flag-ship, during the battle of Lepanto."

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The military legislation of this session of Congress is about to asume definite form. The Naval Committee has had hearings on matters connected with the Naval Appropriation bill and it is understood that it has been agreed that there shall be a considerable appropriation for new vessels, running up into some tens of millions. Not all will be battleships, as the need for scout ships is felt in the Navy and recognized by the committees of the House and Senate. Nothing definite has so far transpired in relation to the many outside propositions for military legislation. The chaplains in the Navy are making their annual effort for a revision of legislation relating to the corps and the promoters of a

general staff plan for the Navy are engaged in a campaign of education. No especial changes are agitated in legislation affecting the army, though slight corrections may be made in general staff legislation. The bill of last year has but just come into full effect through the working out of the details, and there will be a pause in the legislation for the army outside of the appropriation bills until the effect of the new plan is fully developed.

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Napoleon I. as an attendant on church ceremonies is a figure which his admirers do not usually consider, except on such occasions as his second marriage or his coronation. Yet he went very regularly to mass every Sunday while at the Tuileries in the height of his power.

When he was First Consul, and about to re-establish the Catholic religion, Girardin told him, "You will be obliged to go to mass." "That may be." "But you will also compel all the public functionaries to go, too." "How absurd!" "No, Citizen Consul, that will be the case, because it will seem to you necessary, and what I ask you, even now, is to attach excellent musicians to your chapel, because good music is a remedy against tediousness, and the mass which we are no longer used to hearing might be very tedious to us."

Masson says, "No chapel in the world was comparable to that of the emperor."

After enumerating the great number of distinguished musicians, male and female, the first artists of Paris, who had paid among them about one hundred and fifty-four thousand francs per annum, beside the fees from pupils and the theatres which their position secured them, he proceeds to a description of the Sunday mass at the chapel of the Tuileries.

"The drum had scarcely announced the arrival of the emperor than the master of ceremonies of the church appeared, and the officiating priest, surrounded by his assistants, came out of the vestry. After having bowed to the altar, he turns towards their majesties, bows, and at once begins the mass. It is not long, lasting about twenty minutes, and throughout the music continues. This music is excellent and uncommon, for Lesueur composed the greater part of his masses for the emperor's chapel.

"The Empress Joséphine, kneeling on a *prie-dieu* covered with crimson velvet with gold fringe, remains in an attitude of the deepest attention; she is habited in a robe with a train, in the Greek style, the waist and sleeves short; her head, dressed in the Greek style, is ornamented with a diadem. By her side, just a

little behind, the emperor stands 'in the military attitude at mass,' —that is to say, standing up, the arms crossed, and his looks wandering here and there."

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The retirement of Lieut. Gen. S. B. M. Young on January 9 was made the occasion of the issuance of a retiring order which created comment because of the contrast with the terms of the order retiring Lieut. Gen. Miles. The eminent services of Gen. Young were detailed and the lesson to be drawn from the reward he had received for faithful and efficient service was set forth in language to which no exception could be taken and which was eminently warranted by the facts. The only ground for comment was that the order retiring Gen. Miles omitted a similar detailed statement of his services, and its brevity was excused by citing a former departmental order that eulogistic expressions should be omitted in orders of retirement.

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The Board of Visitors of the Naval Academy of 1904 is made up of Prof. Henry S. Pritchett, of the Boston Institute of Technology, Rear Admiral George Brown, U. S. N., retired; Col. Robert M. Thompson; Mr. John F. Meigs, Prof. Ira N. Hollis, of Harvard, Mr. S. Y. Tupper, of Atlanta, Ga., and Mr. Wm. E. Foster, of Buffalo, N. Y. Prof. Pritchett, Admiral Brown and Colonel Thompson were members of last year's board. Mr. Meigs, who is connected with the Bethlehem Steel Co., is the graduate member. The experience of the three older members is expected to be directed to a consideration of the course of instruction at the Academy, and also to the requirements for entrance. In this work Professor Hollis, one of the great educators of the country will be a valuable aid. It is understood that the system of special preparation of nominees for the Academy by coaching schools is not regarded as for the best interest of the Academy, and the West Point system of admission on certificate is being carefully watched for a guiding experience.

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The Napoleonic soldiers who carried marshals' batons in their knapsacks realized, all things considered, no more brilliant destinies than those which are comprehended by a chief of staff of the army of the United States who had been a private in the ranks being succeeded by another chief of staff who had been a private in the ranks. The promotions of Napoleon's marshals were won in active service with its opportunities for rapid promotion in any service, but the promotions of Generals Young and Chaffee progressed through years having widely differing characteristics

and represent admirable qualities in the officers in question of a kind not especially looked for in active service, as well as qualities in the army system of the United States which should sustain confidence in its intrinsic merit.

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It seems, according to a writer in *Le Yacht,* that Meissonier, in the early part of his career as a painter, was very fond of sailing, and at one time had quite a little fleet of boats at his country house at Poissy, on the Seine, with which he studied the art of naval maneuvers with the same industry and conscientious attention to detail which he always bestowed on the preparation of his subjects. He had also quite a pretty cutter, which he used to sail himself. He also drew plans of vessels, and of their sails, all to scale. The writer, who appears to have been a life-long friend, supposes that we should have had from his hand some marine paintings of a most interesting character, but for a visit which he paid to Havre, during the regatta week, in 1847. With some others he followed the course of the racing yachts in the vessel of a friend. It was a lovely day, and all were enjoying the occasion to the full except Meissonier, who sat for a long time, his head between his hands, gazing abstractedly at the sea. His companions suspected from his silence and immobility that he was suffering from qualms of sea-sickness; but suddenly he broke the silence by exclaiming, "No one can paint the sea! It is not worth while to think about it!"

After that he took to horses, and studied them and their riders with the result we see in "1814," and other military subjects. Had Meissonier not been deterred by the artistic difficulties, what glorious pictures we might have had, of the days of Jean Bart, Du Guay-Trouin, or Tourville,—for we may be sure he would have ransacked every possible source of information, so as to give us a true likeness of the picturesque ships and as picturesque seamen of those days.

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It has practically been decided by the Navy Department that there will be no approval of the proposition to rebuild the Constitution and turn her into a training ship, but that countenance will be lent to a movement to give one of the future battleships the historic name.

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The discharge of Battalion Sergeant Major Raymond H. Harrell, of the 12th Infantry, stationed at Fort Douglas, Utah, has been authorized by favor in order to enable him to accept an appointment to a commission in the Philippine Scouts. Sergeant Major Harrell has an excellent army record.

One of the "Lives" in the series of "English Men of Action" is that of Clive, by Colonel Sir Charles Wilson. Clive's life was written long ago, and the verdict of posterity made up; but it must always be full of interest, and curiosity must always be excited to know how each writer of history passes upon such a career as his. The man who could, when taunted before the Select Committee of Parliament with having received huge sums, make answer, "When I recollect entering the Nawab's treasury, at Moorshedabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left, and these crowned with jewels, by God, at this moment do I stand astonished at my own moderation,"—such a man, we say, had courage of more than one kind.

Colonel Wilson's estimate of Clive's character is as follows, dividing his career in India into three periods: "During the first, in the full freshness of his youth, his honor and good faith are beyond question. Filled with a noble ardor for the glory of his country, the welfare of the company, and the humiliation of the French, he dared everything, and, chaining victory to his standards, saved the British settlements from destruction.

"In the second period he consulted the interests of the company without neglecting his own; and, while giving an empire to England, sullied his fair fame by an act of treachery which is without excuse.

"During the third, in his mature manhood, he manifested a sincere desire to reform abuses, and rendered services of transcendent value to his country by consolidating the empire he had won. In England, during his lifetime, the hero of Arcot was welcomed with applause; the victor of Plassey was an object of envy and jealousy; and the reformer of the civil and military service in Bengal was held up to public execration. Among the many illustrious men India has produced, none is greater than the first of her soldier-statesmen, whose successful career marks an era in the history of England and of the world. Great in council, great in war, great in his exploits, which were many, and great in his faults, which were few.

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The system of submarine bell signalling referred to last month has been the subject of a comprehensive report by Lieutenant Commander B. T. Walling, U. S. N., and it is understood that the Navy Department will make further investigations on the subject with a view of determining its uses as an aid to navigation, as a means of signalling between vessels, and for a wider development in connection with naval warfare.

The transfer which had been arranged between Captains David J. Baker, Jr., of the 26th Infantry, and William Brooks, of the 15th Infantry, and authorized in orders of December 16, was revoked by order of January 5.

Leave of absence for six months on surgeon's certificate has been granted Captain S. P. Vestal, 7th Cavalry.

The resignation of Second Lieutenant Melville H. Fechheimer has been accepted, taking effect February 25, 1904.

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The single turreted monitors, Canonicus, Lehigh, Nahant, Jason and Montauk, after a long period of disuse during which they have been lying at the League Island navy yard, have been ordered stricken from the navy list and sold. They have served merely to mark the great progress of naval architecture and the influence wielded by sentiment in the naval affairs of the United States. The contest at a critical moment which was in effect a victory for the first vessel of this type fixed the low freeboard tradition on the navy of the United States and outweighed for years the cumulative evidence that the monitor type, so-called, was not an effective fighting ship.

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One of the interesting publications of the month has been that of the report of Lieut. H. P. Perrill, U. S. N., of his interview with the Colombian general Oxtiz. Contrary to the impression given in the unofficial report, Lieutenant Perrill's interview was of the most friendly character and the impression made on the Colombian general by the courtesies extended him was undoubtedly a favorable one.

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Experiments in wireless telegraphy by the Signal Corps of the army are to be vigorously carried on, one of the chief stations in the development of the methods being at New London, Conn. Capt. Leonard D. Wildman, U. S. A., has been relieved from duty at Fishers Island and stationed at New London for service in connection with the improvement of the system.

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The governor of Louisiana has requested the detail of an officer for service with the militia of the State under the provisions of the new militia law, and Colonel James W. Powell, retired, has been designated for the service. The action of Louisiana in the matter is creditable in view of the opposition that has been expressed in the South to participating in the benefits of the new law, an opposition that is based on arguments which can have no validity under the conditions which exist in the United States at the present time.

Following the statement made in Secretary Moody's annual report of the need of younger officers in the higher ranks of the navy comes the statement of the new plan in the British navy by which retirement for a period of non-service is put into force and a readjustment of the course of promotion is made to some extent in order to provide younger commanders for ships. As an alternative for promotion for selection which is being strongly urged and as strongly opposed in both branches of the service, the question of retirement or adequate employment in other than active command has a considerable advocacy.

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The personnel of the army retiring board appointed to meet at St. Paul, Minn., is as follows: Lieut. Col. George W. Adair, deputy surgeon general; Lieut. Col. Cornelius Gardner, 21st Infantry; Lieut. Col. James N. Allison, deputy commissary general; Major Charles Taylor, 13th Cavalry; Major Euclid B. Frick, surgeon; Captain Ferdinand W. Kobbe, 21st Infantry, recorder.

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The question of the treatment of tuberculosis patients by the navy has been the subject of anxious thought by the Surgeon General. Treatment at the crowded army hospital at Fort Bayard has not been thought to be advantageous for administrative and other reasons, and an open air camp has been established at Warrington, near Pensacola, in connection with the naval hospital there. A trial establishment of six patients has been inaugurated, and if the treatment proves successful, the camp will be made permanent and the number of patients treated will include most of the tuberculosis patients of the navy.

★ ★ ★

Examinations have been held during the month for appointments from civil life to the Pay Corps and the Marine Corps of the Navy. About one-third of successful applicants among the number examined is the usual proportion, and this has been slightly exceeded in the January examinations. Four assistant paymasters and eight second lieutenants of the Marine Corps were unconditionally qualified, and the latter number was increased by two by waiving slight or temporary physical disabilities. The appointments made do not fill the vacancies in either corps, and further examinations will be held later in the year.

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Captain George C. Burnell, of the Signal Corps of the Army, has been ordered to duty as signal officer of the Department of the Lakes.

Few comprehend the extent of the manufacturing enterprises that are included in the administration of the army and navy. The latter especially, through the gradual accessions of governmental manufacturing of materiel and equipment has come to be a large employer of artisan industry. The difficulty experienced by employees who become injured while in civil employment by the government and who have no recourse for compensation such as is provided by employers' liability acts, applying to private concerns, has worked many cases of hardship, and Secretary Moody is earnest in his advocacy of legislation which shall provide for compensation in such cases. To secure the end desired, carefully drawn general legislation is desired which, while intended primarily to benefit employees in the navy yards and navy workshops, will be of equal value to all artisan employees of the general government. Such a bill will undoubtedly be drawn and introduced, perhaps passed in the present Congress.

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In the legislation for new construction in the present session of Congress much attention will be paid to the subject of fast scout ships for the navy, its present most pressing need. The board of engineers which has had the question of the use of turbine engines for such ships under consideration has agreed upon a type of turbine which promises effectiveness. The principal difficulty found was to reduce the diameter of the turbines. This has been fixed in the plan agreed upon at twelve feet, which will bring the possibility of use within the present models of hull construction, and will not require the use of a turtle deck, as was feared might be necessary.

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Preparations for the display respectively of the army and the navy at the World's Fair at St. Louis are going on, and detail of personnel is being made from time to time as needs arise. Rear Admiral Sigsbee has been named as the representative of the Navy Department in charge of the exhibition of naval technique and oceanography. He will assume these duties in addition to his duties at the League Island yard.

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Of the twenty-seven officers of the army who left the service in the past year by resignation, dismissal and failure in studies, only one was a graduate of West Point. The considerable number separated from the service is the inevitable consequence of the considerable increase in the number of commissions by other than regular educational channels and means simply the elimination of those who found that they were mistaken in a supposed call to lead a military life.

The class of the Naval Academy for 1904 will again be graduated in February instead of the early summer, no disadvantage having resulted from the similar action last year. The need for watch and division officers in the navy has placed unusual responsibilities on the midshipmen since the Spanish war, and the result has been most gratifying. In a collection of reports made upon the conduct of the class which left Annapolis last year it is to be noted that they have very largely acted in positions requiring the exercise of individual responsibility and judgment and have received the commendation of their superior officers for the manner in which their duties have been performed.

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An important decision was arrived at early in the month in reference to the selection of officers for transfer from the line to the construction corps. It was announced last year that the former system of putting the ranking members of the class in the construction corps and the lowest members in the Marine Corps would be abandoned and that an alternating division of such selections would be made between three classes, divided according to rank, the highest going to the construction corps one year, to the line the next, and so on. The plan then proposed has been practically abandoned from the fact that no officers could be spared for the Marine Corps, appointments to which are being made from civil life, while no more transfer will be made directly from the Academy to the construction corps. Chief Constructor Capps pointed out forcibly to the Secretary of the Navy that a preliminary sea experience was equally as valuable to a coming constructor as to a line officer and it was determined not to transfer officers hereafter until they had completed their two years of sea service. It is the policy only to transfer enough to fill the absolute needs of the construction corps, such transfer to be made upon the records of the applicants for transfer and upon consideration of their probable efficiency.

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Among the changes following the adoption of the General Staff plan for the War Department, Secretary Root proposes the consolidation of the record and pension division with that section of the adjutant general's office devoted to correspondence. The admirable organization and efficiency of the former division under Brigadier General Ainsworth is a guarantee of increased efficiency under the consolidation proposed, while duplication of work and some friction are to be obviated by a change in the system.

The report of the barracks board of the Navy has been made public during the month, and marks a step toward the desirable end of permanently putting the receiving ship out of commission. Whatever may have been the considerations that have permitted the receiving ship to linger so far, a relic of a naval day that is past, the increase of the enlisted personnel of the navy has made its further continuance not only an impracticability but a menace and a danger. The board, three members of which visited England and the Continent for the purpose of observing the methods of other naval powers, recommends two barracks stations, one near New York and one on the Chesapeake Bay. Separate dormitories from mess halls are recommended and a well digested plan for an institution calculated to secure the best accomodations at the lowest expense of construction and maintenance is presented. The report is especially interesting in that it takes very strong grounds in favor of the canteen system and states plainly that there are certain wants on the part of the enlisted men that must be filled at barracks or they will be satisfied outside with the inevitable infractions of discipline. No definite recommendation of location is made, but it is understood that available sites will not be hard to find.

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Commander W. H. H. Southerland, the hydrographer of the Navy, assumed command of the Cleveland about the middle of the month, succeeding Commander Cogswell, who was placed on waiting orders. The detail is one of which Commander Southerland is justly proud, and is a recognition of his splendid services in the Hydrographic Office. Commander Southerland is a thorough sailor and has applied the facilities of the Hydrographic Office to the simplification of navigation to the great benefit not only of the Navy, but of the merchant marine, especially in North Atlantic waters.

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First Lieutenant John R. Slattery, U. S. A., Corps of Engineers, has been ordered to the Pacific Coast, and his orders make him available for duty in the Hawaiian islands if necessary.

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Brigadier General Edward M. Hayes, U. S. A., retired, has been assigned to duty with the militia of Arkansas.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

GEN. DE TROBRIAND'S ROMANTIC LIFE.

Romantic was the life of Gen. de Trobriand, who died in 1897, the only Frenchman since Lafayette tc attain the rank of Major General in our army. Philippe Régis Denis de Keredern, Baron (afterward Comte) de Trobriand, was born June 4, 1816 at the Chateau des Rochettes, near Tours.

He belonged to the old nobility of Brittany, but was born in Tours, for at that time his father, Gen. Joseph de Trobriand, was commanding that military district. When a youth Régis de Trobriand was put on the list of the pages of Charles X., then King of France. During the monarchy the young nobles who became pages were brought up at Court, under the superintendence of one of the Marshals of France, who took charge of their education and prepared them for entering St. Cyr, the West Point of France. From St. Cyr they took their commissions in the army.

The revolution of 1830—which sent the Bourbons into their last exile—changed the course of de Trobriand's military education. Not wishing to serve under the new Government, his father, Gen. de Trobriand, who was then commanding at Rouen, resigned from the army and made his son follow another course of military studies at the same time that he was taking his college degrees. Trobriand was graduated as Bachelieres-lettres at Orleans in 1834, and as licencie-en-droit at Pottiers in 1838. While in Pottiers he wrote a novel, "Les Gentilshommes de l'Quest," which created a great sensation. In 1841, after his father's death, and being then Baron de Trobriand, he came with a friend to America as a traveler to see the country. In those days few persons, particularly Frenchmen, came to America. His arrival, bringing letters to our first people, was quite a social incident. His good looks, title, accomplishments, and great personal attractions made him a social lion. He met and became engaged to Mary Mason Jones, daughter of Isaac Jones, second President of the Chemical Bank, and granddaughter of John Mason, founder and first President of that institution. The marriage took place in Paris in January, 1843, with great ceremony. The reception, at which many members of the Faubourg St. Germain were represented, was held at the Hotel Gallifet, where the family resided that winter. The witnesses to the marriage on the side of the bridegroom were the Duc de Clermont Tonnerre, formerly Minister of Charles X., and the Marquis de la Rochejaquelin. The witnesses for the bride were two American gentlemen, Robert Ray, Esq., and Colonel Thorn. After the marriage the Baron and

Baroness de Trobriand went to Italy, where they joined the Court of the Comte de Chambord (Henri V.), the Bourbon heir to the throne of France.

Here, attached to the exiled Princes, de Trobriand led for several years a life divided between his duties at Court and the cultivation of his talents for music and painting.

Henri V. was young and his companions were young, so all was done in those days to dispel the dreariness of exile in a life of incessant activity and amusement. Venice was then a part of the Austrian Kingdom of Lombardy and ruled over by the Grand Duke Regnier as Viceroy, who, with his beautiful wife, a Princess of Savoy, also held a brilliant court. Dinners, balls, visits from different royalties of Europe, for whom great receptions had to be given, all helped to make winters pass in a round of gayety. Amateur theatricals were given every two weeks in the Duchess de Berri's palace, Palazzo Vendramin. De Trobriand was stage manager and principal actor. The little theatre was filled with the ladies and gentlemen of the court, and once on the front row sat seven royalties (one being the Emperor Nicholas I. of Russia), who were visiting Henri V.

An incident of that time of youthful exuberance among the young men of the court made a sensation throughout Europe.

A discussion having arisen on the subject of Lord Byron's famous seven-mile swim, a wager was laid by the Comte de Chambord (Henri V.) and three young men, of whom de Trobriand was one, that they would also accomplish it. The terms were that, though accompanied by boats, they were never to rest even a finger on a boat during the distance of seven miles.

The feat was performed by all four, though they all were made quite ill by it. The only one who escaped evil consequences was de Trobriand, who was dared by Monseigneur (Henri V.) to row him home in his gondola and did it. The strain at first was intense, but this second and different exercise of his muscles saved de Trobriand the illness suffered by his companions. This swimming feat on the part of Henri V. was noised abroad all over Europe by his adherents to disprove the assertion of his opponents that he was a weakling unfit to reign.

In 1848 or 1849, at the request of his father-in-law, Régis de Trobriand came to reside in America. His fondness for literary work and desire for occupation induced him to start a French review, the Revue du Nouveau Monde.

In 1851 family matters obliged him to return to France and discontinue his review.

In 1854 the death of his father-in-law brought him back to America, where he settled permamently, devoting himself again to literary work in connection with the French newspaper, the Courrier des Etats Unis. When the war broke out Régis de Trobriand was deeply impressed by the justice of the Union cause, and, becoming an American citizen, took command of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, New York Volunteers (Gardes Lafayette). He was engaged in all the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, from Yorktown to and after Gettysburg. His services on the second day of Gettysburg were of the most efficient and sturdy description, his brigade being one of those holding the Peach Orchard, the central point of Sickles's line, until it was no longer tenable, after which, with only two regiments, he held the north bank of Plum River until the rebel onset forced his men back across the

wheat field, and then they were foremost in the new line formed by Birney, which charged through the wheat field and drove the enemy back to the stone fence which bounded it. It was one of the most exciting and important contests of that battlefield. In January, 1864, de Trobriand was made a brigadier-general, and in May and June of that year he commanded the defenses of New York. He returned to the field, and, as brigade commander in the Second Corps in Grant's army, fought at Deep Bottom and Five Forks, and was in command of the Third Division of the Second Corps in the final pursuit of Lee, which ended at Appomattox. On the day of Lee's surrender, April 9, 1865, he was brevetted major-general of Volunteers, being thus the only Frenchman except Lafayette who has held the rank of major-general in the United States Army.

After the army was disbanded Gen. de Trobriand spent a year in France writing (in French) his reminiscences of the war, which were published under the title of "Quatre ans de Campagne avee l'Armée du Potomac" (which has been translated under the title of "Four Years with the Army of the Potomac").

Gen. de Trobriand entered the regular army as colonel of the Thirty-first Infantry in 1866, and was brevetted brigadier-general of the United States Army March 2, 1867. He commanded the District of Dakota in August of that year. He was transferred to the command of the Thirteenth Infantry March 15, 1869, and commanded the District of Montana, and after that the District of Green River.

While in Montana he put an end (January, 1870) to the Indian depredations by his energetic campaign against the Piegan Indians. He was sent to Salt Lake City in September, 1870, and by his firmness and tact prevented the threatened outbreak of the Mormons, under Brigham Young. He commanded in Utah until January, 1875, when he was sent to New Orleans. Under orders from his superior officers it became necessary to arrest Speaker Wiltz, and to disperse the McEnery Legislature. This duty he performed with a tact and firmness which won him the respect of his opponents. Gen. de Trobriand remained in command in New Orleans from 1875 to 1879, when, at his request, he was retired from the army. In 1874 he had inherited the title of count, and became head of his family, owing to the extinction of the elder branch, but he never carried his title in this country. Having lived for five years in New Orleans, Gen. de Trobriand decided to make it his winter home, and after his retirement, bought a house in Clouet Street, where he resided until his death. In summer he visited alternately his family in France, and his daughter on Long Island.

His visits to France were made interesting by meeting on intimate terms most of the statesmen, and most of the men of rank and mark who have been identified with the history of that country.

He was a regular visitor at the Château d'Eu before the Comte de Paris was sent into exile, and after that time, when they could not meet, they corresponded regularly. The Comte de Paris always loved him very much. All the members of the Orleanist family, the Duc d'Aumale, the Prince de Joinville, the Duc de Montpensier, etc., showed the general marked kindness and friendship, and he was received by them in the intimacy of the family circle. Though having become converted to Repub-

can ideas, he never hesitated to express his convictions. Gen. de Trobriand's accomplishments as writer, poet, painter, and musician fitted him for the power of criticism and the enjoyment of the society of all men of all callings. This, united with a wonderful memory—great conversational powers and delightful charm of manner, together with the fact that in his varied career as courtier, soldier, writer, he had known all the distinguished men of his time, gave him reminiscenses of royalties, statesmen, artists, littérateurs, soldiers, in Europe and America—all this helped to make him to the last moment of his long life a most delightful companion to those who came in contact with him.

He preserved his wonderful powers to the last, and died in his eighty-second year, still in the full possession of his brilliant mental faculties. Gen. de Trobriand died on July 15, 1897, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Charles A. Post, Bayport, L. I.

Gen. de Trobriand leaves a widow—the Comtesse de Trobriand, who lives in Paris—and two daughters, Mrs. Charles A. Post and Mrs. Burnett Stears. The last-named resides in France.

Gen. de Trobriand, who offered his sword to his adopted country, the United States of North America, was a second cousin of Bolivar, the Washington of South America; their grandmothers were sisters.

Such was the man who lighted up that period in society from the early fifties, when I first knew it, in New York, and for thirty years after he was an occasional resident of this city. He was very handsome, but singularly retiring, and always marked by a modest self-effacement. Married as he was into the richest and most fashionable set in New York, his wife a leader of the gay set, he could not remain in obscurity, but his early experiences at the court and the retirement and misfortunes of the royal family, whom he had served, had marked him with a gravity and sadness which made him seem older than he was. But a more delightful companion at a little dinner could not be found. I remember his telling me of the baptism of his little daughter, the god-daughter of the Duchesse de Berri, and afterward her being tossed up in the arms of the Duchesse d'Angoulême (the Daughter of the Temple), when the little girl, not respecting gloomy traditions, pulled off the cap and wig of the daughter of Louis XVI., making her laugh heartily, a thing she seldom did, poor unfortunate daughter of Marie Antoinette.

But the young couple whom he served were not the only acquaintances of whom de Trobriand could talk. He knew well the Republican leaders, Thiers, Jules Simon, Jules Favre, Guizot, Lamartine, etc. He had met Chateaubriand and Mme. Recamier, who spoke of him as "ce charmant jeune homme." He knew all the great littérateurs, George Sand and Alfred de Musset; he could tell the intimate history of "Elle et Lui." He knew Rachel and kept many of her letters. As a cultivated musician himself he knew Lizst, Chopin, Auber and their best interpreters. Imagine what it was to hear such a man talk!

While he was editor of the Courrier des Etats Unis he translated a little poem of mine into French verse. It was called "The Lighthouse of the World," and attracted the attention of Victor Hugo, who wrote a letter on the subject. Although "lighthouse" is not a very easy word to versify he had the advantage of the more poetical Pharos, and he was

so much the master of the genius of the two languages that he made a pretty thing of it. In fact, in America he devoted himself to literature, to the arts, to the quiet amusement of chess, more than to dancing and to dinners.

But a hero was slumbering within him, impatient for development. He was as brave as his sword, and longed to draw it in a congenial cause. From the first he showed that he was a born soldier. His camp was a model of neatness and order. The "Fifty-fifth Regiment, New York Volunteers, Gardes Lafayette," became a famous, well-disciplined regiment. I have heard a young lieutenant, who served under him, say that the General taught them to make an excellent cup of coffee, to husband their rations, to keep their quarters clean. He gave them excellent lessons in sanitary reform. The pupil of the marshals of France, educated in what was then the grandest military school in the world, knew all these minor details. He was kind to them in sickness, and knew more than most surgeons as to the treatment of a gunshot wound.

Such was the man so universal, so gallant, so painstaking and conscientious, who was to lead the oriflamme of France, under the Stars and Stripes, to victory at Yorktown, at Gettysburg, at Five Forks, until on the great day at Appomattox Court House, this second Lafayette ended his service in the field to his adopted and grateful country.

I had the honor to be a guest at a banquet, one of the most brilliant ever given in New York, at Delmonico's, to the Comte de Paris, by Gen. Sickles, at which were present, among other representatives of our highest fashion, Mrs. Post, the daughter of Gen. de Trobriand, who could not be there. She was the very "Marie Carolina," the goddaughter of a princess of the old Bourbon days, and she had the pleasure of hearing Gen. Sickles refer to that brilliant action of her father at the Peach Orchard episode, the second day of Gettysburg. This splendid dash made de Trobriand a brigadier-general, and in the curious twists and turnings of life this was certainly one of the most curious, that in the presence of the last of the Bourbons—that family whom her father had so gallantry served—a woman, still young, should have listened again to the story of his conquests on a second field of honor from one of the most gallant commanders in the war of the Republic in the very presence of the Comte de Paris, his king.

The old age of this valuable, accomplished, universal man was spent in the congenial French town which he loved, New Orleans, where, in the gentle occupation of cultivating roses, and with the society of a few friends, with French servants to cook for him the dainty dishes which he liked, he grew older and older, as a French soldier should, getting something out of every day, consoled by music, painting and reading. He had fought the good fight, he had written his book (a valuable one), he had kept his honor bright, to the last the most agreeable of men, he was blessed in the moment of departure by the tender care of his daughter, whom he dearly loved, the little girl who had been sent to him in his bright youth, and who never failed him in the loving duty and admiration, care and respect, which he deserved—M. E. W. SHERWOOD *in New York Times.*

THE SAILOR AS A SOLDIER.

In the latest volume of his history of the Royal Navy Sir William Laird Clowes points out that the sailor is being more and more used by the British military authorities as an infantryman in fighting on shore. In every recent war there has been a naval brigade, and it has rendered splendid service, eclipsing in energy, if not intrepidity, the work of the professional soldier. Perhaps this is because Jack is not so dependent on his officers as Tommy Atkins and always has a way of doing a thing in an emergency. The blue-jackets have often saved the day in China, India, New Zealand, Egypt and South Africa. In the Boer war Ladysmith would probably have fallen but for the skill of the naval contingent with its 4.7 inch gun. Strange to say, Jack at a pinch can march longer than the regular army man. In South Africa Lieut. Grant and his little command covered 798 miles in fifty-three days, at one time making a forced march of thirty-seven miles in thirteen hours with a big gun. In the Soudan campaigns there has usually been a naval brigade. At Abu Klea it fought with tremendous dash, and always seems to have carried off the honors.

The sailor of the American navy has also done a good deal of fighting on shore during the last fifty years, and he has helped to keep the peace on the Isthmus of Panama when American interests have been endangered by perennial conflicts between rebels and the Government. But it is the maritime who usually bears the brunt of the fighting when a position has to be taken and held on shore, and there is no finer fighting man than the American marine. Witness Guantanamo. Whether it is well to employ the sailor to help the soldier fight his battles on shore may be doubted. The tendency with us is to limit Jack's activities to sea duty, for his value is greater than the soldier's. In money and time it costs more—very much more—to make an able-bodied seaman than a soldier. In six months of campaigning the raw volunteer becomes a veteran, but Jack's education requires about three years. To replace the soldier if he falls is always feasible, but there is no man, as a rule, to step into Jack's shoes. Even in peaceful times he is too valuable to be used on shore duty. There are not enough Jackies to go round among the ships.—*N Y. Sun.*

THE SEA AT NOON.

From Lippincott's Magazine.

Who rocks the little billows of the deep,
That, curved as grace itself, they kiss the air—
Then sink in curves, and with the noonday share
The stillness that can neither laugh nor weep?
What languid revels do the sea-nymphs keep
That in the summer, when the days are fair,
They slowly to the sky cast garlands rare
Of foam-flowers, though the blue seems fixed in sleep?

Always the joy of life lies in the sea,
Who knows it loves it, and his fancies play
With all its moods for joy—whether it wakes
Gentle as dawn upon the bright To Be
Of rosy youth; or, dashing high its spray,
The world with ecstasy of tumult shakes!

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

FUTURE FOR MOTORS IN WAR.

In the recent maneuvers of the British army in the west of England, which were war games on a more ambitious scale than England has had for several years, automobiles were utilized to an extent never before attempted in military tests, and were found to be very useful indeed, principally in conveying the umpire staff and the general officers speedily to distant points and in carrying information.

A warm discussion has arisen since as to whether motor cars, as the English call them, would really be of use in actual war, and how far that use would extend; and a score of prominent officers are quoted as expressing the opinion that it has been demonstrated that the military automobile can be made very valuable indeed.

The trump card of the pro-motorists is this declaration by Lord Roberts to the Motor Volunteer Corps after inspecting them at the close of the maneuvers: "I think this shows that in future wars motor cars will play a very important part. We could not have carried out the maneuvers without your help."

Motor cycles, as well as motor cars, were used in the maneuvers. All the motor vehicles were run by the new Motor Volunteer Corps, whose lieutenant-colonel, Mark Mayhew, an enthusiastic military automobilist, has since announced for his fellow experimenters in that field just what they think can be accomplished by the motor car in its present stage of development.

First of all, Lieutenant-Colonel Mayhew says, it has been demonstrated that a commanding officer will be enabled to inform himself personally on matters incidental either to a march, a general action, encampment or camping grounds; need for re-enforcements on the part of detached bodies, or the possibility of obtaining re-enforcements for himself; all with perfect ease and immense saving in time, while avoiding the tendency to error and misapprehension inseparable from a system of messages and hearsay.

"This," he says, "may be met by the objection that the commander-in-chief should be in one place where he can be found in all emergencies, and undoubtedly in the midst of an action this must be so. But an officer in supreme command, if supplied with an efficient and numerous motor contingent, would not hesitate to spare from his side temporarily a staff officer of much greater attainments and greater suitability for the mission on hand than the messenger personally employed, were he confident that such an officer would be back again at the centre in a quarter the time or less than a man on horseback would be."

He even thinks that, putting actual battle aside, the officer in supreme command will have no fear of using a car himself in emergency when he feels that a visit to some point otherwise hard to reach would be of service to him.

That, Lieutenant-Colonel Mayhew says, is what the motor car corps can do now. But the more he sees of the efficiency of the motor for such work, the more new uses suggest themselves —motor-mounted infantry, motor quick-firing guns, cars armed and supplied with quick-firing guns, light emergency transport, and a thoroughly extended comprehensive use of motor trucks and tractors for heavy transport.

As to whether in their present state of development automobiles could be

counted on in war without constant danger of their breaking down, he thinks they could. Says he:

"The motor car, it is true, is not intended for a cross country steed, and it is argued by some that its efficiency for war purposes is discounted because it cannot jump fences and ditches. True, but the motor will often go round a field or a piece of rough country by road in less time than it takes a horse to cross it direct, and I have yet to learn that staff officers and others in the military service are in the habit of striking a bee line across country even when riding horses."

Anyway, the motor cycle can surmount a great many obstacles, he argues, if the motor car cannot.

In these British maneuvers, the umpire staff, a large body of officers, including the Duke of Connaught and Lord Roberts, the commander-in-chief, was obliged to cover from 60 to 120 miles of country a day. It would have been impossible to do this on horseback, but with the aid of motor cars it was accomplished; and, as the records show, with surprisingly few slight break-downs and no serious accidents.—*New York Sun.*

ON THE FROZEN YUKON.

Oh, ships that sail down from the glacial North
With your burdens of shimmering gold,
What spectres of Death in the pitiless waste
Ride low in your shivering hold?
What triumphs of those who have wrestled with Death
Can o'erbalance the burden of woe
For the hearts that are still on the frozen Yukon,
And the bones that are covered with snow?—

For the veins that are chilled and the eyes that upstare
Through the wreath of a Boreal shroud,
Where the elements shriek and the ragged rocks rake
In the bend of the lowering cloud?
Oh, an army of dead swell a requiem weird
In the tempests that sullenly blow.
O'er the hearts that are still on the frozen Yukon,
And the bones that are covered with snow!

Is the recompense full when exultant a few
Tear away from the jaws of Despair
And back to the green, smiling valleys again
Bring a booty all yellow and fair?
What meed from the joy of the fortunate few
Can the soul of the universe know,
For the hearts that are still on the frozen Yukon,
And the bones that are covered with snow?

'Twere better a thousand times over to walk
In the pathway of honor and toil,
Than hark to the Siren that sings in the North,
And plunge in the feverish moil;
For ever a picture of terror must live
In the depths of the gold's yellow glow
Of the hearts that are still on the frozen Yukon,
And the bones that are covered with snow!

Oh! pastoral peace of the patriarchs old,
When the husbandman tended his sheep.
Nor dreamed a wild, feverish dream of the North
As he lay in his steading asleep!
Nor heard in his sleep the seductive refrain
Of the Siren that sings from the floe
To the hearts that are still on the frozen Yukon,
And the bones that are covered with snow!

Oh, pastoral peace! when his humble hearthstone
Was enough for the son of the soil;
When contentment and love were the gods he revered,
And his soul was the soul of his toil.
Oh, curse of the years! that is blighting our race
With a breath of the tempests that blow
O'er the hearts that are still on the frozen Yukon,
And the bones that are covered with snow!

—Lowell Otus Reese,
in the San Francisco Bulletin.

The new Army Policy, issued by the Prudential Insurance Company of America, provides that there shall be no extra premium whatever charged either in time of peace or war on army officers' policies. All officers insured at the present time may change their present policies so as to embrace the privilege of this concession.

Previous to 1900 the contract offered by the Prudential to army officers was the most liberal on the market. Under its terms the officer was obliged, if ordered to foreign service, in time of peace, to pay one extra premium, not to exceed $20 per $1,000 in cash, the company agreeing that the extra premium for foreign service after the first year should be charged as a lien against the policy. In case of an officially declared war, an extra premium, not to exceed $30 per $1,000, was charged in place of the extra premium for foreign service. If this were not paid in cash it could also become a lien upon the policy.

Finding that the payment of the first extra premium in cash was in many cases a hardship to an officer, the company then allowed army policyholders to have all extra premiums become a lien upon their policies instead of paying the same in cash.

These contracts thus revised were the most liberal that had been offered by any company, but as conditions warranted, the company finally decided to issue a contract which required no extra premium for foreign service whatever, but which did charge an extra premium in case of officially declared war, not to exceed $30 per $1,000. Under these conditions the Prudential wrote a large business among army officers. These policies contained the provision that in event of death of an officer one-half of the policy would be paid to the beneficiary by telegraph upon the receipt of a communication from the adjutant general of the United States army announcing the death of the insured.

A thorough investigation has now been made by the company of the conditions surrounding army officers in time of peace and in time of war. As a result of this investigation, and of the representations of Mr. McNeil,

manager of the Prudential's Army and Navy Department, to the effect that a liberal concession to army officers would mean much for his company in the way of increased business, and that officers of the army would appreciate any concession granted them, the company has decided to grant to the army a concession without precedent on the part of any life insurance company in its dealings with army men.

Applications will be accepted on officers of the army for policies on the Whole Life, Limited Payment Life, and Endowment plans, giving them practically all the privileges extended to civilian policyholders, and charging no extra premium in time of peace or in time of war whatever, officers being placed in a special class for the apportionment of dividends. This rule is also retroactive and present policyholders may secure this concession by changing their policies to the required forms.

Army men who are policyholders and who have paid an extra premium in the past in cash may arrange to have same returned, the company agreeing in case of death of the policyholder to pay to his estate all extra premiums paid, and if the insured shall live until the end of the dividend period, and the policy is at that time in force, the company will pay in addition to the guaranteed amount stated in the policy, all extra premiums paid to the company in cash, together with the accumulated dividend then apportioned. Where the premium has become a lien under the policy at 5 per cent. interest, the lien will be cancelled and no interest will be charged the insured while the lien was in force.

Manager McNeil feels sure that officers of the army will appreciate the liberal actions of the Prudential Insurance Company, and that the Company will more than ever be looked upon as the "Army Officers' Company."

AN INSTANCE OF GROWTH.

It is a pleasure in this day of great industrial combinations, to note an instance where an independent concern has attained to mammoth proportions, and has grown steadily but surely for years from a small beginnning into the fullness of the present time. Such an institution is cited in the seed business of D. M. Ferry & Co., which for nearly half a century has gone forward each year, constantly adding new customers and retaining its old ones, until it is to-day the source of seed supply from which the great crops of this country spring. Seed houses have come and gone—some survived and flourished for years, but finally succumbed for one reason or another —while Ferry's kept growing all the time. Thousands of farmers, gardeners and flower growers look to them year after year for the seeds from which the prosperity of their fields and gardens is to grow, and the fact that they are never disappointed in Perry's seeds is the secret of the wonderful expansion of this popular firm. You can buy their seeds in every city, town or hamlet of this land, and you are always certain that they are fresh, true to name and *sure to grow*. Their 1904 Seed Annual, a valuable guide in the selection of the proper seeds to plant, will be sent *free* to all readers of UNITED SERVICE who apply to D. M. Ferry & Co., Detroit, Mich.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Notes and Reminiscences of a Staff Officer. Chiefly relating to the Waterloo Campaign and to St. Helena matters during the captivity of Napoleon. By Lieut.-Col. Basil Jackson. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903. Pp. 218.

The author of this work, although a young man at the time, had peculiar facilities for observation, both in the Waterloo Campaign and at St. Helena, and this volume shows that he made good use of his opportunities. It is an interesting recital of his experiences, told in a simple way, but with a charm of naturalness and modesty that is refreshing.

He entered the field in Holland, two years before the great battle, almost fresh from the military college, but as a staff officer his duties took him to all the principal cities in Holland and Belgium, and required him to report on the roads. It was one of these reports (which had been transmitted to Gneisenau) that determined the road by which Blücher retreated after the battle of Ligny, and decided him to join Wellington at Waterloo.

His work as a general staff officer took him over the entire field while the battles were raging, as well as before and after, so that he *saw* far better than most officers actually commanding troops, and his accounts are thrilling at times, often pathetic, but always fascinating.

There were a number of dramatic moments in these few days: *First,* the scenes as he came riding in during the night of the 15th, after delivering orders in person to several of the commanders in the field, when he met many of the officers coming from the Duchess of Richmond's ball, seeking their respective organizations; *secondly,* the dead and dying on the field of Quatre Bras (many of those he saw that morning early hastening in search of their troops); *thirdly,* the great battle itself; and *finally* the pursuit of Napoleon's army and the march to Paris.

Soon after Napoleon was sent to St. Helena it so happened that Colonel Jackson was sent there too, and remained a long time, intimately associated with the governor, as well as with the members of Napoleon's suite, and often conversing with the Emperor himself. The notes he took are not near as voluminous as one could wish, but they are entertaining and interesting in spite of their brevity, and have all the charm of *personal* reminiscences.

The Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington from 1779 to 1815. Selected and arranged by Walter Wood. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1902. Pp. 475.

This collection of despatches of the great British soldier contains all that is of present-day interest in the originals, which fill twelve bulky volumes in the monumental work compiled by Colonel Gurwood. It makes this rich mine of historical material available to the ordinary reader, presenting the subject-matter in a single convenient volume, and so systematized and arranged as to present the great duke as "the historian of his own brilliant career."

It is dedicated to General Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum, and contains

material relating to his campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries, and France, and also some very interesting remarks on America, particularly during the War of 1812.

The value of this collection is indicated in a remark by Professor Oman of Oxford University, one of the world's greatest historians of today, in his recent classical *History of the Peninsular War*:

"To clear away any lingering doubts as to Wellesley's extraordinary ability, the student of history has only to read a few of his most notable despatches."

The compiler has not only selected his material with proper judgment, but he has also arranged it with appropriate headings, for convenience of reference and study.

The despatches relating to America are very interesting, containing as they do some pertinent remarks on the privateers we used, on the strategy of the British and on embargo and other measures which were resorted to.

We have room for but one here:

"To Marshal C. Beresford.

"FRENEDA,
February 6, 1813.

"I have been very uneasy about the American naval successes. I think we should have peace with America before the season for opening the campaign in Canada, if we could take one or two of these d——d frigates."

Another relates to the necessity for naval supremacy on the lakes for success in any war on the frontier of Canada.

The entire collection is a valuable military as well as historical work, with all the charms of autobiography and the interest always attaching to the individuality and character of a great man. The book is well printed on good paper, and attractively bound. It makes the original despatches of this great soldier available to the every-day reader, and presents them freed from all the dull and tedious parts, whose interest has become obsolete, yet retaining their character and vitality.

Principles and Problems of Imperial Defense. By Lieut.-Col. Edward S. May, C. M. G., R. A. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Limited; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903. Pp. 332. $3.00 net.

This treatise by the Professor of Military Art and History at the English Staff College, must be regarded as one of the great works of the age, not only in military and naval matters, but also in national policy. Colonel May is a military author of international reputation, who has always been a student of wars, and his position at the Staff College makes him familiar with military history and strategy as well as national policy. The work is, therefore, of value not only to army and navy officers and military students in general, but also to legislators, and, indeed, to every citizen who is interested in the higher development of his country.

For the first time the necessity of an army (as well as a navy) to the existence of a great nation is properly presented. The great subjects involved are dealt with broadly, but with a sincerity, an intelligence, and a vigor of thought and reasoning that admit of no doubt or misunderstanding.

"Imperial defense, although it cannot be carried out at all without a navy, cannot be accomplished by a navy alone."

"Even a predominant navy has its limitations and restrictions, and cannot alone produce decisive results."

"Our army and navy are, in fact, complementary to each other. To

get the fullest effect from either they must work in unison, and their co-operation must be genial and intelligent. In any broad view of Imperial defense their interests are seen to be in common rather than antagonistic, and while the Empire would perish without the one, it could not exist without the other."

These assertions of a great truth are the main-spring of the author's line of thought and reasoning.

The book opens with an essay on the Foundations of Empire, in which the origin of England's greatness is traced, and the causes which have preserved that greatness are set forth. This is followed by an article explaining and discussing the analogy between land and sea warfare, which is replete with interesting historical allusions and contains a fine dissertation on that often misapplied term "a fleet in being." The Predominance of the Navy is next considered, and this leads naturally to the gist of the whole work, namely, the Function of the Army.

Here we desire to quote a few words on the question of turning over the entire defense of the coast to the navy:

"Some years ago there existed a school of thinkers, who seemed to wish that our navy should alone be responsible for these bases and ports, and which viewed with a jealous eye almost any expenditure on guns and works ashore.

"A system of coast fortification sufficient to free the fleet, gives confidence to the civil population of the country, and prevents any of our important seaports falling by a *coup-de-main* and being utilized as a base of operations by an enemy, is a first necessity in home defense."

The succeeding chapters relate to Combined Operations, Naval Bases and Coaling Stations, Cable Communications, Food Supply, etc., and are all excellent essays on the subjects treated. It is interesting to note that the author favors compulsory service in the army in some form, and, indeed, it is difficult to see how else the force he deems necessary for the mobile field army (three army corps and a cavalry division, with a reserve of three army corps of auxiliary forces) can be otherwise raised.

The work as a whole is recommended as a study for all navy and army officers, and, we may add, for all citizens actively interested in national policy. The author is competent to speak on the subject and he speaks with authority. The work is of general interest to the world as well as of special interest to Great Britain, and the subject is one of vital importance to every great nation.

Cadet's Handbook. A manual for military students at colleges and academies. By Captain John A. Lockwood, U. S. Army. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Co. 1903.

Captain Lockwood has here presented a useful little volume to aid the cadets of military academies and colleges in their duties. The interest in the subject of military education in this country is certainly increasing, hence the handbook will be welcomed by a large and constantly increasing class of students.

The book considers not only the subjects of direct and immediate interest to such students, but also subjects of general military importance, such as discipline, organization, correspondence, reports, rosters, courts-martial, military engineering, military hygiene, first aid to the wounded, camping and marching. It is well illustrated, particularly the chapters on *military engineering* and *first aid.*

The appendix contains the Articles of War and the blank form necessary in Company and Post Administration.

The last two chapters are devoted to West Point and the methods of obtaining commissions in the regular army.

It is altogether a useful, convenient and timely little volume, which should prove effective in increasing the scope of military knowledge, in a practical way, in our ordinary academies and colleges, great and small, as well as in those devoted specially to military instruction.

Nauticus, 1903: *Jahrbuch fuer Deutschlands Seeinteressen.* Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn.

This excellent Naval Annual contains 530 pages of printed matter and many illustrations and valuable tables. It corresponds, in a measure, to *Brassey's Naval Annual,* and, although devoted especially to Germany's navy, contains much that is of general interest and describes also the navies of all the great powers.

The subject-matter is divided into three parts, the first relating to navies, the second to technical and commercial matters, the third to statistics, and there is added an excellent index.

The first part contains the following articles:

1. The German Navy, 1902-3.
2. Foreign Navies.
3. Artillery and Armor.
4. Sea Power and International Policy.
5. A Year's Progress in China.
6. German Colonization during the Middle Ages.

The *first* of these articles treats of the German Naval Estimates and Program for 1903, the development in material during 1902, the new ships building in 1903, the personnel of the German Navy in 1902, naval maneuvers and exercises with lessons deduced, the German Cruiser Division at Venezuela, and the ships on foreign stations.

The *second* describes the foreign navies of the five great naval powers, in which about nine pages (with a number of illustrations) are devoted to the United States. A few pages are also devoted to submarines, Italy, Austria and Japan.

The *third* article is a very interesting one on ships' artillery, heavy, medium and light, their protection (illustrated by diagrams), the proper calibers, their ammunition supply, and their positions; the various modes of armor protection (illustrated), effect and purpose of the different kinds of projectiles, armor and artillery weights compared, breech-blocks, powders, heavy and light projectiles compared, armor-piercing projectiles, capped projectiles, armor plates (Krupp, Vickers, etc.), guns of different navies compared, and carriages.

The *fourth* article is a very interesting study, especially for our legislators.

The *fifth* is also worthy of some attention, and the *sixth* is an important addition to general history.

The second part contains these articles:

1. Progress in the German Merchant Marine.
2. The Merchant Marine of the United States and the Morgan Trust.
3. The Development of the British Merchant Marine in Recent Years.
4. The Development of the French Merchant Marine in Recent Years.
5. Germany's Interests in South America.
6. The Development of Docks and Ship Yards.
7. Liquid Fuel for Ships.

The third part treats of:

1. The Naval Estimates of the Great Powers.
2. The Personnel of the Great Powers.
3. The Floating Material of the Great Powers.
4. The German Merchant Marine in April, 1903.
5. The German Sea-Going Vessels on January 1, 1903.
6. The World's Merchant Marines.
7. Auxiliary Navies.
8. The Shipping of the Principal Harbors.
9. German Shipbuilding.
10. German Export and Import in 1902.
11. German Colonies.
12. The World's Submarine Cables.
13. German Cables.

These articles fully explain and illustrate the general character of the work, and indicate its value to the naval or coast artillery officer. It is a valuable hand-book, and constitutes a useful book of reference to supplement and correct the standards of reference, especially *Brassey's Naval Annual,* and as far as the German navy is concerned, it is, of course, particularly valuable. J. P. W.

The Cavalry Horse and His Pack. Embracing the practical details of cavalry service. By 1st Lieutenant Jno. J. Boniface, 4th Cavalry. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company. 1903. Pp. 538.

This elaborate work constitutes a most useful handbook for the young cavalry officer, and is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject. It is a companion volume to Carter's *Horses, Saddles and Bridles,* and resembles the latter in form, binding and general appearance, but is complete in itself.

The purpose of the book, as set forth by the author, is "to place in the hands of the young cavalry officer one volume embracing the duties and responsibilities which confront him from the moment he joins his troop, and to make clear to him how things are done in the cavalry service. The author's ten years of service, his acquaintance with a number of the most prominent cavalry officers, his experience at the Cavalry School at Fort Riley, and the fact that he had for consultation the excellent library at that post, all combined to fit him for his undertaking.

The work opens with a few chapters of a general nature, such as the history of the horse and pack, the classes of cavalry in the world's armies, the horse supply at home and abroad, the various acknowledged classes of horses (with special reference to the kind required for cavalry), and the American cavalry horse.

The body of the work is devoted to the practical details of cavalry duty, including shoeing, bitting and saddling, riding and training, and stable duty, as well as to the field work of cavalry, such as marches, transporting cavalry horses, the passage of rivers, the pack and the pack train, concluding with a good chapter on disease and medicines. The chapters on stable duty are particularly full and detailed, and contain a mass of useful information.

The work is illustrated by nearly 150 diagrams, cuts and photographs, which add greatly to its value as a handbook of ready reference and a manual of practical utility.

Only those officers who have had practical experience in attempting to glean from the limited library usually furnished a mounted command the information constantly needed, can appreciate fully the great service Lieutenant Boniface has rendered his arm

of the service and the army by preparing the volume before us. It is more generally useful than a large number of the older books combined, and, while essential to every young cavalry officer, will be found very useful to all mounted officers, as well as to all others interested in horses and their care and use.

L'Armée Allemande. Etude d'Organisation. Felix Martin, Chef de Batallion, and F. Pont, Capitaine d'Artillerie, Breveté a l'Etat, Major de l'Armée. Paris: Libraire Militaire. R. Chapelot et Cie., 1903 Pp. 869.

The above work, published under the direction of the French General Staff, is a complete and exhaustive study of the organization of the German army, by two able French officers.

The arrangement of the text is clear and simple, the typography is excellent, and the subject-matter leaves nothing to be desired. The work is based on the laws enacted on the subject in Germany, and is therefore reliable and authoritative.

We know of no more complete and accurate account of all that relates to the organization of this great army, and consider this to be the best and most satisfactory work of reference on the subject.

Sophisms of Free Trade and Popular Political Economy Examined. By Sir John Barnard Byles. A new edition with an introduction and notes by William Samuel Lilly, LL. M., and Charles Stanton Devas, M. A. 12 mo. $1.25 net.

Mr. W. S. Lilly has chosen the right moment for the re-publication of the late Justice Byles' "Sophisms of Free Trade and Popular Political Economy." Mr. Lilly contributes an introduction and notes, in which he has been assisted by Mr. C. S. Devas, and the volume will be published immediately by Mr. John Lane. The text of the eighth edition of Sir John Byles' book is reprinted, unaltered, except by correction of a few trifling errors of the press. But to each chapter are appended notes, enclosed in brackets, and signed by the editors.

Les Academies Militaires Privées aux Etats-Unis. George Nestler Fricocke, Paris; Henri Charles Lavauzelle. Pp. 57.

A very clear, accurate and entertaining account of the private military academies in the United States, not only as regards their purpose, their courses of instruction, their situation or location, but also as regards their true value in a military sense and their general importance to the country.

The author evidently understands his subject thoroughly, and has presented it clearly and intelligently. The academies described are, among others, the Virginia Military Institute, the Staunton Military Academy, Chettenham Military Academy, Michigan Military Academy, Saint John (Wisconsin), Blee (Missouri), Mt. Pleasant (Sing Sing, N. Y.), Peekskill Military Academy (N. Y.), and New York Military Academy (Cornwall, N. Y.), Kenyon Military Academy (Ohio) and North-Western Military Academy.

The pamphlet is a readable article, and contains much information even for us, but its greatest interest lies in the lessons the author draws for France, and the general value of these schools in the development of our own country.

THE MILITARY BOOK-SHELF.

(*From Blackwood's Magazine.*)

Many of us can remember as one of the saddest moments in our lives the day when, after a lapse of years, we returned as men to the school which we had left as boys. It might have been that the buildings were unaltered, some of the masters and tutors may have been the very men who had once trained our minds, only, in common with the buildings, a little more scarred by the ravages of time than when we had seen them last. Yet all was so different. Memory took us back to that day when those buildings were symbolic of all that was worth living for in life: when the masters were our mentors; when their views and theories were to us infallible, and, in the breadth and scope of their superiority, infinite. Vain imaginings of an embryo mind, undeveloped and unburnished by contract with the world and men and matters. And now, on our return, how sad it was to find that the very buildings which had seemed to us so vast, so impressive, and so grand, had apparently shrunk to the simple significance of ordinary dimensions. That the very men, upon whose smallest word we were wont to hang with fanatical reverance, were just creatures of ordinary calibre—often from the very nature of their calling, narrow-minded, cramped, and paltry in their views. What a shock it was to find that while we had advanced they had stood still—that all that we had esteemed and revered was but very ordinary clay.

It was with feelings almost akin to these that we put down Lord Wolseley's book.* To us, for very many years, Lord Wolseley as a soldier had represented all that was great and noble. We knew that he was brave: the record of this is scarred upon his wounded frame. We believed him to be a great general, a man possessed of as great administrative abilities as he was proved possessed of soldierly qualities. Our faith was not even shaken, when he raised his plaintive cry in the Upper House. His country had not treated him well, and this indiscretion was but an ebullition of honest feeling, distorted by the extraordinary circumstances of the channel into which it was poured. But even the most steadfast of Lord Wolseley's admirers will allow that this present venture adds nothing of lustre to the name of the Field-Marshal. We would not have minded a vein of bitterness in his work. Perchance he may have had cause for bitterness: many greater soldiers and penmen than he have shown a taint of gall in the records which they have left behind them. But Lord Wolseley's treatment of the contemporaries with whom he worked in his public life is such that the only conclusion it is possible to draw from his book is that he can never have possessed a broad or even charitable mind. No man who can stoop, even if it be in anger, to the spiteful innuendoes and cheap sarcasm which pervade his life's story as far as he gives it, could ever have possessed a balanced judgment which is worthy of the qualification of "great."

Let us quote from the last page in the work, just one extract, as an example of the "trail of the serpent," which throughout the narrative intrudes itself upon the reader's notice:

"Keep your hands off the Regiment, ye iconoclastic civilian officials who meddle and muddle in Army matters. Clever politicians you may

*The Story of a Soldier's Life. By Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, O. M., K.P., &c. 2 vols. Archibald Constable & Co.

be, but you are not soldiers, and you do not understand them; they are not pawns on a chess-board. Leave the management of our fighting men to soldiers of experience in our British Army of old renown, and do not parody us by appearing in public decked for the nonce in a soldier's kahki coat . . .!"

We could hardly forgive the want of taste implied by the innuendo in the last line if it were contained in the peroration of a platform speech on Army Reform. But that it should be the final blessing from the pen of a man whom we are willing to honor and desire to respect is pathetic in the extreme. But apart from the too thinly veiled personal attack which this sentence, typical of the Field-Marshal's reflections throughout his book, implies, we can read in it the taint of that exclusiveness and snobbery which is typical of the narrow-minded British officer, of which evidences abound all through the text of Lord Wolseley's Memoirs, —that "narrowness" which, in the past, has clogged the metal advancement of our Army, and which, in spite of the revelations of recent years, would seem to be still in the ascendant. We cannot really blame the Field-Marshal that he still entertains this animus against those who have not crystallized in the bedrock of military ignorance and prejudice: bias and prejudice have been his close associates throughout his life's work. But we feel keenly the revelation of the fact, since we had counted him as one of the few whose broadness of intellect had raised him superior to this poison which during the past century has stunted the practical development of our Army. The officer ranks of the Army should, it is true, be a "class service." But the delineation of the qualifications for this class should not be a question of heredity or association with particular aristocratic families. It should be a qualification for the candidate, no matter his forebears, to take his place in "the aristocracy of brains." But would such an end have been possible with a Commander-in-Chief who allowed sentiments as expressed in the following reflections to rule his selections for preferment:—

"These men die that England should be great, and they die for her without a murmur; and yet it is their valor and their self-sacrifice that enables home tradesmen to make fortunes, live at ease, and to marry their sons and daughters into gentle families."

Or again—

"Peace-preachers who manufactured rum, shoddy cottons, bad carpets, worse guns, and still worse powder for sale to the natives in or near our colonial and foreign possessions, this so-called army had a supreme contempt. At the period, however, many of our cavalry regiments were largely supplied with the sons of these rich merchants as officers. Indeed, one regiment of great renown in former days was commonly known as the 'Trades Union.'"

Can anything exceed the narrowness of these sentiments? As far as we can understand them, they imply resentment that these sons of tradesmen should be prepared to show the same natural devotion as the men who claimed to be of "gentle families." Now the commonest virtue is brute courage. We have every evidence that these sneered-at sons of tradesmen possessed it in as highly a developed form as the self-styled "gentle" officers. We have the Field-Marshal's evidence that it is a virtue common to all mankind —even low-born privates can lay claim to it. But it is a sin and a

presumption to find the son of a merchant daring to place at his nation's call this very common virtue of personal courage, which for years has been about the only asset that the British officer could set against the confidence which the country placed in him. Does the Field-Marshal forget that all the favors he has won, all the dignities that have come to him, are the outcome of the gratitude which these sneered-at tradesmen have been anxious to show to him, and which he has never shown a disposition to refuse?

No! if it is possible to trace any cause which has brought us within an ace of military ruin, it has been this curse of "army caste," of which we find such a startling example in the Field-Marshal's work. But if this revelation will have impressed upon the country the necessity of bringing the nation's brain to bear upon the question, then perhaps the author, all unwittingly, may have rendered us as great a service as any of those for which he takes credit to himself in his book. Let us banish this anachronism of "caste," and set ourselves to officer our services as we do our Indian Civil Service—which is admittedly at once the finest and most intellectual governing body in the world—from the "aristocracy of brains." Let us share in our public services with our great business houses the intellect which is the secret of their success. Let us be practical, and welcome the advice of thinking men, who have studied our services and given us disinterested opinions. Take, for instance, the following passage from the work of a thinking civilian,* which was given to us almost simultaneously with the Field-Marshal's memoirs:—

"The selection, education, and general training of our officers have only recently been the subject of an exhaustive inquiry by a committee. * * * The recommendations of that committee included alterations in the present entrance examinations, a reorganization of the Sandhurst course, and the admission of larger numbers of University and Colonial candidates. They might well have been a little bolder. To put the original education of our officers on a better basis, the right step would be to create a real military University, giving the best historical, scientific, and military education. By the very best I mean an education so good that people will send their sons to this University for the sake of education alone, even when they have no intention of entering them for the Army. That, indeed, is already the case with Kingston Military College in Canada. Commissions would be given by nomination to the pick of these students, and they would supply the bulk of officers of the Regular Army, though of course a considerable number of nominations would still go to other Universities. * * * In any case, exchanges between the Imperial Army and the local defence forces, whether of the United Kingdom or of the Colonies, should be freely encouraged."

Here is a rational suggestion for the abolishment of "caste" that we can cordially support, and one which, if the Field-Marshal would but sink his "caste" prejudices, he must support. That is, if his evidence before the War Commission was sincerely given, when he said: "The great bulk of the young men of ability in England do not come into our badly paid profession," or if, in the references in his work to the American army and its Academical institutions he was stating his convictions when he

*The Problem of the Army. By L. S. Amery. Arnold.

made this statement: "The far-famed Military School of 'West Point' (the best of such schools to be found in any country)." West Point, we have reason to know, does not draw the "caste" distinction between the sons of tradesmen and those of so-called "gentle" birth. We have the story of a now very distinguished American general, who, when he undertook the journey from the backwoods to West Point, saw a railway for the first time, and had never worn anything but leather breeches; of the men whose parents could barely read and write, and of many cadets who have read of their successful nomination to the Academy with the soil of their parents' retail trade upon their fingers.

But although the tone of Lord Wolseley's reflections as they appear at intervals all through his two volumes have hurt our nicer feelings and proved a great and bitter disappointment, yet we must not allow them to wholly damn the work. Far from it—they are but the poison-meat in the shell-fish, which when removed leaves a nutritious and appetizing meal. There is not a soldier who has fought for this country during the last fifty years who will not find pleasure in a perusal of the narrative of Lord Wolseley's distinguished career—whether he follows it as ensign in Burma, subaltern in the trenches before Sebastopol, captain in the Indian Mutiny, staff-officer at home and abroad, and commander of the Red River and Ashantee Expeditions. The record is a magnificent one, and the narrative cannot but awake memories and stir the blood of all of us who have knowledge of those unequalled sensations to be found alone "in War's alarms."

There is nothing to our mind more fascinating than a comparison of those incidents which stand most marked in our own careers with those related by our fellows. This is the one great solace which nature gives us with increasing age—the greatest compensation it affords for vanished youth and vigor. What reminiscences the Field-Marshal's varied military career recalls! How military history repeats itself even down to our most recent wars! How human all generals are, except perhaps the few Heaven-sent master-minds which reach this planet about once a century! How the petty jealousies of the human mind are evident in Lord Wolseley's description of the Relief of Lucknow!—the same selfish meanness that the civilian author whom we have already quoted refers to in the following reference to the South African War:—

"No one who has followed, from within, the conduct of the South African War can fail to have been struck by the very serious lack of an *esprit de corps* of the Army over and beyond that of regimental units and the personal staffs of senior officers. Lord Kitchener alone can say how many times De Wet or some other Boer leader escaped because Colonel A. was unwilling to risk anything in order that Colonel B.'s column should have the 'bag.'" The Field-Marshal not only suggests but positively states that Sir Colin Campbell had determined that Lucknow should be relieved with the Highlanders in the advance-guard.—that the dramatic rendering of the tale of relief in history should find his well-loved "Hielandmen" first grasping the hands of the feeble defenders. Wolseley, with the commendable precocity of a young company officer, determined that it should be otherwise, and gives us the still more dramatic incident of the first meeting of the besieged and relief force in his clasping the hand of Captain Tinling of his own battalion,

as the besieged company of the 90th met the relieving company of the same battalion "in the big square of the Motee Mahul." What a moment that must have been! But we in our generation have had a *rencontre* just as dramatic. It will be remembered that one company of the Dublin Fusiliers was detained in Ladysmith when Sir George White sent the battalion on October 1st, 1899, down to Colenso. That one company remained to endure the horrors of the investment. The part which the battalion outside Ladysmith played in the relief is still as green in our memory as the shamrock which her late Majesty ordered her Irish regiments to wear on St. Patrick's Day, as a tribute to their devotion during the war. That devotion requires no recapitulation here. But those of us who were privileged to see the reunion of the one isolated company with the gallant remnant of the battalion will ever cherish the memory of the scene.

The battalion, which had entered upon the campaign over a thousand bayonets strong, could only muster some few score files to march into relieved Ladysmith. Sir Redvers Buller—who, whatever his shortcomings as a general in the field may be, possesses that sense of justice and manly appreciation which is the breath of all right-minded Britishers—permitted the magnificent remnant of this battalion, which had suffered 70 per cent. in casualties in the relief of Ladysmith, to march into the relieved town at the head of his victorious army. The company which had remained inside the invested lines—what was left of it—was lining the streets with the other units of the garrison. The men stood leaning wearily upon their rifles, gaunt, drawn, pale, and thin. They had done their best to turn out smart and trim, and though their tunics hung in festoons from their spare shoulders and wasted chests, yet they were clean and soldierly withal. Then came the head of the relieving army. What a contrast—what men! Though they would have barely numbered a German company, though their clothes were in tatters and their bearded faces were dulled by fifteen days of continuous blood and cordite-grime, yet those Irishmen were men. In their eyes flashed the light of success, in the swing of their carriage was that which all the art of dress and burnish can never accomplish. The knowledge that every trial fearlessly faced, every bodily hurt unflinchingly risked, every disheartening difficulty cheerfully met, had been crowned with ultimate success, and that they had been the edge of the axe* with which Buller had hewn his way into Ladysmith. Notched and chipped, it is true, but never turned! Then these passive and active heroes met. The eyes of the sternest of us were dimmed, and the most callous for the moment could not speak.

It is interesting to glean from the Field-Marshal's book some insight into the importance which was attached to musketry in the few years preceding the Crimea, and then to turn to more modern treatises on the same subject. According to the Field-Marshal, when in 1854 the Minie rifle was issued to his battalion, it was with the utmost difficulty that officers could be induced to attend the newly opened musketry schools to learn the theory and practice of rifle shooting. "It was thought an excellent joke when a one-armed officer was selected for the purpose." All this goes far to

*Writing of Sir Redvers Buller, on p. 178 of his 'The Story of a Soldier's Life,' vol. ii., Lord Wolseley says, "He was a first-rate axeman."

convince us that the "final blessing" from the pen of the late Commander-in-Chief, although it is high-falutin enough for tub-thumping, is not convincing argument. "Keep your hands off, * * * ye iconoclastic civilian officials who meddle * * * in army matters; * * * you are not soldiers, and you do not understand them!" sounds well, but when we come to study the subject it occurs to us that the ruck of soldiers do not understand their own affairs, and even the greatest of them may fall under this accusation if the following quotation from the Field-Marshal's work be true: "The army at first did not attach much importance to this serious matter of re-armament. * * * All soldiers knew that the Duke of Wellington had to the last resisted the introduction of the rifle-musket. * * * !"

It should not be inferred that we would have an undivided civilian control in the conduct of our army. Far from it: all we desire to do is to break down that "exclusiveness" and "contempt" for all things civilian which has so retarded progress in the past. The army, in common with other professions produces even under its present hide-bound condition, men who, whatever their calling, could not help themselves from belonging to "the aristocracy of brains." Now we have had added to our book-shelf this month a little brochure in 140 pages of large type which, under the modest title of "Some Lessons From the Boer War,"* deserves a place in every officer's valise. In its simple way it is far more valuable to the subaltern than the many miscellaneous works—aids to scouting, &c.—which have been rushed out by military publishers aiding and abetting ambitious soldiers in self-advertisement. As we are discussing musketry, the following catches our eye:

"The question of musketry is of paramount importance, and ordinary target practice on the range should be regarded as only the first step towards making a soldier a good field shot. A good first-class shot, with reference to the military classification is, to all practical purposes, other things being equal, as good a man for shooting in the field as the best Wimbledon marksman. * * * There is, however, other things being equal, the very greatest difference between the value of the shooting of the first-class shot and that of the third-class shot; * * * our object should be to make all our soldiers *first-class* shots at target practice; * * * having attained this, we should devote our time to field practices!"

We would almost go further, and maintain that the officer who could turn his squadron or company out as a unit of first-class shots at 500 yards would be able to take into the field a unit that would at once be adaptable to all the ranges necessary in war, and would arrive at as good results as if he spent three times the time with long-range practice at the butts.

Coincidents find a considerable place in the reminiscences of a soldier's life. The Field-Marshal relates a very curious one which occurred after the action of Rampur Kushia, when Sir Hope Grant was engaged in crushing out the last flicker of the Indian Mutiny. A *sowar* of the 1st Punjab Cavalry had discovered on the body of a killed mutineer two miniature portraits. This was told to Sir Hope, and he expressed a wish to see them. They proved to be likenesses of his own father-in-law and mother-in-law. We are reminded by this of a most peculiar co-

*Some Lessons from the Boer War. By Lieut.-Col. T. D. Pilcher, C. B., A. D. C. Isbister & Co.

incidence which occurred at the close of the Chitral campaign. In the winter which preceded the commencement of Umra Kahn's brief military career, Major Roddy Owen, the well-known gentleman rider, chanced to meet Captain Younghusband—the same famous explorer who is now conducting our nibble upon the frontiers of Thibet—at dinner. Major Roddy Owen was about to rejoin his battalion, then stationed in Quetta, and, being an ambitious man, requested Captain Younghusband to give him some suggestion as to the best means to gain recognition in India. Captain Younghusband had recently returned from travels in the Pamirs, and when returning had stayed at Chitral. He expressed an opinion to Major Roddy Owen which resulted in that officer returning to India with a letter of introduction to Mr. Gurdon,* the then political officer in Chitral. Upon his arival in India, Major Roddy Owen posted this letter to Mr. Gurdon. Almost immediately afterwards the news of the Umra Kahn upheaval came upon India as would a thunderbolt. When the news came, Mr. Gurdon was besieged in Chitral, Major Roddy Owen was in Calcutta, Captain Younghusband in England, and the letter of introduction somewhere in the post. Captain Younghusband hurried out to India as the correspondent of the "Times." Major Roddy Owen joined General Low's force as correspondent of the "Pioneer." It will be remembered that Chitral was relieved by Colonel Kelly's column operating from Gilgit, when the advance brigade of General Low's force had reached the Lowari Pass. The two correspondents, Major Roddy Owen and Captain Younghusband, on hearing of the relief, determined to push through alone from the Lowari Pass to Chitral. This they did, and there met Mr. Gurdon. They became the latter's guests for the night. Strange as it may seem, the first post for the besieged garrison came through from Gilgit that night, and as Major Roddy Owen and Captain Younghusband sat at Mr. Gurdon's table at dinner, the letter of introduction written by Younghusband and forwarded by Roddy Owen was delivered as the three persons concerned were sitting at meat together.

The reference to correspondents in the above anecdote brings us back sharply to the Field-Marshal's Memoirs. We can hardly expect the man who wrote in the 'Soldier's Pocket-Book' of newspaper correspondents as "the curse of modern armies" to have changed his opinion with regard to those civilian penmen whose duty carries them into the camps of the great. We find in Volume II. this reference: "Meanwhile all the civilian newspaper writers and other hangers-on about the camp, amateurs and people of that sort, * * * those who have no responsibility and who take no part in the fighting themselves." We are ready to admit that a general in the field often has had cause to feel animus against those men who do their duty to their employers generally as conscientiously as, and very often better than, soldiers do theirs to their employers; but we hardly think that the late Commander-in-Chief has cause to turn upon them as he does, especially when later in the same volume we find this reflection: "As those at home discuss some military achievement described in the morning papers, few realize how much the soldiers and sailors concerned hang upon the question, 'What will they say in England?'" As it is the duty

*Now Captain Bertrand E. M. Gurdon, C.I.E., D.S.O.

of these "hangers-on," often gentlemen with university education, to furnish the cue which will answer this question, the army should have no particular bias against them. If it has, the inference is that it is so imperative that a favorable answer should solve the question, that it were better not to let the information arrive through any but interested channels. Perish the thought! No; it is the "caste" trouble again. We ourselves perhaps held similar views once, until we saw one of these "hangers-on" place himself at the head of a half-company of Native Infantry that had lost its white officer, and had become sticky in consequence, and lead it in an assault as if to the manner born. Before we let the Field-Marshal's strictures pass, we would recommend our readers to turn to a praise-worthy volume recently published under the title of 'The Last Post.'* Modestly reposing at the end of this volume is a roll of fourteen names, correspondents who through wounds or disease gave up their lives directly in the service of their employers during the South African war. This is the only public recognition that we have ever heard of this corps having received. Yet those in this roll have only done what we soldiers are prepared to do—give up our lives in the service of our employers. The only difference is, we soldiers profess to be brave men, and barter this "virtue" for a certain equivalent in gold and position. The "hangers-on" do not profess to be brave, but are nevertheless often courageous enough to speak the truth— where others might have failed.

The executioner's rope comes sooner or later into every officer's ken if he sees much active service. The Field-Marshal draws a very interesting parallel between the difficulty experienced in the Crimea to find an executioner for a soldier criminal and the readiness with which the men of his own company volunteered to hang mutineers in '57 after the men had witnessed the ghastly evidences of the Cawnpur massacre. This recalls a rather gruesome hanging story from South Africa. During the second year of the war, in the Southern Free State, before the system of concentration camps had come into full force, there were a great many cases of violation by natives of Boer women left unprotected on the farms by the Burghers. It behooved us to put down such atrocities with an iron hand. The orders received were that on the barest suspicion column commanders had the authority to make examples of the accused and to leave them hanging, to impress the Kaffirs of the fate in store for bestial offenders of like kind. It so chanched that a column arrived at a farm near the Basutoland border, where the female inmates complained of ill-usage by Kaffirs from a neighboring kraal. The kraal was surrounded; the Boer women recognized four of the men as having been concerned in the outrage. The officer commanding the column was satisfied with the evidence, and turned to the young officer who was his provost-marshal and ordered him to execute the culprits within an hour. As in the case of the Crimean soldiers, the British troopers who formed the provost party were reluctant to volunteer for the duty of executioner. They all pleaded ignorance of the correct procedure. The young provost-marshal then recollected that he had two Australian Bushmen as prisoners. These men had been discovered asleep on their posts when sentries,

*'The Last Post,' being a Roll of all Officers who gave their Lives for their Queen, King, and Country in the South African War. By Mildred G. Dooner. Simpkin.

and were awaiting trial. In his dilemma it occurred to the provost-marshal that if these prisoners would undertake the execution he might be able to get them off trial. He went to the column commander with his scheme, and it was sanctioned. Being honestly sorry for the Bushmen who had come so many thousand miles, as volunteers, to fight for the mother country, he went down to the provost wagon and had the prisoners arraigned before him. He dilated upon the enormity of their "crime," the trust of sleeping comrades, their corps' good name, and the effect in Australia, &c., until he made the men weary of his preaching. Then he hinted at a possible way out of the trouble, and finally said, "Well, the officer commanding is prepared to let you go back to duty if you will hang four natives for us, who have been rapeing defenceless Boer women. Will you do it?" The face of the elder of the prisoners, a stout, well-made "Cornstalk," broadened into a smile as he answered, "Would we hang four men of that kidney? *Would a duck swim, sir?*" The rest of the incident is closed.

We have remarked earlier in this paper how often it is easy to find parallels in contemporary military history with incidents in past campaigns. To our mind one of the best descriptions in Lord Wolseley's work is the anecdote which he tells of his faithful servant Andrews. The Field-Marshal was not present at the storming of the Redan on September 8, 1855. He had been severely wounded in the trenches some days previously, and was unfit. He describes well his feelings when he knew that the attempt was about to be made. His bitter disappointment that he could not be present. His attempt to drag himself out, weak as he was, to see the assault, and his tears, when his trembling fingers had not strength enough to girth his pony. But he had allowed his man—the faithful Andrews—to go, with the condition that he should return at once with the news as soon as the fate of the venture had been determined. True to his orders, Andrews returned. He had been with the 90th into the Redan, all was well. The wounded officer was beside himself with delight at this great news. Then later came the terrible story of incapacity,—how the British assault had not been supported, and how the British troops were driven out by a Russian counter-attack. The whole nation can appreciate the Field-Marshal's feelings when he heard this later and definite information. It was exactly what we experienced over Spion Kop. First came the news that we had taken the hill. This seemed tantamount to the relief of Ladysmith on the following day. They when this joyful information should have arrived we heard that we had been hurled back, by somebody's bungling, with hideous losses, from the position we had taken. When we discover the causes of these somewhat similar misfortunes —on the expert authority of the Field Marshal in the one case, and from the testimony of our own eyes in the other—we are not surprised that civilian intellect should concern itself with our welfare. The matter is of some little importance to the nation.

This reference to Spion Kop reminds us of another work which has only just found its place on the bookshelf.* If we were to set ourselves the task of studying the memories of our neighbors, and were to put the question, "What British troops took part in the fighting on Spion Kop?" we should find that about 50 per cent.

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*Our Regiments in South Africa, 1899-1902. By John Stirling. Wm. Blackwood & Sons.

would probably be able to tell us that Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry were there, and the balance, except individuals who had had relatives upon that fateful hill, would not be able to name a single unit. The object of Mr. Stirling's labors, we take it, has been to compile a popular work which will place on permanent record the individual share which each unit in the regular army took in the Boer War. With this praiseworthy intention, Mr. Stirling has wisely confined himself, in arranging his material, to the published official records, except in a few cases where non-official evidence does not lend itself to any special pleading. It is this absence of controversy which enhances the value of the book. Although we would be the last to accept the despatches issued by officers commanding in the field as final evidence with regard to the conduct of military operations, yet for the purposes of compiling Regimental Records they furnish the best material open to an author desirous of avoiding the field of controversy. It has been Mr. Stirling's endeavor to collect and place upon record all that is good and creditable with regard to our regiments in South Africa, and it is pleasing to find that, condensed as these records are, yet they fill five hundred and twenty-five pages. We can confidently leave all that is controversial and discreditable to the historian, who, doubtless with the very best of intentions, as a rule seems more fascinated by the evil than the good which he separates in his sifting. But we were speaking of Spion Kop. We have only to turn to the index in Mr. Stirling's book and we find that with the aid of cross references, we can rapidly sum up the good which every British unit accomplished during that portion of the Tugela battling. The particular value which we find in the book is that it places on record and within easy reach of all the principal achievements of the less known units. Now, how many people can give the number of a single battery of field artillery which took part in the Spion Kop operations? Few indeed! This prompts us to quote an example from Mr. Stirling's records:—

"78th Battery.—Joined Buller in Natal in time to take part in the operations about Venter's Spruit, Spion Kop, Brakfontein, Vaalkrantz, and the final fourteen days' fighting about Colenso. In his despatch of 8th February, 1900 General Buller said, 'Lieutenant Archdale, 78th Battery, is especially mentioned 'for the manner in which he withdrew the battery wagons under a heavy enfilade fire, which struck two of the three wagons and several horses.' Lieutenant Blake Knox in his 'Buller's Campaign,' referring to the retirement at Brakfontein, says: 'It so happened that as three of the guns of the 78th Battery were retiring one of the enemy's shells struck a gun-carriage and disabled it and at the same time wounded Captain Dawson. Despite a terrific hail of shrapnel the brave gunners repaired the carriage, and putting their horses in motion, rescued their weapon and brought it under the shelter of one of the kopjes, the 73rd Battery covering its retirement. This was a really magnificent piece of work.' One officer and one non-commissioned officer of the 78th were mentioned in General Buller's despatch of 30th March, 1900. The battery was brought round to Cape Colony and taken to the Transvaal. On 11th July, 1900, the battery was with Smith-Dorrien near Krugersdorp in a stiffly-contested fight. The guns had been pushed too far forward and were rescued with great difficulty, Captain W. E. Gordon of the

1st Gordons getting the V. C. for gallantry in helping to pull out the guns, and Captain Younger, who was killed, being stated as worthy of it. The battery remained in this district under Barton, and was often in heavy fighting in October, particularly about the 23d, 24th, and 25th, when the Boers were severely defeated. Two guns were with Colonel E. C. Williams in the South-West Transvaal in 1901 (Lord Kitchener's despatch of 8th July), and two in the same district with Colonel Hicke (despatch of 8th July). The battery took part in several stubborn actions in the Western Transvaal under General W. Kitchener and Sir Ian Hamilton at the close of the campign, and always did well. Few of the batteries saw more hard fighting. Four officers and 4 non-commissioned officers and men were mentioned by Lord Kitchener in despatches."

In our opinion, this book and the "Last Call" furnish valuable additions to the South African corner of the "book-shelf," and everyone whose interests were closely bound up with the Army in South Africa owes a debt of gratitude to both authors.

We must, however, return to Lord Wolseley's book.

We have taken the Field-Marshal to task over the tone which runs through his work, and which must detract from the value which men set upon the conclusions to which he has come at the end of his life's work. But we would not for a moment dismiss our readers with the impression that the book contains nothing that is attractive or valuable. It contains a narrative which to all soldiers, and the majority of laymen also, will furnish fascinating reading. The style is blunt and soldier-like, and the descriptions of foreign lands, battles, and incidents strong without being forced. For an Irishman, perhaps Lord Wolseley lacks in his writing that sparkle and sense of humor which lends so great a charm to so many of his countrymen. His closing chapter, "Our Habitual Unpreparedness for War," should be read by all who take an interest in army matters. We must allow that in a great sense the claim which the late Commander-in-Chief makes on behalf of Mr. Cardwell is in no small degree due to himself, for without a doubt we owe the sucessful issue—long deferred as it was—of the South African war to the short-service system which Mr. Cardwell inaugurated and which the Field Marshal so steadfastly fostered and adhered to. This is a just claim, and the present Commander-in-Chief won his achievements in South Africa through the very system which he once combated. But we would have welcomed a friendlier reference to Lord Roberts than the following, the only one which we can pin down to him in the work: "I remember hearing it, and the reserve system generally, decried and denounced publicly by a now distinguished soldier at a dinner given in the city some twenty years ago." Twenty years is a long cry, and gives ample scope for a wise man to change his mind. Besides, before a system is tested there will always be two opinions concerning its ultimate efficiency. We have heard that at the present moment there is some sort of a discusson over our fiscal policy. Possibly twenty years hence a decided opinion will have been definitely arrived at, and there will be no such discussion! But there are two statements in the last chapter which, coming from the mouth of an ex-commander-in-chief, we would impress upon our readers for their steadfast inquiry—be they soldiers or civilians. They are these:

"And this (a highly trained standing army) we can never have without some form of compulsory military service." "When under the pressure of impending danger one government purchases the munitions and stores war would require, the next administration, when the war clouds have cleared away, uses the stores to supply the ordinary wants of peace, and are thus able to save a corresponding amount upon their army votes for one or more years to come."

In simple language, if one government were to make us properly prepared for war, there is no guarantee that the next, in order to curry favor with the country by a reduction in the budget, would not exhaust the reserve which its predecessors built up at such pains. If this be true, what chance have we of permanent security!

PAYMASTER H. E. BISCOE,

U. S. NAVY.

Was born at the city of Washington, D. C., October 13, 1873. Educated at public schools of Washington, D. C., and the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va., where he graduated fifth in his class after a course of four years in June, 1894. In September, 1894, he was appointed by Captain F. S. Strong, U. S. A., as assistant commandant and professor of mathematics and military science at the Michigan Military Academy, Orchard Lake, Mich., which position he resigned to accept an appointment as assistant paymaster, U. S. N., August 28, 1895. His first cruise was on the training ship Essex; his second cruise was on the Yankee during the Spanish-American War, and after two years' duty on the receiving ship Franklin, he is now, having been promoted to paymaster January 13, 1901, making a cruise on the famous Oregon, on the Asiatic station. Paymaster Biscoe's manly protest against the high-handed, autocratic and un-American conduct of Admiral Evans in emptying a bucket of billingsgate abuse upon the devoted heads of the members of a court martial whose verdict did not please him, has endeared young Biscoe to nearly all the officers of the navy and to a host of people in civil life. What the press of the country think of the matter may be gleaned from this editorial article in the New York *Independent* of November 26, 1903:

"The Secretary of the Navy has approved Rear Admiral Evans' intemperate abuse of the Nicholson court martial, and so gone directly counter to the plain sentiment of the navy. The gist of his comment is in the following:

"'It is considered that in this instance Rear Admiral Evans has not shown himself unworthy of the continued confidence of the department. On the contrary, in view of the evidence before the court, *without weighing too nicely the terms of his censure, it is believed that he was actuated by a high sense of duty* and inspired by regard for the honor and welfare of the service.'

"The italics in this apologetic evasion are ours. There is some apprehension among naval officers lest a dangerous precedent has been created. Not the precedent, whatever may be the fact about the danger. The precedent will be found in a novel entitled 'Higgins, an Autobiography,' among the 'Orpheus C. Kerr Papers,' published in 1864. We quote, italicizing as before:

"'After a short silence, Mr. Higgins took a chew of tobacco, and placing his hand on my shoulder, exclaimed:

"'"Why should I deceive you, girl? Last night I poisoned my only remaining sister, because she would have wed a circus keeper, and scarcely an hour ago I lost two millions at faro. Your priests would say this was wrong, hey?"

"'I stifled my sobs and said as calmly as I could:

"'"*Our Church looks at the motive, not the deed. If a high sense of honor compelled you to poison all your relatives and play faro, the sin was rather the effect of vice in others than in your own noble heart,* and I doubt not you may be called innocent."

"'He glanced at the fire a few hours and then said:

"'"Go, Galushianna! I would be alone—Go, innocent young scorpion—"

"'Oh, Higgins, Higgins, if I could have died for thee then; I don't know but I should have done it!'"

And the editorial in the *Army and Navy Journal* (N. Y.), of November 21, 1903, which is here reproduced,

voices the opinion of the thinking men of the services upon the Biscoe-Evans case.

"The decision of the Navy Department in the matter of the protest of Paymaster Harry E. Biscoe, U. S. N., against the censure visited upon him and others by Rear Admiral Evans, in reviewing the proceedings of the court-martial in the case of Nicholson, is in a line with the famous verdict of a petty jury: 'We find the accused not guilty, but advise him not to do it again.' In the memorandum filed by Secretary Moody the facts of the case are stated and the well recognized principles governing the action of a reviewing officer in the case of a court-martial. Certain precedents are then cited and the Secretary says, in conclusion:

"'It thus appears in practice that the reviewing authority has approved findings of acquittal and condemned sentences as inadequate, criticised and censured courts-martial and directed that their members no longer serve in such positions. I am advised by the Judge Advocate General that such practice has been continuous and that many instances of it can be found, and that hitherto no question has been raised that the practice was regular and lawful.

"'The conclusion of the department, therefore, is that Admiral Evans as the convening and reviewing authority of the court-martial in question, was within the limits of his authority in criticising the finding of not guilty upon the third charge, and pronouncing the sentence inadequate, and in his criticism and animadversion upon the court.

"'It is not to be inferred from this decision that, although the power of censure by the reviewing authority by courts-martial is clearly shown to exist by an unbroken practice of many years, it should be indiscriminately exercised. It is to be kept in mind that members of courts-martial must be independent in their action and are not subject to control. It is to be regretted that an occasion has arisen which, in the judgment of the reviewing authority, demanded so severe a censure as was inflicted in this case. Nevertheless, as the members of the courts must be the judges of the measure of their duty, so the reviewing authority must be the judge of the measure of his duty. While the exercise of the discretion of the reviewing authority is uncontrollable, there is a clear remedy for an abuse of it. If it should appear in any case that, in the exercise of his authority of reviewing the proceedings of courts-martial convened by him, a commander-in-chief had acted capriciously, cruelly, with evident lack of judgment; or from improper motives; in short, if he had shown himself unfit to be entrusted with the authority which the law attaches to his position, the Department has the power to withhold from him that authority in the future by recalling him from his station. It is, however, considered that in this instance Rear Admiral Evans has not shown himself unworthy of the continued confidence of the Department. On the contrary, in view of the evidence before the court, without weighing too nicely the terms of his censure, it is believed that he was actuated by a high sense of duty and inspired by a regard for the honor and welfare of the service.

"'I am invited by the Bureau of Navigation to publish an order concerning performance of the duties of courts-martial. It seems to me that nothing more impressive can be said than to present the fact that the Bureau charged with the immediate government and discipline of the personnel of the navy has deliberately presented to the Department such a request.'

"The cases cited are those recorded in Navy Department, G. O., No. 58, June 20, 1865, and No. 68, December 6, 1865, and in Navy Department, G. C. M. O., No. 3, February 6, 1884; No. 41, June 12, 1888; No. 104, September 13, 1897; No. 132, November 3, 1897; No. 36, March 14, 1898; No. 30, September 14, 1885. In the first of these the sentence of a court presided over by Admiral Farragut and before which Commander Tunis T. Craven, U. S. N., was tried, Secretary Wells said: 'Yet the public is to be informed that a court of officers of the navy consider this capital offense, attended by no circumstances of mitigation, sufficiently punished by suspension for six months without pay, and with pay for the same period, the latter being equivalent to leave of absence for six months. The Department declines to outrage public opin-

ion and its own sense of justice, or mislead the younger officers of the navy, by approving a sentence so glaringly inadequate.'

"The other cases cited are of the same general tenor and there is another of like character not referred to by the Secretary. It is contained in G. O. No. 40, Navy Department, August 5, 1864, and published in the *Army and Navy Journal* of August 27, 1864. It is clear that the Secretary has been wrongly advised, if advised as he states, 'that such practice,' if this refers to the practice of Admiral Evans, 'has been continuous and that many instances of it can be found.' We challenge the Judge Advocate General of the Navy to produce one single case that 'goes on all fours' with that under review. As a well instructed lawyer, Mr. Moody must know that there is no such case.

"What Paymaster Bisco and Lieutenant Williams complained of was the public reprimand administered to them by name. In every case quoted by the Secretary the rebuke was directed against the court as a whole. There was no attempt to go behind the record of the court to destroy the secrecy by which the civil, as well as the military, law so jealously protects the independence of trial juries. We regret that the Secretary could not have put himself in a stronger position to meet what is likely to be an assault from Congress.

"Several cases are cited by Secretary Moody from the records of the War Department, viz.: W. D., G. C. M. O. No. 46, October 15, 1863, and No. 19, February 24, 1885; Major General Chaffee, May 7, 1903, and General Schofield in G. O. 46, Dept. O, 1864. This last comes nearer to establishing a precedent for Admiral Evans than any other. As Secretary Moody does not give the text of General Schofield's order we supply it. In reviewing the court-martial cases of several privates tried by a military court at Lexington, Ky., Major General Schofield said:

"'For gross neglect of duty and seemingly ignorance of their duties as members of a general court-martial, it is ordered that the entire members composing said court during the trial of these cases, to wit: Lieut. Col. William S. King, 35th Massachusetts Vols., president; Major Walter Stafford, 1st Kentucky Vol. Cav.; Major Henry D. Wise, 11th Michigan Vol. Cav.; Capt. D. D. Buck, 11th Michigan Vol. Cav.; Lieut. Charles F. Spillman, 21st Kentucky Vols.; Capt. E. G. Park, 35th Massachusetts Vols., members of the court, and 1st Lieut. Richard W. Hubbell, 1st Battery, Wisconsin Heavy Artillery, judge advocate; Lieut. William Washburn, 35th Massachusetts Vol. Inf., judge advocate, be, and they are hereby reprimanded. The Assistant Adjutant General is hereby cautioned against again putting any officer of this court on any important court-martial duty. Of the entire number of cases tried by this court, at least nine-tenths have been disapproved for fatal irregularities.'

"It will be observed that General Schofield does not rebuke the court in this instance because of any particular finding, nor does he censure any individual member of the court by name. The entire court which, as it will be observed, was composed of officers of volunteers, are rebuked because they showed such ignorance of court-martial duty that nine-tenths of their decisions were set aside for fatal irregularities. In what does this action resemble that taken in reprimanding officers of the regular naval service, and graduates of the Naval Academy, because they differed from the reviewing officer as to the proper punishment to be administered in a given case?

"We have been compelled to deal frankly with this matter, for it is one that affects the integrity of the service. If regulation and precedent can be set aside at the will of a commanding officer to the injury of a subordinate, who is safe? Surely some better way to prevent laxity on the part of courts-martial may be found."

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THE

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MILITARY AND NAVAL AFFAIRS

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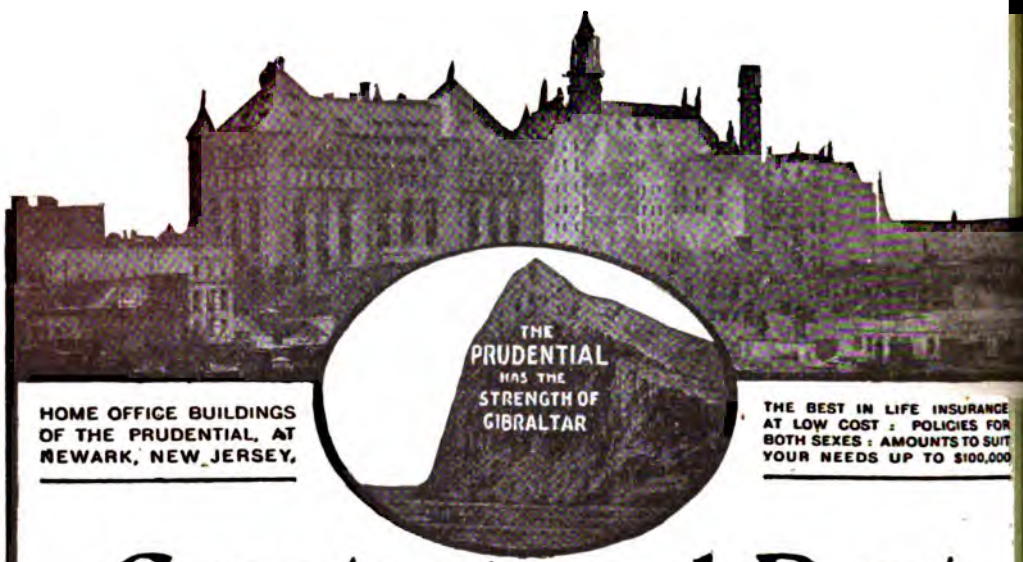

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THE

UNITED SERVICE

EDITED BY L. R. HAMERSLY, Jr.

MARCH, 1904.

THE WAR IN THE EAST.

DURING the formative period of the naval appropriation bill, which was lately reported to the House of Representatives, the Navy Department was asked as to the comparative effect on the ships of the Navy, of the policies of keeping them in active service for practice, and of laying them up in ordinary. It is to be assumed that the query was academic, but it will never be seriously revived by any nation which has a need for sea power.

The first and great lesson of the war between Japan and Russia, which opened so suddenly and with such sensational detail on the night of February 8-9, was that incessant use in practice in times of peace is not merely of first importance in naval strategy, but that it is absolutely essential and that no provision of material is of use unless it has been constantly employed in the development of the personnel.

Illy provided as is the United States in preparations for war, that it is provided at all is due to the fact, not of Congressional appropriations for ship-building, but to the insistence that the Navy of the United States should not relapse to the condition which is contemplated in the phrase "on a peace footing." For the insistence of Secretary Moody that the fleets of the United States, such as they are, should be maintained in as near the condition of readiness for war as possible, and for the work of the General Board under his direction in attaining that end, the country owes a considerable debt of gratitude, a debt which may be increased by the value of that readiness at a later date in a conflict, the extent of which cannot be forecast and which has most momentous possibilities.

Briefly summed up, the facts of the situation are these:

Japan was deprived of the fruits of its victories in the Chinese-Japanese war in a very large part, in behalf of the theory of the integrity of the Chinese empire. With the excuse of the Boxer insurrection, Russia occupied the country formerly conquered by Japan and in spite of promises to evacuate Manchuria continued to establish positions which would give it an all the year around and unhampered access to the ocean. As a part of the persistent, always-in-effect movement for the territorial aggrandizement of Russia, the situation became not dissimilar to that which caused the Crimean war. Japan directly interested, because in the path of Russian progress and offended by the occupation of territory which the concert of powers had prevented Japan from holding, is, in actuality, but the representative of the anti-Russian interests of which England is the chief constituent.

The conclusion is that the war is not one in which the dispute is about mere territorial interests of the participants. It is a war of the first class and has for its underlying principle the motive power of the bulk of the diplomatic movements of the last half century. In a phrase, the Eastern question has broken out in a new place. For the first time the United States has a conjectural interest in the matter, an interest which may be intensified with extreme rapidity by the movement of events. It is not only a war which represents the interests of the powers which have so painfully maintained the peace of Europe, but it is a war which represents conflicting commercial theories as well. Underneath the question of the extension of the power of the Russian empire lies the question of free or restricted trade in markets of the world which the English-speaking races assume to be open to all.

So that after a period in which it has seemed that peaceful methods might supersede the appeal to military preparations in the final settlement of vexed questions, the situation at the opening of the Japanese-Russian war offers the gravest possibilities of international complications and seems to indicate that warlike preparations by sea and land will receive the most exhaustive tests in actual use.

The Boer war has taught the land soldier much. Heavy ordnance and small arms, with organization and field tactics, are to a degree proved and established to date. It is far different with the details of naval warfare. It is a somewhat startling fact that with the exception of the United States, no great naval nation, at the opening of the Japanese-Russian war, had an opportunity of testing its naval war material in actual use, and that the greatest of all, Great Britain, with its theory of naval expenditure of greater than the total of that of all possible antagonists, has never had during the period of the develop-

ment of the armored vessel a naval contest which would test fully the strength and weaknesses of its naval provision.

Even to-day the world is ignorant of what would probably happen in a contest between fleets of modern war vessels of equal strength and approximate value of personnel. The knowledge that has been gained from such conflicts as have occurred can be summed up in the statement of a single probability, namely, that modern gunfire will make it possible for the ship which gets into full action from a favorable position and in a short space of time to smother the fire of her antagonist; that the high state of perfection to which material has been brought requires a correspondingly high state of perfection of personnel; that accurate and rapid gun practice is still, as it always has been, the victorious quality in naval warfare.

The gallant graduate of the United States Naval Academy who commanded the Chen Yuen at the battle of the Yalu bears testimony to the demoralizing effect of the rapidity of the Japanese fire, and the lesson of Santiago has been accepted by the navy of the United States to be that victory depends on the speed and sureness with which hits are delivered, not penetrating hits, essentially, but hits that beat upon the enemy in a ceaseless tatoo, that fill the air with explosions and splinters, that create the effect of a remorseless pounding, an omnipresent danger.

So far as can be determined from the meagre reports which are available of the actions at Port Arthur and Chemulpo at the date of writing, this probability is confirmed by those actions, but this aspect of the contest is a part of the general condition which rendered victory to the Japanese forces a foregone conclusion. What was the situation? The Russian Asiatic fleet, though divided, a section being at Vladivostok, and two armored cruisers at Chemulpo, mustered in a strength of fifteen or sixteen vessels at Port Arthur. Although war had not been declared on either side, diplomatic relations had been suspended and either might have struck the first blow of the war; certainly one might have expected the other to seek the advantage of the initiative. The Japanese fleet was at sea, in its usual condition of readiness as a consequence of continued and continuous practice evolutions. The Russian fleet was in port, it may be assumed from the result, in the usual condition of a fleet on a peace footing, inert, requiring infinite detail to prepare it for active service. This, then, is the first lesson, perhaps the greatest lesson, that will be taught by the war. A fleet which is at sea constantly must be in practically a state of war preparation, which in the case of such a fleet means only the addition of certain war material to ordinary equipment, since a fleet at sea in

time of peace must be almost as self-sustaining as a fleet at sea in time of war. A fleet which hovers about its bases of supplies in time of peace is enervated, dependent, needs time for preparation. Given the international situation described, the well known characteristics of the two fleets, and that which happened was inevitable. The Japanese made a dash. The Russians were taken by surprise, unprepared. The Japanese gunners were trained, skillful; a hail of metal on the Russian fleet, the torpedoes had their chance, and Russia from an equality in sea power was placed by one blow at a disadvantage that will need much time to repair, if repair is possible. Japan at once took the leading position; morale, strategical advantage and standing before the world were established, because of the instant readiness which can only be attained by constant use of naval material, and Russia lost ground equally because her fleet was not able to or did not take the sea in search of the Japanese; because the Russian naval policy had been such that it required time and an effort to get out and offer battle on equal terms.

The strategy of the opening of the war has been developed rather definitely. The Japanese object was to land the largest number of troops in Corea in the shortest possible time. To go to strategic points via Masampo or Fusan, the nearest points to the Japanese coast, would entail a long and disorganizing march. To land troops at Chemulpo required the command of the sea; that obtained, concentration at Seoul was a comparatively easy matter. Thus the Japanese fleet left Sasebo at some time previous to the interruption of diplomatic relations. Its objective was the crippling of the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, which, unassailed, would have been able to prevent the transportation of troops to Chemulpo. It is to be presumed also that another Japanese fleet sailed north about the same time to look out for the four Russian ships at Vladivostok.

The movement was a complete success, and the Russian fleet, seriously crippled, is in no condition to attempt to force the line which is drawn up between Port Arthur and Chemulpo, and the concentration of the Japanese forces is, it is to be presumed, going on as rapidly as possible. A month is supposed to be necessary for the completion of the movement. So far as can be seen, the object will be attained without hindrance, the only force that can change the situation, the unknown quantity of the ships from the north. The element does not seem to be serious, however, and there is reason to suppose that Japan will get its full military strength into Corea without opposition. The lesson is manifest of war plans carefully drawn and accurately worked out. As the successful solution of a problem, it is to be taken as a

substantiation of the value of what is known as general staff work. It indicates experience, technical skill and strategical comprehension, together with superior organization.

It is not wise to try to analyze the technical results attained in the engagements at Port Arthur and at Chemulpo. Much has been said as to the success of the torpedo attack. It cannot be denied that the presumption is in favor of a very strong support of the torpedo theory. It seems to be indicated that the advance of the torpedo as an accurate weapon has been marked, but it will require a full statement of the details of the action from both sides to establish the measure of the advance of the torpedo as an effective weapon. It seems to have been an excellent torpedo chance; the conditions were such as had been prescribed for torpedo success. That the results seal the doom of the present type of battleship, as many were quick to aver on the receipt of the first news of the victory, is not at all to be stated. Possibly the war as a whole will define the status of the torpedo, and it may be that the establishment of the automobile torpedo as an absolutely reliable instrument of warfare will change the course of naval construction and that fighting ships sufficiently self-contained to take and keep the sea, instead of being built to give and take punishment mainly, will become ocean locomotives, restless, eager ocean hawks, sensitive to warnings of danger, fast enough to elude or overtake, and armed to destroy at beyond torpedo range.

It has been long promised that the torpedo would do for the armor of ships what gunpowder did for the armor of fighting men; the result of the Port Arthur fight looks toward the fulfillment of that promise, but consistent and reliable use and not happy accident are required to give the torpedo the standing that its most enthusiastic advocates demand.

Accurate, technical statements of what happened in the engagements, of what may happen in future engagments, is of the utmost importance to the world at large. Besides the additional questions of the use of the torpedo tubes on the ships of the line and the applicability of the submarine torpedo boat to the various phases of conflict, how far they can reach a ship off a blockaded port, whether they can chase them far enough to break the blockade, whether they can be carried on seagoing ships and slipped into the water to take part in the engagement—there are a hundred questions on which any light would be illuminative.

The relations between guns and armor, that at present delicately balanced computation, waits for decision on an accurate presentation

of results attained. What sized projectiles at what velocity will pierce a given thickness of armor, whether shell entering less armored parts will produce an effect equal in battle efficiency to that which would be produced by penetrating parts now seemingly invulnerably protected? Whether the older guns will stand the strains of the newer powders? And this is a vital question for the United States. With a gun producing capacity inadequate to the demands of new construction, the situation would be a serious one for the United States if it should be proven that a considerable part of the ordnance of the United States is obsolete and must be renewed.

It will require a long and constantly fought naval war to settle such questions as the relative weight of speed and of armor and armament in battle efficiency. The situation does not present the prospect of the war having such a characteristic. The inferiority of the Russians in naval personnel, the absence of its necessity for command of the sea, other than that affecting the passage between Japan and Corea, with the marked advantage held by Japan at the opening of the war, are against the probability.

It is the minor facts of gun position, of the effect of the blasts from discharges, of protection from splinters and the means to reduce casualties that will be most sensibly affected, and it may be said that if the war does not settle the greater problems of naval strategy and construction for the generation, it cannot but settle many minor and many vexing questions.

But if nothing more should be developed of a definite nature in a contest whose characteristics and duration are not at all to be forecast, the two lessons that have been pointed out are of sufficient value to the United States.

The nation which requires for its advantage in war a superiority on the sea must know what to do at the minute of the final preach, and must have material and men to make its knowledge effective. It must plan and prepare on shore; it must practice, practice, practice on the sea.

In the work of the Japanese in the department of intelligence there seems to have been a very considerable success and the Russians seem to have been correspondingly deficient. A recent letter from Japan states that in the preparations for the first blow of the war not only newspaper comment was silenced, but that there was a general disposition among the people generally to refuse to talk about the impending conflict. The contrast with the very general comment and sometimes indiscreet disclosures that would accompany war prep-

arations in the United States is marked. The Russian intelligence service seems to have been absolutely incompetent, and even intelligent prevision of the probable initial strategy seems to have been lacking.

The events of the war following the first blow have received but little accurate detail in the newspapers of the world. The reports to the date of writing are so conflicting that more than the general plan cannot be discerned. It seems to be true that the Japanese have made some land demonstrations in the direction of Port Arthur and that the purpose is to keep the Russian fleet there by occasional expeditions apparently directed against the Russian occupation. Every moment of undisputed Japanese control of the sea is of the utmost value in the increase of the army being mobilized in Corea. Rumors begin to come that the Russian fleet will move out to attack the Japanese naval force, and it is the logical outcome if the Russian fleet has not been put in hopeless inferiority by the first damage.

There is an element of uncertainty in the situation due to the lack of knowledge of the operations of the four cruisers of the Russian fleet which were at Vladivostok and which are supposed to have come out for the purpose of creating a diversion to the north. It is assumed that a Japanese force is placed to prevent these vessels from coming south, but so little is known and the reports are so conflicting that there is no way of suggesting the influence these may have. News may be received at any time which will define the situation to the north, where the Japanese have their source of coal supply to defend as well as the exposed ports.

The international situation is most interesting and capable of development in so many directions that it would be unwise to attempt any forecast of its probable ultimation. It appears that Russian vessels have fired upon and sunk Japanese merchantmen without notice of hostilities, and reprisals on the part of Japan have been threatened. The Russians who fled from the ships at Chemulpo took refuge on French men of war and were not delivered to the Japanese demand. Later an arrangement was made by which the parole of the Russians was accepted and a possible clash avoided. It seems to be established that the Russians destroyed their ships at Chemulpo to avoid capture and the Japanese seem to feel that the laws of war were violated in that particular.

The chief item of international interest has been the note of the United States proposing in effect the restriction of the war to those parts of the Chinese Empire immediately involved, on the ground

that extension of the territory overrun by the armies would have the effect of creating disturbances against foreigners generally. The proposition has been generally acceded to, but the note is regarded as the basis of further negotiations rather than a definite statement of agreement, and it is in the negotiations which will give effect and meaning to the expression "administrative entity" as applied to China that possible disagreements and eventual entanglements may be looked for. The expression of French sympathy with Russia is not lacking and there is a decided feeling on the part of Russia that the position of the United States is, at least, not over-friendly.

At the moment of writing the campaign shows Japan in an aggressive attitude, landing troops to the limit of its facilities at Chemulpo, holding a fleet in the vicinity of Port Arthur to oppose the possible sally of the Russian fleet to cut off the Japanese communications, and straining every nerve to secure a land force that can go northward and by cutting the communications of Port Arthur secure the downfall of that stronghold without the necessity of attack. Russia is forwarding its land forces both by rail and by such other land conveyance as may be available. Its naval force is practically an unknown quantity, though it is assumed that the Port Arthur fleet is not strong enough to come out. As has been before stated, the tactical influence of the Vladivostok squadron has yet to be developed, though news of its action may come momentarily which will change the situation materially.

So auspicious an opening of the campaign on the part of the Japanese gives them a high standard to sustain. As far as can be seen there has been no mistake either of deficiency of preparation or of use of the means provided. The exploits of military nations of a high place in history have been equalled by the course of the Japanese in the opening of the war, but the real test of the military genius of Japan is yet to come. That which has been done could have been effected by ardent imitators. The problem is almost academic in the strictness with which theoretical lines have been followed. The situations which are peculiar to the war are about to develop and it will soon be seen whether the Japanese initial success was due to a close imitation of standard operations or to a successful application of general laws.

Since writing the above there has come news of another attempt with torpedo boats on the fleet at Port Arthur. It seems to be true that Japanese torpedo boats forced their way in a blinding snowstorm into the port and fired several torpedoes, though with what

effect is not accurately determinable. The Japanese seamanship seems to be of high order. The Vladivostok squadron seems to have eluded the Japanese northern squadron so far and is engaged in commerce destroying. In the development of the Japanese plans for a land campaign, it seems to be indicated that while Seoul is occupied in force the offensive army is to be landed in a much more advanced position, even as far as the Yalu river. News comes from Japan that a considerable expedition is about to start. The news shows evidence of having been held up, and it seems quite possible that a very considerable body of troops has been pushed forward on transports while the navy has occupied the attention of the force at Port Arthur, and that the next news will be of a Japanese position that will cut Port Arthur off from the main Russian line and compel its surrender.

H. C. GAUSS.

SOME GERMAN IDEAS ON TACTICS.

[IDEES ALLEMANDES SUR LA TACTIQUE. (Influence de la Guerre Sud-Africaine.) Revue Militaire des Armees Etrangeres. August, 1903. Translated from the German by Lieutenant J. A. Moore, Artillery Corps, U. S. A.]

(Influence of the South African War.)

THE happenings in the Transvaal have sometimes been considered as a series of new and unexpected facts, which demonstrate the inanity of the proceeding of actual war.

It has been declared that the frontal attack is an impossibility, even with very superior means. "Success should not be expected except from extended movements on a grand scale, which menace the flank, the rear, or still better, the communications of the enemy."

Offensive strategy, defensive tactics, etc., will bring the successes of the future.

The plans of attack employed by European Infantry were declared to carry with them nothing but certain defeat and they ought accordingly to be entirely transformed.

As to Cavalry, it had shown itself to be utterly useless. It was of use only in the service of security and information, and ought to abandon mounted tactics entirely.

It is proposed to show how the two first points (the plan of attack and the execution of the plan of attack) have been foreseen in Germany. The question of use of Cavalry will be the subject of a later article.

I.

In one of its last works the German "Etat-Major" (General Staff) clearly expressed its opinion on strategical menaces transformed into defensive tactics (Operations in the East, Army of the Loire).

It says: "All operations were directed against a line of field stations. That is to say, against nothing, and the developments should clearly show, that a like menace, calling itself strategic, would strike nothing but space, so long as the enemy were inactive." "Bourbaki

had considered a plan having for its consummation the taking of a position at Villersexel; but a mission having an offensive character would not readily adapt itself to defensive tactics."

Balk says that "Each step made toward the perfection of arms and armament has had a tendency to increase the superiority of the defensive, but the Army which undertakes to renounce the offensive spirit will pay dearly for its error: The Austrians in 1859, the French in 1870, the Boers in 1900."

The Germans expect to win their victories by hard fighting and all of their efforts tend to the augmentation of their means of attack.

But the attack always becomes at a certain moment a frontal action.

Meckel says that "Even for divisions and army corps there is nothing except the frontal attack."

Boguslawski, writing after the Boer war, says, "The frontal attack has been declared an impossiblility. The defeats of the English are due rather to their faulty dispositions, to the lack of direction and energy in making their attacks and to their failure to take proper advantage of existing circumstances. We believe that in the majority of instances the result of the English attacks would have been identically the same, had the defenders been armed with single-shot rifles, and even if these had been muzzle loaders.

"If the combination of a flank and frontal attack is to be regarded as desirable, then it is wrong to consider the frontal attack pure and simple as impossible, and the Boer war affords no contradiction of our opinion."

Boguslawski does not see in the English defeats any new or surprising facts.

For over a century any compact formation, coming all at once, within a decisive distance, under the fire of entrenched troops, has been checked upon the spot by enormous losses. "The decisive distance" or "deadly zone" alone has varied.

From 80 to 100 paces a century ago it became 500 to 600 meters with the Chassepot. It now is from 800 to 1,000 meters. This is an actual fact which the Boer war has not discovered but simply verified.

Lieutenant Colonel Lindeman is even more positive than Boguslawski, when he analyzes the battles of Maggersfontein, Colenso and Spion-Kop.

"These three battles," says he, "have been purely frontal attacks. In each the combination of a flank and frontal attack was attempted.

"The English generals have been bitterly reproached in every tongue and declared entirely in the wrong.

"They decided on frontal attacks because no other form of attack was practicable. Moreover, the Boer positions were well nigh impregnable, and being mounted they were able with a small number of men to secure and defend their flanks when they were threatened."

Under these conditions to break the thin Boer line by a frontal attack was a very sane conception. To do this the assailant must expose a similar front. One will never see a planned movement against a given point with the different units well in hand, acting together, and having such a disposition and depth as will permit of the attacks being carried on to the maximum of its power. Whoever plans an attack must decide on how it is to be carried through without any afterthought as to his last man. It is only when the last reserve has been used up that the attack can be considered as having failed. But at Maggersfontein the English had only 65 per cent. and at Spion-Kop only 47 per cent. actually engaged.

The weakness of the losses is a proof of the lack of energy in the attacks.

Thus according to Lindeman the frontal attacks should not only have been a success, but they were the only practicable methods of attack. Their failure were due to the poor methods and the lack of energy by which they were characterized.

They have moreover repeatedly called attention to the enormous and almost instantaneous losses suffered by the English in order to explain the overpowering moral depression of the assailant, and have decided that new attempts against an "impregnable front" are useless and impossible.

In comparing the losses sustained by the Germans in 1870 with those of the English in the Transvaal, Boguslawski is of the opinion that the effect of fire on the battlefield has not increased during the past thirty years.

"But," replies Caemer, "one should consider the limited number of guns actually on the Boer firing line and the nature of the Boer fire. Their fire is individual and does not have the properties of our collective fire. The Boer picks out his man, watches him constantly, and does not fire until he is practically certain of hitting him. This may explain the relatively small losses of the English and their ability to approach within such short distances of the Boers.

In the face of more numerous adversaries employing European methods the English losses might have been greater.

In spite of the improvement in armament the percentage of losses sustained in battle is and has been steadily diminishing.

Balk says: "The more the power and range of arms are increased, the greater the distance which separates the combatants becomes and the fewer their losses." "It is not in spite of the power and accuracy of the new types of arms, but on account of these facts, that the relative losses in battle are actually lessened." He supports his statement by the following figures:

Per cent. of losses in battles (victors and vanquished):

	Per cent.
Under Frederick the Great	17
Napoleonic wars	15
Crimean war	14
War of 1866	8
War of 1870 (before the fall of the Empire)	9.5
War of 1870 (after the fall of the Empire)	3
Losses of the English at Maggersfontein	7.4
Losses of the English at Colenso	5.8
Battalions losing most heavily at Maggersfontein	35 and 24
Battalions losing most heavily at Colenso	16 and 13

To these last figures Balk opposes the following, giving the losses of certain French and German battalions during the Franco-Prussian War, 1870. The losses in these battalions were especially heavy.

		Per cent.
August 18.	Battalion of the Tirailleurs Guard	44
August 18.	1st Battalion 2nd Regiment	55
August 18.	85th Fusiliers (in 20 minutes)	52

August 16. One-half Battalion 35th, 9 officers and 150 men out of 400 in 5 minutes.

August 6. 1st Tirailleurs (French) 53 per cent. in 15 minutes. From the point of view of the suddenness of the losses in the Boer War, as from the point of view of their greatness, no particular new facts are disclosed.

The Black-Watch and the Highlanders at Maggersfontein, the three battalions at the head of the 5th Brigade at Colenso, had no occasion to envy the German Infantry of the 85th and 35th Regiments or the French Tirailleurs of the 1st Regiment.

For the rest the proportion of losses in 1870 before and after the fall of the Empire shows with sufficient eloquence the effect of morale on the combatants.

Will the regular European troops do better than the English?

Perhaps they will not be more brave, they can in all cases be better instructed, and, thanks to better methods, keep their morale intact.

In remarking on the morale of the English troops the Germans remember undoubtedly that in 1866 their own army was composed, for the most part, of raw reserves and that as a general rule neither officers nor men had been under fire.

This army, thanks to a thorough and sound training in times of peace, showed from the very first engagement a morale superior to that of the Austrians, who had been fighting the greater part of the time since 1815. This fact is worth remembering.

German writers are not then so much impressed with the effects of modern arms as to be disposed to advocate a revolution in the methods of warfare.

Good tactical instruction and the determination to conquer at any cost will continue to be, in their eyes, the assured methods of success, which will be achieved by hard fighting on the field of battle and by always maintaining the offensive principle.

II.

If the Germans are unanimous on the question of the all-enduring power of the attack in force they still have the method of employing it under lively discussion.

It is interesting to note moreover that all of the arguments brought out during the past three years can be found in the military discussions immediately following the war of 1870.

As in the Transvaal the assailant had, at the opening of the campaign, employed defective methods of attacks and suffered considerable losses in consequence.

The problem was presented as something new to those who had for the time lost sight of it or perhaps had never even dreamed of knowing it.

How was the assailant to establish his position, acquire and maintain a fire superior to that of the defence until he had crossed the "deadly zone" and the time arrived for making the final charge.

This zone as has been said has been increased from about 500 meters to 800 or 1,000 meters. Otherwise the problem is unchanged, but in many instances it has caused much anxiety.

The English plans of attack were analogous to those practiced at Templethof, at Doberitz and even at the Imperial Maneuvers.

This anxiety became indignation after the publication of a sensa-

tional article in the New York *Herald* last summer supporting the critics but since denied by English and American generals.

"The Americans as well as the English have been unanimous in declaring that the German Infantry Tactics would be impracticable in actual warfare, and that it would be annihilated under present conditions. It would simply make a magnificent target for the enemy."

Nevertheless but few individuals and scarcely a single one of our authorities, have declared for any change in the rules of German Infantry Tactics.

Many wished to preserve them entirely. Others, as Scherff, favored slight changes. The more moderate—and probably the more wise—without being of the same opinion on certain modifications suggested slight changes, which should harmonize the value of the weapon with the methods of using it.

The higher officials seem in sympathy with these ideas. A confidential order dated May 6, 1902, calls attention to the power of the new weapons, the resulting necessity of extending the front of the units first engaged, and the extreme vulnerability of all dense formation in an open country.

Lieutenant Colonel Lindeman says, "The difficult situation created by quick-firing guns and smokeless powder necessitates that the first deployment be parsimonious and methodical."

The troops first engaged may extend their front, but only in such a manner as will permit the reserves to echelon and reinforce it. The front of a company should be extended to 130 meters, a battalion to 400 meters, but this does not apply to larger units. For the regiment 700 meters and for the brigade 1,500 meters are sufficient.

The advances should be prepared by scouting parties led by officers well mounted or by individual scouts according to nature of country, etc. Firing should begin at from 1,000 to 800 meters, and the superiority of fire necessary to bring the fighting line to its required strength should be ascertained at this distance. The fire of the reserve and support should be employed in the most effective manner possible, and small bodies well deployed should gain ground to the front by short rushes of from 30 to 40 meters. Lindeman says, with the evident approval of the higher authorities, that "In the future the offense will be best accomplished by maintaining its strength intact as far as possible."

Certain movements practiced at different maneuvers during the past year have been referred to by the press as "Boer Tactics," but enthusiasm for excessive individualism and for movements beyond the main line, by small deployed groups, has not been general.

Von Cammerer protested at once against authorizing such expedients and they should be resorted to only as circumstances may make it expedient.

Major Hurt maintains that it is impossible to move forward advantageously a body smaller than a platoon or a company and that the support should always be kept well in hand and find protection by some means other than deployment.

Von Scherff says that "Once before, after 1870, we sought by carrying our subdivisions to the extreme to avoid the great losses with which we had bought our victory. To-day because of the checks met by the English, after losses much smaller than those of 1870, we again turn to complete individualism as the salvation of the attacking force of the future. Actual trial will doubtless expose the folly of these ideas as it did in 1872.

Von Stieler says that "The best protection is not the terrain, not deployment, but the proper use of the assailants' fire. 'Boer Tactics' waste time and involve foolish complications. They deploy, advance by rushes, the groups mix up with each other, separate, find cover or leave it at command, etc. All of this is very pretty, but it is not war. The terrain and the conditions it imposes modify completely the question of vulnerability. In war only units held well in hand can be advanced toward the enemy. The way for them will be opened by artillery.

An anonymous article in the *Militar Wochenblatt* of October 8, 1902, referring to the extension of the fighting front of companies, battalions and regiments prescribed by the order of May 6, says that "This extension ought not to lead to the opening of the fight by a thin skirmish line which could maintain only a weak and practically useless fire." That "The quintessence of infantry tactics is to quickly secure at decisive distance, from 1,000 to 800 yards, the most effective fire possible."

"The prescribed form of attack," adds the writer, "is valueless, especially in movements on a grand scale, and could be used only against a position where the defense was passive or shelter lacking.

"Between Metz and Strasbourg the German front covered 150 kilometers and the advance was made over about fifteen roads on each of which was at least one army corps, which could not choose its position."

In open plains in the face of a well established enemy they avoided whenever possible bringing on an engagement which even with their superior artillery would have incurred heavy losses; the way could usually be cleared by an adjoining division more favorably placed.

They strove to quickly secure these favorable positions by forces superior to those of the enemy, consisting of heavy lines of sharpshooters, who strove to attack the enemy corps by corps and profiting by the superiority of their fire to throw forward their masses.

Such was the best if not the only way to conquer.

"That we can conquer without heavy losses is an illusion."

The ideas involved in the foregoing article go beyond detail and discuss organization and other matters.

It is the practice at the maneuvers, where war conditions do not actually prevail, to extend the front abnormally, and the examples of the English, and the pretended impotence of frontal attacks tend to confirm this vicious practice. The Germans may not escape this danger, but their writers have warned them well against them.

Balk says, "The extraordinarily large deployments (extension of the fighting front) of the English in the second half of the war would have been impossible in Europe. The valor of the enemy has a great effect on the extension of the front, and the echelons and depth should have a strength proportionate to the strength of the enemy.

In 1870 the mean front of an army corps varied from 2 to 4 kilometers. Against the poorer armies of the republic it became 5, 8 or 10 kilometers.

The intervals may doubtless be increased but still masses are necessary for a powerful attack.

In favorable terrain depth is essential to a successful attack in every stage, although as a secondary force lighter lines may be used in open territory incapable of being utilized advantageously by either force.

The larger units thus always attack in lines of masses at intervals varying to the nature of the terrain but always such that the units will be well in hand.

This point established we may consider some of the methods in detail.

Boguslawski, reviewing in their entirety the practical lessons of the South African war, including an exact résumé of the principle governing the employment of infantry in the attack, warns us particularly against hasty generalizations.

"All changes," says he, "should be based on searching examination of the war and all its factors, and not on the external appearance of a single fact. The Boer war shows once more the difficulty of attacking in open territory, but such an attack is not an impossibility if the troops are judiciously disposed and their fire properly employed.

"We are seeking the best methods for arranging the details of the attack, but this war has added nothing to the general facts of the case."

Thin lines of sharpshooters, in groups of 10 or 12 men spread over a front of 100 meters are impracticable, such formations can not be controlled; they can not be moved forward and their fire has no force.

To pretend that this line could be progressively thickened, that one would have the time for this in actual warfare is but folly. It could not be done; moreover the successive reinforcements of this line would lead to complete mixing up and destruction of units with consequent loss of control and utter confusion.

In the beginning a line of sharpshooters of proper strength (150 meters for a company, 400 meters for a battalion) should be deployed. It may suffer considerable loss, but it will inflict proportionally greater damage.

In war the making of rushes by a man tired out, impeded by heavy equipment, is an impossibility. Moreover, the size of the groups, the length of the rushes, are things it is impossible to fix.

As to the substitution of gestures and signals for actual spoken commands, it is an absurdity. A calm, strong voice would often have the greatest influence on the conduct and morale of the men.

As for the supports, it is not demonstrated at all that deploying them as skirmishers will diminish their losses. The fire of the enemy is uniformly directed at the firing line and the territory behind the firing line is completely swept by this fire, and the supports deployed in this manner are moreover being practically uncontrolled, liable on the slightest occasion to open fire on their comrades in front of them.

They must be kept in column of companies, and it has never been proven that this is impracticable.

Boguslawski extols the running fire for the assault, which will at least, he says, give at short range as good results as aimed fire at long range.

This work serves as a theme for new controversies which has caused ink to flow in rivers from the pens of Boeck, Cammerer and Scherff. The quarrel though prolonged is singularly localized, and is always reduced to practically the same question, Does it or does it not require the normal order? Ought or ought not the initiative of subordinates be restrained?

These adversaries, irreconcilable on this point, accord very nearly as we have seen on the general principles of an infantry attack.

They all recognize: That the fire which turns the tide of battle can be had only from heavy lines; that in open country the decision will be made at a range of from 1,000 to 800 meters; that supports must

be kept behind the firing line to fill the gaps in it and to maintain the intensity of its fire; that the attack in open country necessarily entails severe losses, and that the most favorable terrain available should be utilized at the "critical moment." That this attack in the open is not, however, impracticable and that it is unwise to exaggerate its difficulties.

As to the means of employing advances by rushes or similar expedients as well as the most suitable formation for the support there are many opinions.

One says that "rushes should be so short that the defenders would not have time to open on them with an efficacious fire." "The assailants should raise themselves in small groups at a signal, rush rapidly forward 30 yards and throw themselves on the ground before the storm of bullets reaches them."

But men of experience insist that the same men will have, in this manner, to make 20 to 30 rushes to cross the deadly zone, which is a thing not to be thought of. Every one who has had experience in war knows how difficult it is to get a body of men to leave even the slightest cover and to move forward.

It is interesting to re-read what a German author wrote on this subject, a short time after the war of 1870 and before the recollections of those events were softened or distorted by time. The observations are psychological in character, but changes in armament have left their value intact.

"They wish to prescribe an advance by rushes executed successively platoon by platoon, but they can scarcely have considered the actual circumstances as they present themselves in time of war.

"Do they think it possible to move the platoons up in front of a line of their own sharpshooters who continue to fire into their flanks?

"Do they think that men, finding themselves isolated, and hearing the bullets of their comrades whistle by their ears, will continue to move forward with any degree of steadiness?"

What was impossible thirty years ago they now expect of men less immured to war.

On the subject of supports opinions vary from Boguslawski, who argues, that they should be kept in column of companies to the partisans of the new school, who maintain that the skirmish line is the proper formation for the reserves. This last method has been practiced at the imperial maneuvers, but simply as an experiment, or it may be merely as an act of courtesy to the English guests.

First one and then another line of arguments is presented.

"The support is not only to replenish the material losses of the

firing line, but also to keep up its courage. If isolated men were sent to reinforce the firing line would it not be the men already engaged who would influence the morale of the new arrivals? It is maintained that the Boer war has proved this fact and shows the uselessness of supports."

Finally, to show that there is nothing new under the sun, we will quote the following, written by Prince Hohenlohe twenty years ago:

"For a time after 1870 various maneuvers, having for their object the solution of the problem of how the advance across a fire-swept field should be conducted, were undertaken. All sorts of strange formations, men in columns of twos, files and single individuals scattered over the plain, were to be seen, * * * formations nearly identical with those tried at the maneuvers during the past years."

In spite of theorists who attempt to show that victory may be attained without great losses to the attacking force Hohenlohe condemns these attenuated formations and says that "If they are Boer tactics they are not suited to an attacking force."

In short if the question of the advantage of the normal formations are left out of the discussion the divers opinions on the subject would not differ materially if the contestants did not adhere always to technical infantry problems.

They overlook the fact that artillery should prepare the advance and devote themselves to calculate with minute exactness the time required for an ambuscaded line to open fire, or for a deployed company to get up, run 30 meters and lie down.

It seems that no one has considered that the defenders must shelter themselves from the blasts of artillery fire and then in a given time, after these have swept over them, deliver an efficacious fire on the assailants. Could not the assailants at the instant the artillery projectiles reached the defenders' entrenchments rush forward as far as possible under this protection? This is likely to be overlooked during the maneuvers in times of peace?

The reserves will, moreover, be better protected than the firing line, since they will be covered both by the fire of the skirmishers and the artillery, but they must be kept well in hand, if they are to be properly employed.

This will apply even when the advance of the infantry has compelled its artillery to diminish its fire on their account. This will, thanks to the improvements in armament, be much later than was formerly the case. It is more than probable that the distance of 500 meters given by artillery regulations may be reduced at least one-half.

The defenders will moreover be subjected to losses and difficulties

unknown in the past and will have no advantages which they did not have thirty years ago.

The proper formations are not the recently tried specimens of ingenuity, which simulate the productions of a clockmaker, but a harmonious and rational formation involving the use of all arms of the service and having with it always the determination to conquer. It is such formations which meet the approval of the German authorities, as is shown by the following official opinions:

The advance is kept well in hand and guided by officers' patrols provided with good field glasses, which keep out of the defenders' sight and avail themselves of all favorable opportunities for observations. If an obstacle is encountered the first deployment, parsimonious and methodical, should be made of a few units capable of covering a large front.

If serious resistance is encountered a strong firing line should be formed, care being taken to avoid any mixing of units, and the fronts when extended should not exceed 150 meters for a company or 400 for a battalion.

The firing line should as far as practicable secure some form of cover and the supports kept in close formations, but in open zones the line must be thinner and the support still further divided.

In open territory the decisive point in infantry fire is at a range of from 1,000 to 800 meters. At this range with well trained troops, who are good shots, the assailant should begin to deliver a superior fire.

If the attack is made with a sufficient number of troops and with the determination to win, it becomes merely a matter of time.

Superiority of fire and the successful execution of the attack are properly realized only by a constant combination of infantry and artillery fire, and the firing line must be followed by supports kept well in hand, which will keep up the strength of the firing line no matter what its losses may be.

In order to win a victory one must at the outset be reconciled to enormous losses.

To summarize, the word "New Tactics," is regarded in Germany simply as a new step forward along a pathway that has long since been old.

THE SECOND CLASS OF THE LOYAL LEGION.

NOTHING in connection with the early history of the Society of the Cincinnati is more curious than the wide spread distrust aroused by the hereditary feature, unless, indeed, it be the subsequent disappearance of that feeling, a disappearance so complete that the very fact of its former existence may be said to be known only to the antiquarian. As the war itself passed into history, a truer perspective obtained, and the Society was seen to represent all that was noblest and best in the struggle for Independence. Men argued that surely those whose friendship had been bred not only during the shock of battle but during the cheerless winters when hope and endurance had been strained to the uttermost, had fairly won the right to transmit to their sons the friendship which they valued among the choicest of their possessions. And in fact among the present members of the Society this friendship exists as the truest expression of their membership.

With so distinguished a precedent in contemplation, the founders of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion had no hesitation in adopting the hereditary feature of the Cincinnati. In order, if possible, to improve upon it, they devised the excellent plan of admitting the presumptive successor, upon his attaining his majority, to membership in a preparatory or second class, from which he could pass to full membership upon the death of the companion from whom his eligibility was derived. The advantage is at once evident. The son, during the lifetime of his father, can be welcomed by his father's friends as a companion, and can learn for himself how binding is that tie of friendship and companionship, and how real is that loyalty and that patriotism which he is called upon to perpetuate.

In the Pennsylvania Commandery, for a number of years past, the companions of the second class and of the first class by inheritance, have joined in appointing an informal committee of fifteen (five members retiring each year) to arrange for an annual supper, where they can become better acquainted with each other, and can welcome such companions as have been recently admitted to the order. This committee has acted in harmony with the board of officers of the

Commandery, and not only have the suppers become more and more interesting and important in themselves, but they have resulted in a larger attendance of the second and inheritance classes at the regular meetings of the order, and in a better enjoyment of these meetings. Distinguished companions have not only made admirable speeches, but have given even more admirable exhibitions of that camaraderie, to which it is the high privilege of the second and the inheritance class to fall heir. One of these gentlemen, a dashing cavalryman who had won his star almost before he was of age, was frequently a guest, and won all hearts by becoming a boy again, without for a moment forgetting the dignity due his years and his rank. His memory is drunk each year, and all are drawn closer together by the common love they bore him.

To those of the second class who have a taste for military history, and especially for the history of the Civil War, the possibility of companionship with distinguished participants has been both a privilege and a delight. Some years ago, it was the good fortune of a member of the second class to get fresh from the press a book which was awaited with great interest by an officer who had borne a leading part in one of the Virginia campaigns. When he next met the officer at one of the meetings, and mentioned having read the book, he felt almost as if he had become an aide on that officer's staff, just returned from a reconnoissance with important information, so eagerly was he questioned, and so thoroughly was the disparity in years lost sight of. In the light of the companionship fostered by the Loyal Legion, the history of the Civil War becomes a thousand times more intelligible and more interesting to the reader of the second generation, for he has been vouchsafed a personal acquaintance with many of the active participants, and the various corps, divisions, brigades and regiments become not merely numerical designations but living entities.

It will not, perhaps, be a digression at this point to call attention to a portion of the Constitution of the Loyal Legion upon which too little stress has been laid, namely that portion of Article III which states that one of the objects of the order is to "foster the cultivation of military and naval science." From the time of our War for Independence down to the present, it has been a national delusion, apparently, that it was Mars and not Minerva who sprang forth armed and accoutred from the brain of Jove, in other words, that in time of national travail, an actual army of soldiers springs into being at the call of the President, to whom all the painfully acquired proficiency of their forbears is in some mysterious fashion instantaneously transmitted. It is a pitiful delusion, which in our successive wars has cost

many thousands of valuable lives. Were a war to break out to-morrow the American people would find themselves, despite numerous warnings from those in authority, laboring under the same disadvantages as in 1775, 1812, 1846 (to some extent), 1861, and 1898, namely a lack of appreciation of their ignorance in military affairs, and a disposition on the part of the several States to manage their contingents as though they were a body of delegates in the train of a "favorite son." Then humiliation, and the correction of the error under the enemy's fire at a frightful expenditure of blood and treasure. It would seem to be one of the most important and patriotic duties of the Loyal Legion, and one devolving to a sadly increasing degree upon the inheritance class, to encourage the careful selection and preliminary training of those who in time of war will be called upon to lead into battle the forces auxiliary to the regular establishment. Upon the obverse of our national shield, we ought to have as a warning the face of Washington, not the serene countenance of the Stuart portrait, but that agonized and wrathful face of September 15, 1776, when the militia stampeded at Kip's Bay, and the great leader had to be restrained almost by force from going out alone to meet the approaching enemy.* The Americans as a race are wonderfully adaptable, and doubtless the young men of no other nation acquire military proficiency more quickly than ours, but it should be made a part of our national creed that the American emergency soldier must have the regular as his model, and must seek to approximate his efficiency. And furthermore the frank acceptance of this ideal would enlist the hearty sympathy and co-operation of such of our officers as have had a professional training. In fact, no part of the work begun by Mr. Root and turned over to Mr. Taft is more important than this, nor more worthy of the hearty support of those who have the welfare of the nation at heart, without respect to political affiliation.

The Loyal Legion is in the best sense of the word a patriotic society, and the lessons in patriotism which the second class receive during the period of their novitiate, are none the less real because they are not couched in flamboyant language. A speaker at a second class dinner once remarked the absence of a flag, to which the happy retort was made that it was graven on the hearts of the companions, as was the likeness of Napoleon upon the hearts of his Old Guard. One of Kipling's best conceptions occurs in his story of "The Flag of Their Country," where the boys at a great military school are outraged by the cheap eloquence of an M. P. who failed to understand that their

*"The Story of the Revolution," Henry Cabot Lodge, Vol. i., page 196.

patriotism was a thing so inborn with these soldiers' sons that the careless and unnecessary parade of it was in the nature of a sacrilege. But in such a nation as ours, to which each year brings an alien increment greater in numbers than the host which was reviewed in Washington in 1865, a more utilitarian view of the matter is obligatory, and the symbol of our nationality should be kept always in view.

One of Archibald Forbes' best contributions to the language was his translation of the phrase "esprit de corps," as regimental self-respect, and in a larger sense the attitude which the Loyal Legion stands for is a national self-respect which in its essence is very far removed from the war spirit of Chauvinism or Jingoism but rather that feeling which led the author of the Farewell Address to accept the command in chief in 1798.

The heritage of the second class is a proud heritage. May it stand always for all that is best in the American Republic of which its founders did not despair, and may it preserve through all time its noble tradition of service.

W. S. ASHBROOK.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.*

THE Vice-Presidential office is one of the least satisfactory features of the American Constitution. The powers that attach to it are so mechanical and insignificant that an American who wants to mount to the highest office of all will do anything rather than become a Vice-Presidential candidate. The duties of the Vice-President begin and end with presiding over the deliberations of the Senate. In the event of a tie he is allowed a casting vote, and that is the sum total of his authority. A post so purely decorative and functionless makes but a slender appeal to American practicality. The politicians especially, with their more than American readiness to take chances, wholly engrossed with the actualities and heedless of the possibilities of the Vice-Presidency, waste little time or thought on the choice of a man to run for the office. A nomination to it is usually offered as a consolation prize to the disappointed candidate for Presidential honors. Failing that, it may be given to placate a leader who is inclined to bolt the party ticket, or to conciliate a mutinous faction, or strengthen a doubtful State by infusing into it a personal interest in the contest. From abroad the Vice-Presidency looks large and honorable enough, but the aspiring American politician does not covet it. The Speakership of the House of Commons is an office of considerably more dignity and influence than the Vice-Presidency of the United States, but a man who was feeling his way towards Cabinet rank would carefully eschew it. He would feel it, if it were thrust upon him, a sort of ceremonious interment of his private ambitions. So, too, the Vice-President of the United States becomes one of the politically dead. A nomination to the post, or at least an unsought nomination, is regarded as a quiet hint to commit political suicide, a kind of polite reminder that the days of a man's real usefulness are over. There was truth as well as acrid humor in the parable of the American who had two sons. One of them went to sea, the other became Vice-President. Neither was ever heard of afterwards. On the other hand there is always the chance that the Vice-Presidency, instead of leading to a more or less decorative extinction, may prove the stepping-stone to the Presidency

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itself; but being no more than a chance, it is habitually disregarded. That is to say, the Vice-President is never nowadays chosen with an eye to his fitness as a possible successor to the President, but always with a view to some immediate electioneering effect. This way of doing things leads at times to extraordinary results. It is the exception, for instance, to find a Vice-President in political agreement or even in political sympathy with the President. On the contrary, they are usually in acute hostility, the President representing the choice of the larger faction in the party, and the Vice-President of the smaller—and we need not look across the Atlantic to discover and gauge the breadth and bitterness of these intestine feuds. If we will imagine England a Republic, and Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire running on the same ticket as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, and Lord Rosebery and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman heading the rival ticket, we shall only be conceiving a miracle that the Americans accomplish every four years, without a suspicion of how wonderful it is, and almost as a matter of course. Naturally it has landed them in some amazing complications. Mr. Roosevelt himself has described the state of affairs when Harrison died in 1841. "The Presidency fell into the hands of a man who had but a corporal's guard of supporters in the nation, and who proceeded to oppose all the measures of the immense majority of those who elected them." In the same way Andrew Johnson did the nation incalculable harm by trying his utmost to reverse Lincoln's policy, and so precipitating by the power of reaction the blunders and indelible disgrace of the Reconstruction Period. Vice-President Arthur, again, was given a place on the Republican ticket in 1880 simply to keep in line those who had most bitterly opposed Garfield's nomination as the Presidential candidate. Arthur, it is true, made a good President, but his accession on Garfield's death involved a complete overhauling of Cabinet and administrative offices, and a consequent breach in the party of such depth and violence as practically to ensure a Democratic victory at the next election. It is a curious but undeniable fact that so far the accession of a Vice-President through the "removal, death, resignation, or inability" of the President, has spelt not continuity of aim, principle, policy, and personnel, but wholesale revolution. No other result, however, can reasonably be hoped for so long as the Vice-Presidential candidate is nominated by way of compliment or consolation, or for geographical or factional reasons.

It will always be a matter of interest to the historian and the student of Constitutions that Mr. Roosevelt should have been almost the first Vice-President to break through this rule, and absolutely the

first to succeed to the Presidency without dislocating his party or the institutions of the country, or both. His first words after taking the oath of office were words that none of his predecessors could have uttered: "I wish to say that it shall be my aim to continue, absolutely unbroken, the policies of President McKinley, for the peace, the prosperity, and the honor of our beloved country." From President Roosevelt they fell with entire propriety. As Vice-President he was in agreement with his Chief to an extent unparalleled in American history. On all the broad issues of American politics—the currency question, the tariff question, imperialism, and so on—McKinley and Roosevelt saw almost eye to eye; and the latter was just as emphatically the choice of the nation and the party for Vice-President as the former was for President. There was, in fact, only one Republican in the land who did not desire Mr. Roosevelt's nomination as the Vice-Presidential candidate, and that was Mr. Roosevelt himself. For the previous two years he had been Governor of New York State, and the Empire State had never had its affairs so admirably conducted. Mr. Roosevelt's nomination and election to a second term in the Governorship were as certain as anything could be, and to at least two powerful elements—Wall Street and the politicians—the prospect was the reverse of pleasing. Wall Street he had grievously offended by taxing the property and franchises of the big corporations, and Mr. Platt, the local Republican "boss," had found life anything but easy with such a man as Roosevelt at the head of affairs. In a phrase that is now classic, Mr. Platt declared his preference for "a Governor who will stand without hitching." He conceived accordingly the astute idea of "side-tracking" Mr. Roosevelt by nominating him for the Vice-Presidency. The politicians everywhere jumped at the prospect of shelving so formidable an opponent, and both Wall Street and the people seconded their efforts—Wall Street because it hoped with the "bosses" that four years of ornamental obscurity would mean the end of Mr. Roosevelt; the people because they were glad to have the chance of honoring and voting for their favorite hero. Mr. Roosevelt, of course, saw the trap. He wanted to be Governor a second time, and he did not want to be Vice-President. He begged and implored that the nomination might not be offered him, but Mr. Platt had laid his plans too well. An immensity of pressure from all over the country, the White House included, was brought to bear on the unwilling candidate, and in the end he yielded. Never was a man so genuinely reluctant to enter on the path that was to lead to the goal of his ambition, and never was that ambition so unwittingly served by his enemies as when they combined to overcome his reluctance. Within a year

the bloody tragedy at Buffalo had turned the designs of the politicians to futility and mortification, and made Mr. Roosevelt's unwillingness appear like a shrinking from the gifts of fate.

It was, therefore, an asset of the first magnitude on Mr. Roosevelt's side, that his accession meant no radical break in policy, that he was naturally inclined to take up Mr. McKinley's work where it had been dropped, and able to labor in harmony with his predecessor's Cabinet. His public subscription to the McKinley programme, his equally public request that the members of Mr. McKinley's Cabinet should retain their portfolios, had an immensely reassuring effect. The need for some such announcement was patent. Had it not been forthcoming, a rupture in the party and a period of severe national perturbation could scarcely have been avoided. As a practical idealist, a whole-hearted Civil Service reformer, a life-long advocate, and more than that, a lifelong practitioner of clean politics, Mr. Roosevelt had never been precisely *persona grata* to the politicians. They never considered him, as they always considered Mr. McKinley, one of themselves. He had not served in Congress, and he was far younger than most of his party leaders. Moreover, he came to the Presidency absolutely unpledged, without a single political debt to pay, or a single promise to redeem. Not since Washington's first term in the White House had any President taken office with a freer hand; the politicians could not but be conscious that their hold over him was of the slightest. Again, the popular confidence in Mr. Roosevelt was nothing like so great as the popular admiration for him. Even those who liked him the most stood in fear of his militant "impulsiveness," and dreaded what might follow the impact of his tingling energy and decisiveness. Mr. McKinley's "note," both as a man and a President, was cautiousness. He accepted fully and heartily the doctrine that the President should follow and not attempt to lead, or even to mould, public opinion. His ear, as Americans used to complain, was always to the ground, waiting for the first whisper of the popular voice. When it came no one so prompt as he to echo it back. Great things happened during his Presidency, but he can hardly be said to have presided over them. At best they flowed through him as through a funnel. To serve as a conduit-pipe between Congress and the electorate was, indeed, not only his highest ambition, but adequately represented his conception of the Presidential office. He showed, in consequence, an almost morbid anxiety to please. It was painful to him to disappoint anybody, so much so that he occasionally allowed himself to be led into dubious paths. The desire to please is the negation of strong rulership, and Mr. McKinley was not a strong ruler. But if he could not command

he could persuade. Few Presidents have ever shown such a talent for humoring people. He humored Congress, he humored the masses, he humored the "bosses," he humored the capitalists who stood behind them, and in the end he almost always contrived to carry his point. Placid, conciliatory, accordant—his reign was one long harmony. Not for a hundred years had the wheels of administration moved with so little friction. The President oiled them untiringly, and after the ceaseless bickerings of Mr. Cleveland's term, the country appreciated the return to quiet waters. His mind and temperament, it has been truly noted, were altogether of the kind that asks for guidance, fears to stand alone, and when the oracles differ, strives hard to "solder close impossibilities and make them kiss," and is willing to wait in patience for the unmistakable cue. In all these points, as in many others, President Roosevelt was known to be his direct antithesis. Long before he became Vice-President, he had made his mark as one of the most emphatic, go-ahead and confident personalities in the United States, a man of breezy, vivid emotions and buoyant and invigorating picturesqueness, with all Lord Charles Beresford's pugnacious dogmatism, and more than his balance and level-headedness, a Whig in his intolerance of extremists and his healthy grip on the commen-sense of things, a fighter always, and sometimes a reckless one, but first and last a natural and instinctive leader. The assassination of Mr. McKinley meant a change in the character and disposition of the Chief Magistrate, so profound as to take on the sweep of a revolution, and the conservatism of America could not repress a shudder of anxiety when it contrasted the new Executive with the old. It is a fact well worth bearing in mind that Mr. Roosevelt entered upon his Presidency amid the sullen acquiescence of the politicians, the barely veiled mistrust of the world of business, and the hesitating, half uncomfortable applause of the average man. If we will recall, and multiply one hundredfold, the emotions aroused by Lord Curzon's appointment to the Viceroyalty of India—the universal interest and expectancy, the confidence of the few who really knew, the perplexities of the many who doubted even while they admired and wished well, the head-shakings of the older generation, the clamor about youth and cocksureness and headlong aggressiveness, the fluttering trepidation in the Indian bureaucracy, and all the rest of it—we shall not be far from realizing what Americans said and thought of Mr. Roosevelt's accession to the Presidency. It was worth simply anything to him that at such a time he could promise an unbroken adherence to his predecessor's policy.

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al knowledge and assurance, and it is largely by
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and sense of proportion absolutely humiliating for
ven to contemplate. I place it among the very first of
osevelt's achievements that he has breathed a new life
e and efficiency through the Government departments
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gness had cleared a path for the predatory politicians, and
t too much to say that at the time of Mr. Roosevelt's accession
Civil Service of the country was in a state of demoralization un-
wn since the days of Grant. To Mr. Roosevelt has fallen the
rk of regeneration, of weeding out, sometimes of punishment. It
is not dramatic work like his intervention in the coal strike, or that
brilliant stroke of policy that culminated in the independence of Pan-
ama, but it is work of the kind that the conditions of American poli-
tics make supremely vital. Officials at the Colonial Office have been
known to confess how much they owed to Mr. Chamberlain's mere
presence among them, to the atmosphere of dispatch, concentration,
and efficiency which he diffused. Precisely such has been Mr. Roose-
velt's influence over American officialdom. Himself the best and
hardest worker of them all, he has permeated the Government service

with a new zeal and practicality, almost, one might say, with a new morality. No President, not even Mr. Cleveland, has labored so incessantly to convert the old tag, "Public office is a public trust," into an actual working principle of conduct, recognized and acted upon in all ranks. An American President to whom such an ideal is a reality has abundant opportunity for translating it into deeds. Patronage is the most irksome and engrossing of all the calls upon his time. It was reckoned that for some months after his accession Mr. Roosevelt was making appointments at the rate of two hundred a week. "A weak President, a President who is 'playing politics' with an eye to the next election, uses the offices at his disposal to reward party services, conciliate enemies, keep local wire-pullers loyal and in good humor, and, above all, to ingratiate himself with Senators and Congressmen, by allowing them to nominate their own men." This was the policy which Mr. McKinley very largely pursued. His attitude was the sort of attitude that used to be attributed to Lord Salisbury. "Oh, don't bother me about the matter. Make anybody anything you like." And whatever may be said against this attitude, there is at least this to be said for it, that it makes for that harmony between the White House and Congress without which no administration can succeed. From the moment he takes office, every President is beseiged by Senators and Representatives, anxious to put in a good word for some favored constituent. It is almost as great a peril to yield to as to refuse their solicitations. There is a vast and important class of offices, appointments to which are made by the President, "with the advice and consent of the Senate." The Senate, that is, can confirm or reject any and every appointment which the President lays before it. It is an exceedingly dangerous thing for a President to offend a Senator, and it is impossible to offend a Senator more successfully than by refusing to nominate a man in whom he is interested. Mr. Cleveland found that out. The resultant impotence of his Administration was primarily due to a series of quarrels with Senators over the thorny problems of patronage. The Senate revenged itself by vetoing his appointments, turning his legislative projects inside out, and defeating his treaties. Mr. McKinley took the opposite tack. He blindly accepted the Senatorial nominees, with the result that the public service was flooded by an influx of highly objectionable officeholders, whose main business was to safeguard the local political interests of their patrons. In this, as in most things, Mr. Roosevelt's course is the judicious mean. He wages no war on Senators or party leaders. He respects their Constitutional prerogatives, consults them, and listens to their suggestions; but he

makes no appointments on their recommendation, unless and until he is personally satisfied of the character and capacity of the nominee. Other things being equal, or only slightly unequal, a Republican will get the post, for Mr. Roosevelt is a good party man. But if the Republican candidate is manifestly unfit, no amount of political backing, no references to the man's usefulness at the next election, no Senatorial insistence will move President Roosevelt to appoint him. He made this perfectly clear before he had been in office six weeks. The post of United States District Attorney of Kansas was vacant. A Federal district attorneyship, especially in the Western States, is a great political as well as a great professional prize. The Republican candidate had the backing of the Kansas Senators and the Republicn State organization, but Mr. Roosevelt unhesitatingly turned him down in favor of a man of admittedly superior qualifications, but with less political influence. Again, there happened to be a vacancy among the Federal judgeships of Alabama. There were several Republican candidates in the field for the appointment, and using whatever "pull" they possessed. Mr. Roosevelt inquired into their merits, and found that none of them quite reached the right standard. The office was accordingly given to a Democrat of undeniable standing and capacity. That the politicians grumbled and criticised may be taken for granted, but they dared not oppose, first because public opinion overwhelmingly endorsed the nominations, secondly because Mr. Roosevelt made it patent to all men that he was acting quite impersonally, was not attempting to entrench upon Senatorial privileges, and had no other object in view beyond that of installing the best man. In a word, he has expelled "politics" from the Civil Service. The startling, most un-English, and hardly less un-American test of efficiency and character is his sole and inexorable standard; and to that standard, with a steadfastness to which those who know America best will do the most homage, he has forced the Senate to conform. In those administrative matters where he is free to act on his own responsibility, and may dispense with the collaboration of the Senate, his measures have been no less decided. One of his first official acts was to strengthen the Civil Service Commission, to restore sixteen hundred offices to the merit system that his predecessor had exempted, to bring sixty Indian agents within the scope of the classified service, and to arm the commissioners with new and real powers over the officeholders; and from first to last he has fought favoritism in the Army and Navy with a merciless vigor. One might multiply instances, but they would merely emphasize what is already clear enough. There is, however, one episode worth a moment's dwelling

on. It was discovered about a year ago that grave irregularities, extending all the way from petty jobbery to corruption and downright thieving, and involving many men of great political influence, existed in the Post Office. The President's course might have been predicted with entire certainty. He ordered an unflinching investigation from top to bottom, sparing neither friend nor foe, and utterly heedless of the politicians who dreaded the effect on the electorate of so ramified and revolting an exposure. To one of the politicians Mr. Roosevelt addressed, last October, the following letter:—*

"(PERSONAL).

"WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, October —, 1903.

"MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN:—

"The statement alleged to have been made by the inspector, that I 'ordered' the indictment of ——, or any one else, is a lie—just as much a lie as if it had been stated that I ordered that any one should *not* be indicted. My directions have been explicit, and are explicit now. Any one who is guilty is to be prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the law, and no one who is not guilty is to be touched. I care not a rap for the political or social influence of any human being, when the question is one of his guilt or innocence in such a matter as the corruption of the Government service.

"I note what you say, that the circulation of this report about me may alienate the support of many of ——'s friends from my administration. Frankly, I feel that any one who would believe such a story must be either lacking in intelligence, or else possessed of malignant credulity. If any one is to be alienated from me by the fact that I direct the prosecution of Republican or Democrat, without regard to his political or social standing, when it appears that he is guilty of gross wrong-doing—why, all I can say is, let him be alienated.

"If District-Attorney —— has anything which should be known to the Attorney-General, or to me as regards this suit, I should be delighted to see him. But frankly, I have not the slightest desire to see him if his visit is to be in the interest "of the welfare of the party," or of my "success." In a case like this, where the crime charged is one that strikes at the foundations of the Commonwealth, I should

(*) I have taken this letter from the November number of *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, a journal which, even though it does speak of "the so-called British Empire," and regards Canada's participation in the South African war as "the most flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine that has yet been committed," is a sane, comprehensive, and indeed invaluable record of American affairs.

hold myself unfit for this office if I considered for one moment either my own welfare, or the interest of the party, or anything else except the interests of justice. Respectfully,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

A *man* speaks there, so obviously, so fully, and with such complete revelation of himself, that one is more than content to leave it just as it stands, in all its naked and pregnant genuineness.

If I have seemed to over-emphasize this, the administrative and intramural side of Mr. Roosevelt's work, it is partly because it is less well known than his more public achievements, but chiefly because I believe the humdrum, daily routine to supply the best touchstone of a ruler's capacity. To have penetrated the Government departments, and, indeed, the whole public service, with something of his own remorseless efficiency and insatiable public-spiritedness, seems to me on the whole about the most valuable service that Mr. Roosevelt or any other President could have rendered his country. I have already mentioned the ardor and intimate knowledge with which he has encouraged and supervised the reform of the American Army and Navy—the first of these an achievement which will, I believe, be found to rank with the highest performances of constructive statesmanship. But, apart from this, take the report of the Secretary of the Interior, and consider what has been done in developing irrigation and unearthing and punishing the frauds in the administration of the public land laws; or the reports from the Indian and Pension departments, from the Attorney-General's office, from the Secretary of Agriculture—each one with its record of multiplying, intelligent, and well-ordered activities; or examine the new department of Commerce and Labor, created and designed by Mr. Roosevelt to serve not only as the "clearing-house for information regarding the business transactions of the nation," but also as "the executive arm of the Government, to aid in strengthening our domestic and foreign markets, in perfecting our transportation facilities, in building up our merchant marine, in preventing the entrance of undesirable immigrants, in improving commercial and industrial conditions, and in bringing together on common ground those necessary partners in industrial progress—capital and labor." In this department have been grouped the Labor Bureau, the permanent Census Bureau, the Immigration Bureau, the Corporations Bureau, the Statistical Bureau, the Lighthouse Board, and a variety of other services; and in its scope and importance, and the compactness of its organization, the department promises already to be the most useful, as it will assuredly be the most interesting,

of all the Government offices. It is, of course, too much to claim for Mr. Roosevelt the sole credit for these and similar achievements; but it is well within the truth to say that his broad mastery over the institutions and business of his country, his Peel-like habit of keeping in touch with all departments, of discussing, suggesting, animating, and counselling, and the infectiousness of his personal joy in work and immediate adequacy to the multitudinous demands of his own office, have been the compelling motive power of his entire administration.

But the American President is something more than the Chief Executive. It is expected of him that he shall also be a leader, a party leader as well as a national leader, and his policies and legislative successes or failures contribute no less than his administrative acts to the sum total of his reputation and influence. One must remember, of course, that when it comes to getting measures written on the statute book, a President labors under disadvantages that an English Premier is free from. A President can only recommend and suggest; the actual initiative rests solely with Congress. If Congress refuses to act he is impotent, unless by a long campaign he is able to coerce it by the force of public opinion. Both he and his Cabinet are wholly apart from the Legislature. They do not sit in it, and they have no means of reaching it except by private persuasion or public pressure. The Cuban Reciprocity Treaty aptly illustrates both the Presidential disabilities and the way in which a man of Rooseveltian resolution may overcome them. In his first message to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt pressed for "a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States." It was a measure, he added, "to which we are bound by every consideration of honor and expediency." In return for an acknowledgment of American suzerainty, and the lease of some coaling and naval stations, Mr. McKinley had promised the Cubans a modification of the Dingley tariff rates on Cuban exports of sugar and tobacco. But when Mr. Roosevelt called upon Congress to redeem his predecessor's pledge, he found himself actively opposed. The American beet-sugar growers, the cane-sugar growers of Louisiana and the Southern States, the agricultural and commercial interests of Porto Rico, the sugar growers of Hawaii, and the tobacco interests of the United States joined forces in a brilliantly-captained lobby. Timorous Republicans, who dreaded more than anything else any tinkering at the sacred edifice of Protection, aided and encouraged them. The Democrats took the primitive pleasure of unmitigated party men in making the confusion of their opponents worse confounded. In the end the treaty was held up, the

President beaten, and his party torn in two. It was an occasion to test a man through and through. A weak President would have thrown up the sponge at once. He would have been too appalled by the wreckage of his party, and too anxious to patch it together again, to care any longer about Cuba. And for an ordinary man in Mr. Roosevelt's position the arguments in favor of doing nothing would have had a peculiar force. He was just beginning his Presidential career. Its failure or success depended absolutely on the hold he could win over his party, and the amount of harmony he could establish between Congress and the White House. At the very outset his party had declined to follow him, and the Senate had treated his recommendations as so much waste-paper. Was the end to be like the beginning? Was the Roosevelt administration to repeat the friction and bickerings and resultant sterility of the Cleveland Presidency? Besides, had not the United States already done enough for Cuba? Were Mr. McKinley's pledges binding on any one but Mr. McKinley? Was his successor under any serious obligation to carry them out at the risk of party disruption, personal humiliation, and more than possible defeat at the polls? Mr. Roosevelt is too clear-sighted a politician not to have felt the weight of these considerations, but he is also too much of a man to let them influence him for one moment. Enough for him that the nation's good faith was at stake. He abated nothing, apologized for nothing, retracted nothing. A compromise was suggested, but he would not hear of it. He appealed instead to the people, over the heads of their representatives, and the people, as they always do in English-speaking countries, flocked to a man in defence of justice, the national honor, and a bold fighter. For two years the battle raged, fiercely, relentlessly, but with a progressive yielding of the politicians to the coercion of public opinion, and the unwavering firmness of the President. And on December 17th, 1903, the victory fell to him, one of the most signal, I suppose, ever won by an American President over the grasping provincialism of Congress.

There are some, no doubt, who will place on an even higher plane than this Mr. Roosevelt's campaign against the Trusts. The Trusts, as I have often insisted, are not a party issue. Both Republicans and Democrats abuse them in public, and pummel them in their State and national "platforms," just as they express their "unalterable adhesion" to the Monroe Doctrine, but with rather less sincerity. Both parties, too, support Trusts and are supported by them behind the scenes. The determinating factor in the conduct of a Presidential campaign is, and must be, money, and the electioneering strategists in both camps

are vividly aware that a too decisive policy means the forfeiture of vast and vital contributions. I do not say that is the greatest reason, but it is certainly one of the reasons, why you cannot put your finger on any of the innumerable Anti-Trust measures and say, This is a distinctively Democratic, or a distinctively Republican proposal. The confusion of parties was well illustrated at the State elections in 1902. The New York Democrats, on a platform that savagely attacked the Trusts, ran for the Governorship a Wall Street banker, who was notoriously a "Trust magnate"; the Republicans, on the other hand, while also inveighing against the Trusts, though with more sobriety, withdrew their original candidate for the Lieutenant-Governorship, for no other reason than that he was connected with a large number of Wall Street corporations. In Massachusetts the Democratic candidate for the Governorship was closely identified with Trusts, and the Republican candidate one of their most zealous assailants. At the same time it is probably true enough to say that the Democratic professions of hostility go rather further than the Republican, and that as "the poor man's party," the Democrats may be supposed to tackle the problem with a greater sincerity. It is mainly among the Republicans that you find a disposition to pooh-pooh the whole question, or to rely on its immense intricacy as a reason for giving it the go-by, and mainly among the Democrats that you find evidences of a spirit that, once let loose, would over-ride sanity, and strike blindly at industry itself. These are the two extremes; Mr. Roosevelt's course lies mid-way between the intemperance of Mr. Bryan and the ultra-conservatism, fearfulness, or indifference of his own followers. He persists that he has no intention of "attacking" the Trusts. The measures he has proposed for their regulation are conceived, as he has often said, in the interests of Capital, Labor, and the general public. He neither wishes nor expects to stem the organic movement towards amalgamation, or to bring back the age of competition. If it is America's destiny, and it well may be, to culminate in a sort of industrial feudalism, he realizes as clearly as any one the impossibility of thwarting it. But he has convinced himself that the new tendency, however beneficent and inevitable, has brought with it certain abuses that the Government should, if possible, find a remedy for. What are those abuses? The Attorney-General described them some fifteen months ago as "over-capitalization, lack of publicity of operation, discrimination in prices to destroy competition, insufficient personal responsibility of officers and directors for corporate management, tendency to monopoly, and lack of appreciation in their management of their relations to the people for whose benefit they are permitted to

exist." And for these abuses what are President Roosevelt's remedies? I think they may all be fairly summed up in the one word, Publicity. The one definite proposal he has put forward is that the same publicity should be demanded of the Trusts as is already exacted from banks and insurance companies. Well, the President has got what he wanted. The Bill that created the Department of Commerce and Labor created also a Bureau of Corporations, and in this Bureau it vested full authority to investigate Trusts, to demand reports from them, and to use the information obtained as it thought right. (Several Corporations, by the way, have refused to supply any information, and the Supreme Court will therefore have to pass upon the validity of the new Act before we can judge of its efficacy.) Secondly, Congress has appropriated a considerable sum of money to forward official prosecutions under the terms of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and has also passed a Bill expediting the hearing of all such cases, giving them a practical priority over all other litigation. And, finally, Congress, early in 1903, passed the Elkins Bill. By this Act it is sought to do away with the system of rebates and discriminations that enabled large shippers to obtain from the railroads more favorable terms for carrying their goods than their smaller competitors. That system, beyond doubt, is enormously prevalent, and unquestionably augments one of the few real abuses of which the Trusts have been convicted.

Such, then, is the legislative outcome of the President's agitation, and its value would seem to rest on a series of "ifs." If the Elkins Act can be made to succeed, where a hundred similar laws have failed, and if the Supreme Court decides that publicity may be demanded without violating the Constitution, then the President may at least claim to have made a beginning. At the same time he has not relied merely upon legislation. The powers vested in him as Chief Executive by the Sherman and other Acts have been used, not without effect, against the Northern Securities Company, and the Beef Trust, and would be turned to-morrow against any other Corporation on the advice of the Attorney-General. On the other hand, it will be noticed that nothing has been done to prevent the Trusts from "freezing out" local competition, or from dictating to retailers, and that the Tariff question and the Trust question have been kept carefully apart—the President even denying that any connection exists between them. On the whole, the chief value of his contribution to the problem really consists in the proof he has given that he is not afraid of the Trusts, that they cannot muzzle him, and that he intends, if possible, to regulate them in a calm and deliberate spirit, with no appeal to class or sectional hatred, but solely from his sense of what the public interests

demand. Whether he succeed or fail, he has at least set an example of equal courage and sanity; and that means much in a discussion which threatened to be marked by timidity or contempt on the one side, and on the other by ignorance and rampant revolutionary prejudice. Those same qualities of courage and moderation were displayed still more conspicuously when the President intervened to end the great anthracite coal strike of 1902, and again when he sternly refused to allow the trades-unions to dictate the conditions of Government employment, reinstated on the spot a foreman in the Government Printing Office, who had been dismissed by some official weakling in compliance with the demand of a union, and immediately ordered an inquiry throughout all the Departments of State with a view to ascertaining whether any other attempts had been made by trades-unions to control Government employees.

And how has all this affected his electoral position? Will Mr. Roosevelt be nominated as the Republican candidate for this year's campaign, and, if nominated, will he be elected? Those are questions which at present can only be answered in general terms. His nomination by the Republican Convention that meets next June, may, I think, be taken as almost certain, but his election is more doubtful. It cannot be denied that Mr. Roosevelt has startled and even alarmed the conservatism of his countrymen, or at least of a powerful section among them. Wall Street, and by Wall Street I mean the upper world of business and finance, distrusted him in 1901, and distrusts him more now. The head and front of his offending lies, of course, in his Trust policy. In the eyes of Capital it was bad enough to have the President intervene in the Pennsylvania coal strike. Apart from the Constitutional objections to such a course, his action, it was argued, could only "increase the arrogance of Labor," and fill it with the mischievous notion that the President was its special protector. But to have the President passing from this to the regulation of Trusts was a development that filled to overflowing the cup of capitalist resentment. Mr. Roosevelt may disclaim as much as he likes the imputation that he was "attacking" the Trust, and insist even to weariness that his policy was not a move against, but in favor of, Capital. The fact remains that neither the people nor the capitalists subscribe to his view of things. All the support and all the enmity he has won in this matter have sprung from the conviction that he is in some sort trying to restrain the power of Capital. The mere suspicion is enough to rouse the moneyed interests to arms. Wall Street in 1896 and 1900 hardly used more pointed language about Mr. Bryan than it uses today about Mr. Roosevelt, and nothing would give the heads of the

great corporations and the financial magnates deeper gratification than to prevent Mr. Roosevelt's adoption as the Republican candidate. Have they the power to do this? I do not believe they have, but I do believe that if they made up their minds to support the Democratic candidate—and a "sound-money," safe, and reputable Democrat would be far more to their liking than Mr. Roosevelt— their influence, not only their social and political influence, and their influence as colossal employers of labor, but also their power as huge contributors to the campaign funds of whichever party they favor, might most seriously imperil Mr. Roosevelt's chances of election. On the other hand, the wealth of the country being Protectionist, and opposed to the Democratic advocacy of a low tariff, would infinitely prefer not to have to choose between Mr. Roosevelt and his Democratic opponent. That is to say, it would far rather that the Republican nominee were any one but Mr. Roosevelt; and this is the inner meaning of the attempt to "boom" Senator Hanna—a man after the capitalist's own heart—as the Republican candidate. One or two more or less prominent politicians have lent themselves to this movement, and though it is most unlikely to succeed, it must still be reckoned among the forces working against Mr. Roosevelt that he has not, as Mr. McKinley had, the confidence and backing of the business world, and the enthusiasm of a united party. Again, the President has contrived, with a certain belligerent clumsiness, to inflame the South to madness, to restore the political alliance which Mr. McKinley had most dexterously loosened, between the South and the Democratic Party, and to alienate the sober second thoughts of the country by his resurrection—unintentional, but none the less palpable—of the race question. Besides this, it is as certain as anything in politics can be that the approaching election will be fought out primarily on the Tariff issue, and their handling of the Tariff has been the least satisfactory feature of the Republicans' record. It must be borne in mind, as one of the hidden but most potent difficulties in President Roosevelt's way, that official Republicanism is largely in the hands of a group of elderly and conservative politicians, deeply committed to the ancient ways, and answering comfortably to all demands for fresh legislation, "Oh, let well enough alone"—the answer of all answers most repugnant to a man of the President's temperament and clear-sightedness. A refusal to modify in good time the present high Tariff schedules must, in his opinion, lead eventually to a violent reaction against the principle of Protection, and against the Republicans as its too valiant defenders. The President has expressed his views on the subject with usual clearness, if with rather less than his usual practicality. He would like to appoint a commis-

sion of experts to thrash out the Tariff question scientifically. He is not opposed to revision *per se;* he recognizes that while the general policy of Protection is fixed, schedules and rates should be readapted to changing conditions; but he would like to have the whole subject taken out of party politics. That, of course, is Utopian. There is little enough as it is in American politics; there would be nothing whatever without the Tariff. Moreover, the President denies with emphasis that the road to the regulation of the Trusts lies through a reform of the Tariff. Here, I believe, he runs counter to what is already a belief, or at least a suspicion, and may possibly develop into a conviction, on the part of the majority of his countrymen. The average man appears to be inclining more and more towards the opinion that the Tariff is too high, and that the Trusts thrive on it; and this is an opinion which the Democrats will zealously encourage. On this point —the degree of connection, namely, that exists between the Tariff and the Trusts—public opinion would seem to be running ahead both of the President and his party. The question is complicated by the problem of Tariff revision, as a policy standing by itself. Does the Tariff foster the Trusts, and whether it does or does not, has the time come for revising it? These are issues that in my judgment the coming campaign must infallibly make clear. That is to say, the Tariff will be attacked not only as "the mother of the Trusts," but on the ground that it is now unnecessarily Protective and the sooner the Democrats take up this position, under the leadership of a man in whom the business world has confidence, who is not a demagogue of the Bryan type, and has no currency heresies standing to his discredit, the better for their prospects next November. The Republican attitude on this vital question is mixed. Official Republicanism dreads, above all things, having the Tariff again made a party issue. On the other hand, there has been growing up among the Republicans of the Western States, of Iowa in particular, a strong demand for immediate Tariff revision. Most Republicans admit, in private, if not in public, that the Dingley rates are in many respects now obsolete and out of touch with the actual business conditions of to-day, and without in the least abandoning Protection, they would consent to such a readjustment of the schedules as would not involve a reversal of policy. But they have differed, and still differ, among themselves as to when the plunge should be taken, and Congress invited to overhaul the Act of 1897. They differ still more in their views as to the responsibility of the Tariff for the Trusts, and, as a party, have done, and will do, all they can to keep the two questions separate. The result—to which the President's half-heartedness has certainly contributed—is that time

has slipped by and nothing has been accomplished. Not a step has been taken towards Reciprocity or Tariff revision, and the opening of the Presidential campaign finds the Republicans "standing pat" on the Dingley Act as it is, and the Democrats preparing to hurl their main force against it.

As against all this, the President has on his side an immense source of strength in the confidence and admiration of the average man. No President, or at any rate no President of recent years, has made so persistent an appeal to the better side of the national temperament; and the spectacle of his virile decisiveness, his absolute contempt for the featureless and fantastic caution of the ordinary politician, and the real loftiness that prompts every word and every deed, have powerfully swayed the hearts and minds of men. There is something in Theodore Roosevelt, and there is something in the American people which meet and join hands on a high plane, not of citizenship only, but of character and human nature; and so long as that can be said of a man, he may with impunity disregard "political" plottings, and the abuse and opposition of this or that "interest." There are moments in the history of even such a politician-ridden country as America when the people take things into their own hands, and I do not believe that the wealth of all the Trusts and the intrigues of all the "machines" could now prevent Mr. Roosevelt's nomination as the Republican candidate. Moreover, the Democrats, though not so divided as they were, and though a certain reaction in their favor is observable here and there, are still far from being a united party, have not yet been able to agree upon a leader, and even now do not know whether Clevelandism or Bryanism is to dictate the party programme, and choose the party candidate. Much will depend upon the issue of their internal arrangements, and until we know who is to lead the Democratic forces, and under what banner, speculation on the result of the forthcoming election is more than usually futile. At the most, an impression is all that can be ventured upon at present. My own, given without prejudice, is that the net result of the Democratic deliberations can mean no more than the difference between a close and a one-sided contest, and that not even a "sound-money," conservative, and irreproachably "safe" Democrat could snatch from Mr. Roosevelt the prize he has so splendidly earned.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

ADMIRAL AND GENERAL REYNOLDS.

Par nobile fratrum.

[The following memoir, in a form somewhat different from that in which it is now presented, was read at the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the presentation of a portrait of General Reynolds, painted by Balling, a Danish artist, and bequeathed to the Society by the late Admiral Reynolds. Representing the widow and her co-executor, I was of course debarred from even the customary license of eulogy. In the letters and addresses from which I have made liberal extracts, there will be found eloquent praise of these two eminent brothers, who lent lustre to the respective arms of the service in which they spent their lives. It is especially grateful and fitting to accede to the request of the editors for a memoir of Admiral Reynolds and of General Reynolds, for THE UNITED SERVICE addresses itself to both army and navy, and no better representatives of the two services can be found than these two brothers.—J. G. R.]

THERE are both in this country and elsewhere notable examples of two brothers achieving distinction in the sister services, but these cases are not so frequent as to allow the latest as well as the most shining instance to pass without special comment. There was much in common in the characters of Admiral and General Reynolds. They were alike in their dislike of mere popular applause; alike in their zealous discharge of duty; alike in always putting their whole strength into all they did; alike in the high estimate put upon them by all who knew them; alike in enjoying the affection and confidence of all who served with them; alike in the hold they have gained upon the memory of those who could best appreciate their abilities and their patriotic devotion to their country in its hour of direst need,—in the great struggle for its existence. General Reynolds gave up his life on the battlefield in the midst of health and strength, Admiral Reynolds died in consequence of exposure to the malarial fever of the East when he was in command of the Asiatic Squadron. He had broken down forty years before under the hardships incident to his service as a subaltern in Wilkes's Exploring Expedition, was forced by ill health to go upon the retired list, and was employed for some years in the Sandwich Islands. He returned home at once on the outbreak of the Rebellion, and, although still disabled, he sought and at once found active employment, and was soon restored to the active list as a reward for his successful discharge of the important and responsible

duties assigned to him. Nor were these brothers alone in serving their country in its hour of peril. An elder brother was a paymaster and a younger was the quartermaster-general of Pennsylvania throughout the war, and served with great zeal, rendering efficient and valuable aid to his commander, the war governor of that great Commonwealth, helping to call forth its strength and contribute its resources of men and means to meet the exigencies of those trying times, and to support the strain put upon its patriotism.

William and John Fulton Reynolds were the sons of John Reynolds, who was born near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1787. He was the son of William Reynolds, a Protestant Irishman, who came to this country in 1760, and married Catharine Ferree Le Fevre, the great-granddaughter of Mary Ferree, a French Huguenot, who settled in Lancaster County in 1708. This Mary Ferree came from the Rhine Provinces, where she had taken refuge from persecution in France, until a French invading army forced her to go still farther. Finally, with her three sons and three daughters and a large following of her fellow-countrymen, she found a home in Pennsylvania. She was a widow before she left Europe, yet so much of a leader that on her arrival she took up four thousand acres,—two thousand by grant from the Proprietor, who thus encouraged the settlement of an excellent class of emigrants, and two thousand by purchase. All of this and much adjacent land was subdivided among and settled by French and other Protestant refugees. They were all heartily welcomed by the Indians, whose king, Tanawa, lies buried in the grave-yard at Paradise, in Lancaster County, set apart by her. Her daughter, Catharine, married Isaac Le Fevre, who had come to this country in 1686, in his seventeenth year, first settling with many other French Huguenots in Esopus in New York, subsequently joining his fellow-Huguenots in Pennsylvania. Their son was the first white child born in Pequea Valley, now one of the richest, most populous, and most fertile tracts of Eastern Pennsylvania. Penn, in a deed dated 1712, for land conveyed to Daniel Ferree and Isaac Le Fevre, described them as "late of Steinmeister, in the Palatinate of the Rhine," and the passport from the authorities of their native place speaks of them as coming "to the Island of Pennsylvania." Rupp, in his "History of Lancaster County," calls them Walloons. Redmond Conyngham reports a tradition that Mary Ferree was presented to Queen Anne at Hampton Court by Penn himself when she was on her way to his colony, and she was certainly treated with unusual honor as a representative and leader of the French Huguenots in their exodus to a new home.

The mother of Admiral and General Reynolds was Lydia, daughter of Samuel Moore, a Protestant Irishman, too, an early settler in Lancaster County, and an officer of the Pennsylvania line during the Revolutionary War; although on the resignation of the Continental army he lost his commission, his services were rewarded by a grant of land in the West and by a pension to his widow. Her maternal grandfather, Samuel Fulton, another north of Ireland emigrant, gave to John Fulton Reynolds his middle name. The Reynoldses well bear out the strong praise given to their race by Judge Chambers in his account of "The Irish and Scotch Settlers of Pennsylvania," where, after premising that "character is said to be transmissible, and that of descendants may often be traced in that of their ancestors," he asserts that "in all stations under the National and State governments, civil and military, the men of the Scotch-Irish race have generally been prominent, eminent, patriotic, faithful, wise, judicious and deliberate in council, resolute, unwavering, and inflexible in the discharge of duty, and when called by their country to face the public enemy in arms, there were none more brave, fearless and intrepid." John Reynolds, the father, was left an orphan at an early age, and coming from Lancaster to Philadelphia, became an apprentice to Archibald Bartram, a well-known printer in the early years of the century; he was made a partner before he was of age, and the imprint of Bartram & Reynolds is found on some important publications. Reynolds returned to Lancaster, and in 1820 bought the *Lancaster Journal,* established in 1794, which grew in importance under his management. He sold it in 1836, and thenceforward devoted himself to the care of numerous important public and private trusts. He sat in the State Legislature for a short time, and he was honored with the esteem and confidence of all his associates there, while he was active and energetic at home in advancing the interests of his fellow-townsmen, and especially in the cause of education, taking a large part in securing the establishment of the system of common schools, and in every way maintaining the credit and distinction which made Lancaster preeminent in the State, and that at a time when its influence was quite out of proportion to its mere size. John Reynolds died in Baltimore on the 11th of May, 1853, leaving to his children the inheritance of a spotless reputation. William Reynolds, his eldest son, was born in Lancaster, December 18, 1815; was appointed a midshipman November 17, 1831; served on Wilkes's Exploring Expedition from 1838 to 1842, receiving his commission as lieutenant while he was with it, and went on the retired list in consequence of ill health in 1851. He was assigned to duty at the Sandwich Islands, and remained there

until 1861, when he returned to the United States and applied for active duty. He was made commander of the naval forces at Port Royal, and on the recommendation of Admiral Dupont and Admiral Dahlgren, and at the urgent request of his juniors was restored to the active list; became a commodore in 1870; served as Chief of Bureau and as Acting Secretary of the Navy in 1873, and again in 1874; and having been made rear-admiral December 12, 1873, was appointed in that year to the command of the United States naval forces on the Asiatic Station, where he was again stricken down and obliged to return home.

It was while he was in Japanese waters that he made his will, bequeathing the sword intended to be presented to his brother, General Reynolds, by the enlisted men of the Pennsylvania Reserves, and after his death sent to the Admiral, as the representative of the family, to their nephew, Lieutenant John Fulton Reynolds Landis, now of the First United States Cavalry, and Balling's portrait of General Reynolds to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, thus showing that his last thought was of that brother's memory, and that his last wish was to perpetuate the name and fame of the gallant soldier whose death on the battle-field has forever connected him with the successful issue of the great struggle at Gettysburg.

Of Admiral Reynolds's services the Secretary of the Navy, in the order announcing his death, says, "In the administration of the duties committed to him he did much to improve the *personnel* and efficiency of the enlisted men of the navy, and in the discharge of all the duties devolving on him during a long career in the service he exhibited zeal, intelligence, and ability, for all of which he was conspicuous."

Judge Allen, the Hawaiian representative at Washington, said, "Admiral Reynolds, when a young man attached to Wilkes's Exploring Expedition, made a thorough examination of the Hawaiian Islands. Returning there on account of ill health, he became strongly impressed with the importance of their position, not only as a resort for the mercantile and naval marine, but as an outpost of defense to the United States. He urged the establishment of more intimate commercial relations between the two countries, not only on the score of increased business, but as tending to strengthen the political position of the United States in its control of the Western World. His judgment was strikingly correct, not only in all that related to his professional duty, but in regard to promoting the commercial and industrial interests of the whole country. He seconded heartily the action of the government in negotiating the Hawaiian treaty of reciprocity, viewing it as of great political as well as commercial value,

and urging on all the public men who consulted him on account of his long residence in the islands, the necessity of favorable action. His opinion was clear and emphatic that the treaty would give the United State a controlling interest in the islands, and it had great and deserved weight with those who, knowing his thorough acquaintance with the subject, could rely implicitly on his sound advice and his mature judgment. The Hawaiians have always borne in grateful memory his long residence in their midst, and his action in forwarding the treaty which has secured them a strong alliance with the United States, and saved them from the risks of an unwelcome protectorate from some distant power. It was eminently characteristic of Admiral Reynolds that in his successive visits to the islands and in his frequent intercourse with their representatives, he never failed to do and to secure justice to them, and to maintain the high and well-earned confidence which has always been put in our naval representatives by those countries with which they have had most to do."

Rear-Admiral Rodgers said, "I know that Admiral Dupont placed the greatest confidence in Reynolds,—his administration of his command was always admirable, he was always ready for duty, and no one was ever detained for a moment for anything which it laid in his power to do at once. The letters on file in the Navy Department show how valuable, how indispensable were the services he rendered to the fleet at Port Royal. At the Sandwich Islands, as elsewhere, he was conspicuous for his attention to his duties and for his skill in performing them. To a ready command of language he united clear perceptions, a facile pen, and elegant diction,—he wrote well and with great strength. In losing Admiral Reynolds the navy lost one of its most devoted servants and one of its most esteemed officers."

His last service was in command of the United States naval forces on the Asiatic Station. Sailing from New York in his flag-ship Tennessee, he went through the Suez Canal, receiving unusual honors from the Khedive of Egypt and from the British officers in India. In China and Japan, in Siam and Singapore, he discharged with great success the large discretion necessarily vested in our naval commanders in the East. Lieutenant-Commander White, who was a member of Admiral Reynolds's staff, in his rough notes of his last cruise, speaks of the thoroughness with which he carried out all his orders and visited all the points prescribed, notably working to secure the success of his negotiation with the King of Siam and to re-establish friendly relations with his kingdom, and in all his dealings and intercourse making a strong and favorable impression on all with whom he was personally and officially brought in contact. In Japan, his rela-

tions with native as well as foreign dignitaries were always of the pleasantest kind. In China, he took his flag-ship close to the great China Wall, where it comes down to the sea, and afterwards visited Pekin, and was received by the regent with the distinction due his rank and the country he so well represented. His health failing, he relinquished his command and returned home. This was his last duty; he soon after went on the retired list, and after a long illness he died in Washington in November, 1879.

John Fulton Reynolds was born in Lancaster on the 20th of September, 1820. Like his elder brother William, and with his younger brother James Le Fevre, he was sent to school at Litiz, a Moravian village laid out as a colony from Bethlehem in 1757, and deriving its name from a village in Bohemia, whence many of the United Brethren had emigrated to this country. It has always been famous for its schools. Originally there was one for boys belonging to the society and another for those of other denominations, but finally these were consolidated, and in 1815 put under charge of Mr. John Beck, who remained at its head for fifty years, when he was succeeded by his son. In his valedictory address of 1865 he gives a catalogue of his pupils, and it contains the names of William Reynolds in 1827, and John and James Reynolds in 1833. Beck was noted for his social intercourse and parental influence with his boys; he inspired them with a real love of work and a hearty enthusiasm in all their pursuits; he had the gift of teaching them how to learn, and in giving them a good practical education he made his school deservedly popular and successful, so that it left its marked and lasting influence on all those whose early education was begun under his fostering care.

One of Reynolds's school-fellows says of him, "He was a general favorite; of a kindly but very lively temperament, he attracted sympathy and love with all, and was held in high esteem,—his happy and joyous face showed that he belonged to a race of hardy scholars, working and playing in earnest." To give them a classical training the Reynolds boys were sent from Litiz to Long Green, Maryland, about sixteen miles from Baltimore, where the Rev. Mr. Morrison, a Presbyterian clergyman, had established a very successful high school in an old colonial mansion of the Carrolls. Afterwards they returned to Lancaster to go to a public school on the Lancastrian method, where they served their turn as monitors, studied French and mathematics, and received their appointments, William going into the navy as a midshipman, John to West Point as a cadet. They received these from Mr. Buchanan, at that time a leading representative of Pennsylvania in Congress, and one of that strong body of able men who made

the local reputation of Lancaster and carried it into the highest place in our government. With him as with his other contemporaries the elder Reynolds maintained a life-long intimacy,—the tie of Federalism bound them together for many years, and their friendship outlived their party, for they went together over to the new Jacksonian Democracy.

Reynolds was appointed a cadet at West Point on the 30th of June, 1837, being then nearly seventeen; he graduated on the 22d of June, 1841, number twenty-six in a class of fifty-two. Among his classmates were General Wright, now Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., Lyons, Garesche, Tower, Whipple, Rodman, Howe, Totten, Garnett, all well known for their share in the late war, and in which, like him, they won honor and distinction.

He was appointed brevet lieutenant July 1, 1841, and second lieutenant in the Third Artillery, October 23, 1841; first lieutenant, June 1, 1846; was in the battery under T. W. Sherman in the battle of Monterey, and for his services there brevetted captain September 23, 1846; was engaged in the battle of Buena Vista on the 21st of January, 1847, and was brevetted major for his gallantry on that field. He was appointed captain March 5, 1855; was mentioned in general orders for his services in the expedition against the Rogue River Indians in Oregon; took part in the Utah Expedition, under General A. S. Johnston, in 1858; and in 1859 was appointed commandant of cadets at West Point. May 14, 1861, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Fourteenth Infantry, and on the 20th of August, 1861, brigadier-general U. S. V. At the request of Governor Curtin he was assigned the command of the first brigade of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves, then under Major-General McCall, in front of Washington, Meade and Ord taking the other brigades. In May, 1862, he was made military governor of Fredericksburg, and it is characteristic of the man that when he was taken prisoner at the battle of Gaines' Mills, on the 28th of June, and sent to Richmond, the civil authorities of Fredericksburg went to Richmond to solicit his exchange. This was finally effected, and he was exchanged for General Barksdale, who was also killed at Gettysburg. Reynolds employed his enforced leisure in prison by preparing a careful report of the operations of his command in the campaign under McClellan, and on his release rejoined the army on the 8th of August, and was assigned command of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves, taking a distinguished part in the campaign of the Army of Virginia under General Pope; at the request of Governor Curtin he was assigned command of the militia at the time of the first invasion of Pennsyl-

vania; returning to the Army of the Potomac, he succeeded General Hooker in command of the First Corps; on the 29th of March, 1863, he was appointed major-general U. S. V.; and on the 1st of June, colonel Fifth United States Infantry; on the 12th of June he was assigned to the command of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of his own and the Third and Eleventh Corps, and of the cavalry division under Buford; and on the 1st of July, 1863, he fell at Gettysburg at the head of his troops, in the advance of the army, and at the very outset of the great battle.

The letters written by him during his busy career will illustrate his character. He writes from camp near Monterey, 6th of December, 1846, "In the first place, our battery was ordered into town on the 21st, with four guns, four caissons, and six horses to a carriage. It was discovered that only one gun could be brought into action, the remainder was therefore exposed to the fire from the enemy's works without being of the least use. It was therefore ordered back where it started from, and which it never should have left at the time it did; afterwards the men were of some use in driving back the cavalry of the enemy. On the 23d we were again in town, and suffered more in the loss of men than we did on the 21st; in all we had twenty-two horses and about twelve or fourteen men disabled. My horse was shot on the 21st, but has entirely recovered, and is in much better condition than ever, inasmuch as he can go over his four bars and think nothing of it. There are but three of us now in the company, Thomas, myself, and French, Bragg having succeeded to the company poor Ridgeley commanded. What an unfortunate fate was his! A more gallant officer there was never in the service, or a more noble, generous companion; his death will be regretted by the whole army. He was looked upon as the real hero of the Resaca."

From camp near Monterey, May 16, 1847, he writes, "All I care for and all the reward I expect is the good opinion of my brother officers in the army. I have been gratified to my heart's content with all the honors of war, but I am in for the war and expect to see it through." Carleton, in his "History of the Battle of Buena Vista," makes frequent mention of Reynolds, who was in command of a section of T. W. Sherman's battery, and was with his two guns in May's cavalry operations, doing gallant service in repelling the attack of the Mexicans on Buena Vista, and aiding in turning the enemy's right at very close quarters.

In General Orders No. 14, of November 13, 1857, and No. 22, of November 10, 1858, from headquarters of the army, Brevet Major J. F. Reynolds, Company H, Third Artillery, is one of the officers

"specially commended for skill, perseverance, and judgment in their conduct of the campaign of March, April, May, and June, 1856, in which, after traversing the mountains and valleys of the Rogue River, the troops had a number of severe conflicts, and compelled the Indians to surrender at discretion, thus terminating the war in Southern Oregon."

In September, 1859, he writes from camp at Fort Dalles, Oregon, describing the march of eight hundred and thirty-eight miles from Camp Floyd, Utah, having spent seventy-one days on the journey. He says, "And now we are at the end of the land route, about to ship the battery by water to Vancouver, ninety miles down the river. The march was tedious but very successful, and we are glad to get away from the despicable Mormons, whose hordes have seized the heart of the country and live in open defiance of the law." On the 18th of June, 1861, writing from West Point, he speaks of "the sorrowful condition of our only lately happy and prosperous country," and of the visit of Mr. Jefferson Davis, in the preceding September, with a committee of Congressmen "laboring to reorganize our national school, whose sons never, until the seeds sown by his parricidal hand had filled it with the poisonous weed of secession, had known any other allegiance than that due to the whole country, or worshipped any other flag than that which waved over our youthful hopes and aspirations, and under which we marched so proudly in our boyish days. Who could have believed that he was then brooding over his systematic plan for disorganizing the whole country? The depth of his treachery has not been plumbed yet, but it will be." In a letter from Fort Trumbull, on the 15th of July, 1861, he says, "I left West Point on the 3d, and have been busy since dispatching officers of my new regiment on recruiting service. I would have preferred, of course, the artillery arm of the service, but could not refuse at this time, when the government has a right to my services in any capacity. We have just received the news of General McClellan's victories, and hope they are the harbingers of the ultimate triumph and vindication of the Constitution of our fathers." After he had gone to the field, on the 4th of November, 1861, he writes, "I put the division through a review, the form of which I arranged according to my idea of the proper formation and disposition of large bodies of troops; it was a decided success. We are to have a review of three divisions soon, and in the same manner, putting about thirty thousand men in, and allowing them to maneuver and pass in review in proper order."

He did his best to make the Pennsylvania militia as useful as possible in the emergency for which he was called to command them in

the autumn of 1862, and his labors were fully appreciated by those most competent to judge, although he was also the subject of much adverse comment by persons unwilling or unable even then to appreciate the advantage and necessity of strict military discipline. On the conclusion of this service Governor Curtin wrote him the following letter of thanks:

"PENNSYLVANIA EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

"HARRISBURG, 26th September, 1862.

"GENERAL,—Having relieved you from duty as commander of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia, recently called out for the defense of the State, I deem it proper to express my strong sense of the gratitude which Pennsylvania owes for the zeal, spirit, and ability which you brought to her service at a period when her honor and safety were threatened. That for her security you left the command of your brave division, the Pennsylvania Reserves, thus losing the opportunity of leading this gallant corps at South Mountain and Antietam, is a just demonstration of the true affection you bear for your native State, which, be assured, her freemen reciprocate, and for which, in their behalf, I am happy to make you this acknowledgment.

"(Signed) A. G. CURTIN.

"TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN F. REYNOLDS, U. S. A."

In his letter from camp near Sharpsburg, Maryland, October 5, 1862, Reynolds says, "I finished up the militia just as soon as possible as far as I was concerned, though I was sorry to see they did not escape without an accident, which I was apprehensive all the time might occur. They were impatient beyond any conception, and finally exhausted my patience in one or two instances. The President visited us on Friday last. My corps, for I am commanding Hooker's temporarily, were kept under arms waiting in the sun for so long a time as to have entirely melted out what little remained of their enthusiasm." And on the 14th of October, speaking of Stuart's raid, he says, "When I heard that the enemy's cavalry had got over into the State I rejoiced, because I thought they must be caught before they recrossed the river, but their escape has given me quite a shock. I did not think they could perform such a feat in our own country. On the Chickahominy it was different,—the very audacity of the thing was the secret of its success. The State should have an organized force on the frontier, of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to be posted on their exposed points, which could be moved with something like rapidity in a body. Militia without artillery would be good only to be paroled."

In his letter of November 30, 1862, from headquarters First Army Corps, camp at Brooks' Station, Virginia, he says, "The removal of General McClellan was a surprise to the greater portion of the army here, but, take it together, it created less feeling than I feared such a step would have done. I saw more of him on this march than I have done since he has been in command of the army; had been with him most of the time in the advance, and think the step taken by the authorities in Washington was as unwise and injudicious as it was uncalled for; yet the prevailing spirit, with few exceptions, is obedience to the powers that be and a determination to do all that they are capable of under the new chief, who is as noble a spirit as ever existed, and who feels, no doubt, in his honesty of purpose, that he is fairly qualified to carry an army of such magnitude as this through a campaign. Very few are, that I know of, under all the circumstances. The country is not as favorable as Maryland, and the enemy are now in position where they can receive supplies and information *ad libitum*. We will have a hard campaign if we undertake to advance from this point, the roads and the country itself are not favorable."

Reynolds tells his own story in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as given on the 23d March, 1863 (vol. i., Part I., p. 593): "When the Rebellion broke out I was commanding the cadets at West Point, and joined the army in the field in September, 1861, when it was opposite Washington, under General McClellan. I was attached to McDowell's corps, in the division commanded by General McCall. I remained attached to that corps until the beginning of June, when the division was sent from Fredericksburg to General McClellan, by way of the Rappahannock and York Rivers. The division joined the Army of the Potomac at the White House about the 10th of June. I was present at the battle of Mechanicsville, on the 26th of June; it began in the afternoon, between two and three o'clock. The forces engaged were two brigades of McCall's division, occupying a defensive position along the line of Beaver Dam Creek, which had been selected prior to our arrival or about that time by General Porter, and the troops disposed on it by General Seymour and myself, under General McCall's direction. The enemy attacked the position on the two roads leading to the left and right with quite a large force and with great vigor. The action continued until nightfall, when the enemy were repulsed in every effort that he made to assault or to turn the immediate position on the right. About twelve o'clock at night I received orders from General McCall to evacuate the position and fall back on Cold Harbor Road to Gaines' Mills. I was present at the battle of Gaines' Mills, and my brigade was engaged for the

greater part of the afternoon, and until our line was broken on the left and the enemy succeeded in cutting off a portion of the troops engaged on the right, and I was unfortunately cut off myself, so that I was made prisoner the next morning. I rejoined General McClellan's army at Harrison's Landing, and immediately reported for duty, and took command of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves. The division was ordered to embark for Acquia Creek, and debarked there about the 20th of August, when I proceeded to Fredericksburg and reported to General Burnside. I was then ordered to Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock; reported to General Pope, who assigned my division temporarily to General McDowell's corps. On the morning of the next day I received orders from General Pope to join him on the march to Warrenton. We took part in all the operations of his army after that time, being engaged in the battles of the 29th and 30th, retiring with his forces to the defences in Washington."

In his examination before the Fitz-John Porter court-martial, General Reynolds testified on the 30th December, 1862, "I was a brigadier-general commanding the division of Pennsylvania Reserves. I was attached to General Porter's corps in the Army of the Potomac. My command was the first from the Army of the Potomac to the Army of Virginia. After leaving Rappahannock Station, at which point my division joined the Army of Virginia, I was temporarily attached to General McDowell's corps. On the night between the 27th and 28th of August I was at Buckland Mills, between Warrenton and Gainesville. On the morning of the 28th, after passing Gainesville for a short distance, my column was directed to the right, to march on Manassas. On the 29th I was on the left of General Sigel's command, engaged with the enemy. I was on the extreme left of our troops, facing the enemy, and their right, towards sunset, had been extended across the pike, with fresh troops coming down the Warrenton Pike. I made an attack on their right with my division, but was obliged to change front to meet the enemy coming down the pike. I was forming my troops parallel to the pike to attack the enemy, which was on the other side of the pike, but was obliged to change front from front to rear to face the troops coming down the pike. They continued to come on there until they formed and extended across the pike. The enemy's right outflanked my left towards evening. The division was maneuvering almost all the morning, and indeed in action all that day. On the morning of Saturday, the 30th, I was up in the front, and found the enemy in heavy force to the front and left by personal reconnoissance. Between two and three the main attack was made by the enemy."

It was Reynolds' corps and Meade's division that, under Reynolds' orders, made the one brilliant success at Fredericksburg, attacking and breaking the enemy's line. That it was nugatory for want of prompt support was no fault of Reynolds or of Meade or of their troops. Their orders were carried out with impetuous and unhesitating courage, and it does not lessen the credit due them that so competent and impartial a critic as the Count of Paris, in his "History of the Rebellion," decides that the success of the movement would not have secured a victory for the Union forces. Reynolds, in his report, after describing the movements of his command, says, "Meade's division successfully carried the wood in front, crossed the railroad, charged up the slope of the hill, and gained the road and edge of the wood, driving the enemy from his strong position in the ditches and railroad cut, capturing the flags of two regiments, and sending about two hundred prisoners to the rear"; and concludes his account of the day's operations with marked emphasis: "The gallantry and steadiness of the troops brought into action on the left is deserving of great praise, the new regiments vying with the veterans in steadiness and coolness. That the brilliant attack made and the advanced position gained by them were not more successful in their results was due to the strong character of the enemy's defences, the advantage he had of observing all our dispositions, while he made his own to meet them entirely under cover, and the loss of many of the leading officers of the command."

In the complicated series of operations at Chancellorsville, Reynolds, with the First Corps, made a demonstration in force on the extreme left, and then moved with great speed to the extreme right, arriving there in time to take the place in line of that part of the force under General Hooker which had been overcome. In all the operations Reynolds was distinguished for his untiring activity, and a characteristic story is told of him that, when exhausted by fatigue, he coolly went to sleep at a council of war, after saying that he was in favor of moving on the enemy at the earliest moment, and he asked General Meade to vote for him, modestly adding, that as his corps had not been engaged, he thought the question of fighting ought to be decided by those who had been, but he was sure his men would fight as well as they had marched.

The report was current in the corps at that time that Reynolds had been summoned to Washington and offered the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that he refused it on the ground that there was too much interference from Washington; that no man could lead it safely or successfully without being freed from any such control, and

that he preferred doing his duty as a corps commander rather than undertake an empty honor which carried with it no equivalent power or authority. It is characteristic of the man that even in his private letters to his family he never made any mention of the fact or in any way discussed the burning questions that were then making such sad havoc in the relations of the corps commanders and the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac and the authorities at Washington.

During the long and weary months spent on the Rappahannock, broken only by the unfortunate "mud march," Reynolds kept his corps in good heart; and at a time when it became a fashion for officers high in command to go to Washington to give advice as to who ought to be put at the head of the army, Reynolds remained steadily at his own headquarters, looking after his men, holding stoutly aloof from all personal or partisan quarrels, and keeping guardedly free from any of the heart-burnings and jealousies that did so much to cripple the usefulness and endanger the reputation of many gallant officers. His only utterances were his answers made under examination before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, and in the long series of volumes of their reports, wherever Reynolds spoke, his testimony is clear, straightforward, direct, to the purpose, and entirely free from any criticism of those under and with whom he served. Those reports remain one of the most extraordinary features of the war, and make a surprising exhibition of the extent to which civilians sat in judgment upon military operations, and undertook to guide, direct, influence, and criticise them. It would be surprising, indeed, if soldiers in the field could have remained strangers to the partisan and personal influences thus directly brought to bear upon them, and it is perhaps equally plain that military headquarters in Washington were most injuriously affected by the necessity, real or imaginary, of conciliating the political leaders, who mistook the power and office of representatives of the people in Congress for a direct commission to control those who by military training, both at West Point and in the field, were best fitted to direct the movements of the armies, to select their commanders, and to give them that freedom of operation which alone can secure success. It was Reynolds's merit that he never would accept command unless it was unfettered and independent and absolute within its sphere.

When Lee began his second invasion of Pennsylvania, Hooker assigned Reynolds to the command of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of his own corps, the First, the Third, under Sickles, and the Eleventh, under Howard, and Buford with his cavalry

division. As soon as Hooker had crossed the Potomac, he directed Reynolds to send detachments to seize the passes of the South Mountain, and to follow and confine the enemy in its line of advance within the one valley in which he then was, promising to bring a strong force within supporting distance should the enemy turn back from Pennsylvania and offer battle to the force which Hooker was about to send upon its rear.

It is a tradition of the army that when Hooker was about to be relieved, the command was again offered to Reynolds, who declined it in favor of Meade, and that it was only long after Reynolds's death that Meade learned this fact at the War Department. Meade and Reynolds had a long conference at Frederick City, Maryland, when the former assumed command, and the plans on which the army was operated were no doubt fully discussed between them. On the 28th of June orders were issued for the army to move on the following morning in three columns from Frederick, where it had been concentrated, the First and Eleventh Corps being directed to Emmittsburg, the cavalry under Buford on the left, covering the flanks and head of the infantry column.

On the 30th the order of march was issued for the movement of the army on the 1st of July,—the Third Corps to go to Emmittsburg, the First to Gettysburg, the Eleventh in supporting distance. Reynolds, in view of the near approach to the enemy, turned over the command of his own corps to Doubleday, and directed the general movement in close communication with Buford in the advance. Buford, with his division of cavalry, encamped at Fountain Dale on the 29th of June, and started at an early hour in the morning towards Gettysburg, but unexpectedly came upon a detachment of the enemy's infantry. It was a part of Pettigrew's brigade, of Heth's division, of Hill's corps. He moved towards Emmittsburg, and received orders to march to Gettysburg, and to hold the town, with the assurance of instant support from the infantry. On the same morning a portion of Heth's division, of Hill's corps, approached Gettysburg as near as the crest of Seminary Ridge, but after a short time countermarched, and by half-past ten had disappeared. In an hour after they had gone Buford arrived with his division, passed through the main street of the town, and out upon the Chambersburg Pike, and at a distance of a mile and a half went into position,—Gamble's brigade across the pike, Devin's across the Mummasburg and Carlisle Roads. Gamble threw out his pickets towards Cashtown, Devin his towards Hunterstown, scouring the country, capturing stragglers from the enemy, and obtaining information that satisfied Buford that the rebel army was

converging on Gettysburg, and that heavy columns were already near that place. The Union army, too, was moving in the same direction, and on the night of the 30th, Reynolds bivouacked on the banks of Marsh Creek, four miles away, with the First Corps. Howard was with the Eleventh a few miles farther back, on the Emmittsburg Road. Sickles was with the Third Corps at Emmittsburg. General Reynolds was kept fully aware of the movements of the enemy by Buford, who had reported to him in person on the afternoon of the 30th, and through an aide of Reynolds's, who had gone with Buford to the front and returned late at night with the latest news.

Reynolds formed his troops for the night on ground and in positions from which he could fight, if attacked, until he could gather together and hold in hand his whole force, and reported the condition of affairs to Meade. On the morning of the 1st, Buford's line extended from the point where the Millerstown Road crosses Willoughby Run, across the Chambersburg Pike, around the Mummasburg, Carlisle, and Harrisburg Pikes, and the railroad, thus covering all the roads entering the town from the north and west. The guns of his light batteries were placed on a ridge parallel with Seminary Ridge, about half a mile from it, where the rest of his forces were posted, dismounted, as a reserve. Lieutenant Jerome, Buford's signal officer, says that on the night of the 30th, Buford, in conversation with Devin, said the battle would be fought at this point, and that he was afraid it would commence in the morning, before the infantry could get up. Buford, in his report, dated August 27, says, "On the 1st of July, between 8 and 9 A. M., reports came in from the First Brigade, Colonel Gamble, that the enemy was coming down from towards Cashtown in force. Colonel Gamble made an admirable line of battle, and moved off to meet him. The two lines soon became engaged, we having the advantage of position, he in numbers. The First brigade held its own for more than two hours, and had to be literally dragged back a few hundred yards, to a position more secure and better sheltered. Tidball's battery, commanded by Lieutenant Calif, second Artillery, fought on this occasion as is seldom witnessed. At one time the enemy had a concentric fire upon this battery from twelve guns, all at short range, but Calif held his own gloriously and worked his guns deliberately, with great judgment and skill, and with wonderful effect upon the enemy. The First Brigade maintained this unequal contest until the leading division of General Reynolds's corps came up to its assistance, and then most reluctantly did it give up the front. A portion of the Third Indiana found horse-holders, borrowed muskets, and fought with the Wisconsin regiment that came to relieve them."

Reynolds left his camp early on the morning of the 1st, and start-

ing Wadsworth's division himself and putting the whole corps in motion, went on in advance, passing through the town to the Seminary, where he had a short but significant conversation with General Buford. From him and from actual observation he ascertained the real state of the case, and requesting Buford to hold fast the position he had secured, and promising to bring up the whole force under his command as fast as it could be concentrated, he dispatched a staff-officer to headquarters to report to Meade, another to Howard to bring up his corps with all possible speed, another to Sickles to come forward at once, another to hasten on the divisions of the First Corps, and then rode back across the fields to meet the head of his advancing column. This he took by the direct route he had improvised, leveling fences and hastily breaking a straight road for the troops to the ridge in front of the Seminary, where he found the enemy pressing Buford's cavalry, and at once led his men to their relief. Cutler's brigade, of Wadsworth's division, had the advance; three regiments, the Seventy-Sixth and One Hundred and Forty-seventh New York, and the Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania, Wadsworth, by Reynolds's order, took to the right, facing westward, north of the bed of an old unfinished railroad; the two remaining regiments, the Ninety-fifth New York and Fourteenth (New York State Militia) Brooklyn, Reynold's himself took, along with Hall's Second Maine Battery, to the south of the railroad, posting the battery on the pike, the cavalry withdrawing as the infantry went into position. The Fifty-Sixth Pennsylvania, under General Hofman, had the honor of opening the infantry engagement.

Colonel Dudley, who succeeded General Meredith in command of the "Iron Brigade," says in his report, "At a point about one mile south of the town the column left the Emmittsburg Road, bearing away to the west, and moved at double-quick across the fields to the crest of the Seminary Ridge, along which it moved with celerity to the Hagerstown Road, then bearing away again to the west, came into the low ground or swale immediately west of the Seminary; hardly had the first regiment arrived upon this ground when Captain Wadsworth, of General Reynold's staff, brought information that the enemy were advancing in strong force along and upon both sides of the Chambersburg Pike, and almost simultaneously the Second Brigade became engaged upon the right. The directions of General Reynolds to the 'Iron Brigade' were to hurry forward and over the ridge in our front, and attack the enemy then advancing up its western slope. The Second Wisconsin being upon the ground, was at once directed to charge, and moved with their accustomed steadiness into the northern edge of McPherson's woods, and became at once hotly engaged. The Seventh Wisconsin and the following regiments were hurried up, and

striking the enemy, forced them to retreat down the slope upon which he had been so confidently advancing. Reaching Willoughby Run at its base, the Twenty-fourth Michigan and Nineteenth Indiana were hastily thrown across into position to enfilade the enemy's line."

The result of this dash was the surrender of General Archer with the larger portion of his brigade. The keen prescience of General Reynolds comprehended at once the importance of holding in check the advancing enemy and preventing, if possible, their occupation of so important a position. General Reynolds was personally attending to the hasty formation for the charge of the "Iron Brigade" when he was fatally wounded by one of Archer's skirmishers, at a moment when his aides were riding to the various regiments carrying the instructions of the general "to charge as fast as they arrived." General Doubleday, in his report, says, "McPherson's woods possessed all the advantages of a redoubt, strengthening the centre of our line and enfilading the enemy's columns should they advance in the open space on either side. This tongue of wood was also coveted by the enemy, and Archer's brigade, of Heth's division, had been sent across the run to occupy it, and was already advancing upon its base when the 'Iron Brigade' arrived." Reynolds at once ordered it to advance at double-quick, and followed as the leading regiment, the Second Wisconsin, under Fairchild, hurried into the woods, full of rebel skirmishers and sharpshooters; as soon as the troops were engaged there, Reynolds turned to look for his supporting columns and to hasten them on, and as he reached the point of woods he was struck by a ball fired, it is supposed, by a rebel sharpshooter in one of the trees, and was fatally wounded; his horse carried him a few rods towards the open and he fell on the ground, dead. Almost at the moment when his aides, Riddle and Wadsworth, had effected the capture of Archer's brigade, Reynolds fell, and the rebel brigadier-general and his men were marching to the rear while the dead body of Reynolds was carried in the same direction in a bier hastily improvised, a blanket swung over muskets, on the shoulders of his men. It was first taken to the Seminary, and when the fortune of the day was turning against us it was taken through the town to a little house on the Emmittsburg Road, where it remained until the final retreat of our forces was ordered, and then it was taken in an ambulance to Meade's headquarters and to Uniontown, whence it was brought by rail to Baltimore, on the next day to Philadelphia, and on Saturday, the 4th of July, to Lancaster, where it was quietly interred alongside of his father and mother. Sixteen years later the body of his elder brother, Admiral Reynolds, was brought to the same spot.

There was a general expression of grief for the untimely death of

General Reynolds, and an almost unanimous feeling that his services in seizing the position in front of the town and in boldly engaging the enemy with a largely inferior force went far towards securing the ultimate success of the battle of Gettysburg, and largely contributed to make it a crowning triumph for the Union cause. His name and fame are now indissolubly bound up with the history of the operations that culminated in the battle which finally and forever freed the North from the fear even of an invasion in force.

Mr. James Beale, formerly of the Twelfth Massachusetts (First Brigade, First Division, First Corps), a diligent student of the military history of the Rebellion, has made some important contributions from unpublished letters in his collection as to the exact details of the opening of the battle. G. B. Garrison, who was employed by General Buford as a scout, writes that "I find in my old note-book that Reynolds came on the field twenty-five minutes before nine, in advance of his corps; the first infantry came on the field fifteen minutes after nine."

General Weld, then a captain and aide-de-camp on Reynolds's staff, finds in his diary that "at eight o'clock Reynolds and his staff started for the front. * * * On the crest of the hills beyond we could see the enemy's guns going into position; * * * a few hurried words from General Buford showed the condition of affairs. * * * General Reynolds turning to me [Weld] said, 'Ride at once at your utmost speed to General Meade, tell him the enemy are advancing in strong force, and that I fear they will get to the heights beyond the town before I can. I will fight them inch by inch, and if driven into the town I will barricade the streets and hold them back as long as possible.' "

General James A. Hall, who commanded the Second Maine Battery, writes, "As to the selection of the position, Reynolds was *the* man. * * * Early on July 1st I heard Buford say, 'Reynolds, I have run upon some regiments of infantry near Gettysburg,—they are in the woods; I am unable to dislodge them.' Reynolds at once dictated a message to General Meade in my hearing, something like this: 'Buford just now reports that he finds a small force of the enemy's infantry in a point of woods near Gettysburg, which he is unable to dislodge, and while I am aware that it is not your desire to force an engagement at that point, still I feel at liberty to advance and develop the strength of the enemy.' I was at Reynold's side for some little time at Seminary Ridge, having gone ahead of my battery at his request, and I rode from Seminary Ridge out to the position taken by my guns, some half mile beyond the ridge, by his side, and all his

remarks and appearance gave me the impression that he had gone there to stay."

Reynolds's death was felt at once on the field, and while it is not possible to see how even his enthusiastic and inspiring gallantry could have overcome the immense numerical majority of the enemy, there can be little doubt that his skill and courage would have done much to lend strength to the forces in hand, and that his fiery impatience would have quickened the arrival of the rest of his command. As it was, the first day's battle at Gettysburg gave time for the concentration of the rest of the army on the hills back of Gettysburg, the heights which Hancock at once strengthened, and Meade afterwards defended, with such admirable appreciation of the vantage-ground that Reynolds had secured, by sending Buford to seize the hills in front of the town, and by bravely putting his slender infantry force against the overwhelming strength of the enemy. Such is the record of a life spent in the service of his country and sacrificed in the defence of the Union. His whole career is marked at every point by indefatigable zeal and distinguishable ability, by the hearty approval of his superiors in command, the affection of his fellow-officers, the confidence of his men, the perfect trust of all who knew him.

In reply to the address accompanying the presentation of a sword of honor to General Meade by the Pennsylvania Reserves, after Reynolds's death, Meade said, "Reynolds was the noblest as well as the bravest gentleman in the army; when he fell at Gettysburg the army lost its right arm." Professor Kendrick, an instructor at the Military Academy at West Point when Reynolds was a cadet, and still actively engaged there, his dear friend through life and still full of tender sorrow for his loss, thus sums up in the eloquence of truth the leading characteristics of his pupil,—"Although Reynolds entered the Military Academy as one of its youngest members, he quickly took a very prominent place in the confidence and esteem of his classmates, many of whom have since loyally written their names high in the military annals of the country, while his frank and manly bearing gained him the respect of the corps of instructors. Independent in thought and action, of clear and definite perceptions, his opinions, on all subjects within the range of a young man's discussion, were well formed and well maintained, and yet so calmly and courteously as to leave no sting in the breast of an opponent, but rather higher respect and greater friendship. He worshipped truth and duty in the highest acceptance of those words; with all these great qualities he went forth from the Academy to the wider field of army service, and as word came back again and again of his enviable progress, it was recognized as the expected fulfillment of his early promise. It was his good for-

tune to serve in the beginning of his military career in intimate connection with that other great man and soldier, George H. Thomas. Together and in the same battery they served in the gallant defence of Fort Brown, at the commencement of the Mexican War; together they fought successfully at Monterey, and together they struggled in the desperate and important battle of Buena Vista, which largely aided in the capture of Vera Cruz and the victory of Cerro Gordo. In all these conflicts on General Taylor's line, Reynolds was greatly distinguished for his calm courage, his modest self-reliance, and his military conduct. Of him General Taylor's accomplished chief of staff, Colonel Bliss, wrote, 'Your young friend has the general's high regard, and he is the idol of his men.' In his great and varied service in Florida, in Texas, in Mexico, California, Oregon, Utah, Reynolds always showed himself without fear, without reproach, and without an enemy. When he yielded up his life, still so full of promise, in the defence of his native State and of his country in the turning victory of the war at Gettysburg, it was but the fitting termination of his whole life. England 'almost regretted the victory of Trafalgar,' since it cost her the death of Nelson; our army and 'thinking men' throughout the North, who knew his high worth and high prospects, regretted that Gettysburg could not be won without the loss of General John F. Reynolds."

General Devin, in his oration on General Meade and the battle of Gettysburg, said, "Reynolds was known to the whole army as a soldier in whose bravery and skill the most implicit confidence might be placed. Modest and simple in manner, with no trace of affectation or boasting, reliable as steel, a true soldier, he died a soldier's death, grandly contributing to the triumph he was never to share. Where could man better meet the inevitable hour than in defence of his native State, waiting with eager zeal and dauntless heart the advance of the coming foe?"

General Heth spoke, in his address at Bunker Hill of the respect and admiration felt on his, the Southern, side towards Reynolds, "at whose death the nation well might mourn, and in doing so honor herself."

General Meade himself never ceased to bear witness to his sense of personal loss at the death of the fellow-soldier with whom he had gained his first distinction in the division of Pennsylvania Reserves.

The "History of the Pennsylvania Reserves," almost an official record of the brave men who served in that splendid body, is full of his gallant deeds in his successive steps as brigade, division and corps commander. It tells in detail the story of the eventful 30th of June, 1862, when "the Reserves, greatly outnumbered, were only able to

hold the enemy in check by rapid and unceasing firing; their left was pressed back, and to the consternation of their mounted officers, who from their position had a view of the field, the troops on the right of the Reserves gave way in utter confusion. At this critical moment the gallant Reynolds, observing that the flag-staff of the Second Regiment had been pierced by a bullet and broken, seized the flag from the color-bearer, and dashing to the right, rode twice up and down his entire division line, waving the flag about his head and cheering on his men. The effect upon the division was electrical; the men, inspired by the intrepidity of their leader, rent the air with cheers, plied their tremendous musketry fire with renewed energy and vigor, and in a few moments the thinned ranks of the rebel regiments gave way before the steady and unrelenting volleys poured upon them." Gordon, in his "Army of Virginia," says that "Reynolds's division like a rock withstood the advance of the victorious enemy and saved the Union army from rout." The sword of honor voted to General Reynolds by the enlisted men of the Division of Pennsylvania Reserves, at the close of the Peninsula campaign, was a natural expression of the affection and confidence with which his men always honored him.

The men of the First Corps, emulating the example of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves, soon after the death of Reynolds, set on foot the plan of a heroic statue on the field of Gettysburg; and now a bronze figure of Reynolds by Ward, one of the first artists of the country, fitly marks the part taken by Reynolds in that decisive battle, and his pre-eminent services in securing the ultimate victory, by seizing the position commanded by the spot from which his noble monument now looks out over the field where he gave up his life. At a later day, the First Corps placed in the library at West Point a portrait of Reynolds by Alexander Laurie, who, besides being an able artist, had served under Reynolds, and therefore was especially well fitted to portray his features, that they might recall to future students of the Military Academy the example of one whose life and death are alike among the most sacred traditions and the most instructive lessons of West Point. Reynolds's was a face and figure worthy the sculptor's chisel and the painter's brush,—fully six feet in height, he was so well proportioned that he did not seem to be beyond the average; his dark hair and eyes, his ruddy cheeks, tanned by constant exposure, his pearly teeth, shining through his tawny mustache, his high cheek-bones that gave him almost the look of an Indian, his long, lithe figure, his almost perfect horsemanship, his quickness in motion, his simplicity in dress and demeanor, his watchfulness and incessant activity,—these live in the memory of the thousands who are proud to recall their gallant leader. General Reynolds was a true hero in life and in death,—his one pur-

pose was to do his duty, and he did it without regard to cost or consequences. The affectionate confidence of all under whom he served and of all who served under him, and the honors freely conferred on him, are the best evidences of the well-founded reliance on his soldierly qualities. Rising steadily to the demands made upon his skill and military genius, he was as perfectly master of himself and all his faculties when he was in charge of a section of artillery in his first engagement in the Mexican War as when he commanded the left wing of the Army of the Potomac in his last battle. What he was as a boy he was to his last hour,—bright, cheerful, hopeful, earnest, zealous, enthusiastic, courageous, modest, and unassuming. These are all homely virtues, but their perfect union made and marked General Reynolds as a man fitted for the highest honors, yet seeking none. In the long roll of the sons of Pennsylvania who have won honor for the State and for the Union, none served with more unselfish devotion and a higher aim; and coming as he did of a purely Pennsylvania stock, commanding largely Pennsylvania troops, and falling on Pennsylvania soil in defense of his State from invasion, it must be borne in mind that he was a soldier of the army of the United States, with no tincture of ultra State loyalty, and with no hesitation in doing his duty, wherever his lot was cast, in defense of the flag of the Union.

It is especially gratifying to those who are nearest to these gallant brothers in blood and name that Admiral Reynolds's bequest of the portrait of General Reynolds to the Historical Society was accepted with such fitting solemnities. Henceforth the visitor who looks for the worthies of the Commonwealth, whose portraits adorn its hall, will turn with reverent eye

"To him whose loyal, brave, and gentle heart
Fulfilled the hero's and the patriot's part.
To public duty true,
Mild in reproof, sagacious in command,
He spread fraternal zeal throughout his band,
And led each arm to act, each heart to feel.
These were his public virtues; but to trace
His private life's fair purity and grace,
To paint the traits that drew affection strong
From friends, an ample and an ardent throng,
And more, to speak his memory's grateful claim
On those who mourn him most and bear his name,
O'ercomes the trembling hand,
O'ercomes the heart, unconscious of relief,
Save placing this memorial o'er his dust."

Gettysburg has his heroic statue, West Point his portrait, and now Philadelphia has his living effigy enshrined in a place of honor, to keep successive generations mindful of the noble life and the heroic death of John Fulton Reynolds. J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

THE HEROES OF NEW YORK.

THE Great Empire State, standing as it does without dispute or question at the head of the States of the Union in population, productions, wealth, art, literature, thought and influence, often neglects to claim the credit that belongs to it or worthily to recognize the distinguished men it has produced. Other States vaunt of their glories, claim honor wherever honor is due, push forward "favorite sons," and making the most of what they have done, compel the world to acknowledge it. The State of New York goes along in its dignified and indifferent way and suffers in these days of advertising by a want of self-appreciation.

How many of Irving's playful but ridiculous stories about the Burghers of early Manhattan came in time to be accepted as facts and are at the present day believed by ignorant persons as history. There is even a prejudice in parts of the country against the metropolis, although no better city nor more patriotic, generous, benevolent, enterprising and honorable citizens can be found anywhere.

How few of us know who were the great generals and admirals contributed by our State to the Civil War? General Dix, General Worth, I believe Admiral Farragut, are all that come to my thoughts at the moment. Why does not some one who can do the subject justice not only give us a list of names, but by persistent accounts of their glorious deeds demand that they shall be recognized among the heroes of our war between the States?

This is not in my line. My war-like experience was short and far from sweet or satisfactory. If I could have been born a general, even a brigadier general, if I could have sprung from the head of Jove like Minerva fully armed and equipped, I might have felt myself in my right knot-hole. But it is told of a colonel who thought himself a very important person at home at the head of his regiment, that when he got to Washington and found himself with a thousand men under him and equally with a thousand over him, he shrank visibly in his own esteem.

Many people believe to this day that our city was disloyal, and few are aware that the draft riots were a protest against injustice so gross that even an unfriendly Government at Washington had to reduce the quota of troops demanded.

I saw regiment after regiment of our fighting Irish fellow-citizens leave the city, mainly under the title of the Sixty-ninth, and when I was called out in the Seventy-first among the three months men a new Sixty-ninth marched at our side out to Tenally Town and camped on the hills behind us. And it was a solid comfort to know that they were there. All sorts of rumors were flying about, strange and mysterious signals would be made by lights at night in full view of all of us. Stonewall Jackson was thundering down the Shenandoah Valley and threatening to strike Washington on the flank. We were there to stop him, and the old Seventy-first was as good as any regiment of regulars.

But we did not have faith in some of the irregulars scattered here and there around us. We knew, however, that Colonel Bagley and the Sixty-ninth would stand as long as any fighting was to be done, so we did not mind when a few more bullets than common went singing their pretty bird-like songs over our heads, promising us perhaps a beginning of the fray, for we were sure that the stalwarts were not far away, and would back our sturdy Dutch New Yorkers up with their proverbial Irish bravery.

I used to sit and talk of these and many political things with Lieutenant Governor Wm. H. Ludlow on his veranda, for we both had country houses close together on what was then the paradise of sportsmen and fishermen, Long Island, in Suffolk County. He was a splendid specimen of the old-fashioned Democrat, and through his marriage was the representative of the Nicoll family and had under cultivation the broad acres originally deeded with the baronial rights to Governor Nicoll himself, and which at one time must have been a magnificent estate.

I knew that all his sons were in the Army or Navy. One attained high rank and led a brilliant career in the Army. With another, Admiral Ludlow, whose admirable record in the Navy is well-known, I now often sit, not exactly on the same veranda, for that has been torn down, but in the same house and on the same land and with the same fine view across the Great South Bay, and once more discourse on the past, the present and future, like the fortune-teller's advertisement.

When I was in Congress, I nominated for West Point a young man who had just graduated from school with highest honors, Mr. Thomas F. Grady. After thinking it all over he declined the coveted honor and studied law and took part in politics. To-day he is the eloquent and forceful orator and distinguished Democratic leader,

Senator Grady, who represents the City of New York at Albany, and who has few equals as a speaker and debater, if indeed he has any.

When he declined—for this was about 1872—I appointed Mr. Thomas F. Barry, a youth who had also graduated near the head of his class.

One day not long ago I received the card of a Colonel Barry, and became acquainted with a tall, dignified, soldierly-looking officer and found he was the Thos. F. Barry of 1872. He had risen with high honor, and through devotion to duty from grade to grade till he was then a colonel and on duty in the Department of the East.

Since then he has been made a brigadier general, and has taken some other command, but it is examples like these which should be preserved and held up for imitation to the younger generation, who often get discouraged when they look into the dim, uncertain and impenetrable future.

And let not only these and the many other successful individuals get the credit due them, but let the State have due recognition among the galaxy of States and receive the respect and friendship due it, which are now often lacking. When any other part of the Union is stricken with flood or fire or disease or suffering of any sort, when indeed any section of the world needs help, they come to the City of New York, and thanks to the large-hearted generosity of our citizens they never come in vain or go away empty-handed.

ROBERT B. ROOSEVELT.

A CRUISE ON THE CONSTITUTON.

AROUND THE WORLD ON OLD IRONSIDES—1844 TO 1847.

On the afternoon of Monday, the 13th of November, 1843, I left the city of Boston to proceed to Norfolk (Va.) and join the U. S. frigate Constitution as clerk to her commander, Captain John Percival.

LIST OF OFFICERS ATTACHED TO THE U. S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION.

Captain.—JOHN PERCIVAL.
Lieutenants.—AMASSA PAINE, WILLIAM C. CHAPLIN, JAMES ALDEN, JAMES W. COOKE, JOHN B. DALE, GOUGH W. GRANT.
Master.—ISAAC G. STRAIN.
Purser.—T. M. TAYLOR.
Surgeon.—D. D. MCLEOD.
Asst. Surgeons.—MARIUS DUVALL, RICHARD MCSHERRY, JR.
Professor of Mathematics.—E. ESTABROOK.
Naturalist.—I. C. REINHARDT.
Midshipmen.—COLVILLE TENETT, W. F. DAVIDSON, JOHN E. HOPSON, ISRO ETTART, W. P. BUCKNER, C. COMEGYS, M. P. JONES, G. B. DOUGLASS, J. J. COOKE.
Captain's Clerk.—BENJ. F STEVENS.

After a pleasant journey of three days, I arrived at the town of Portsmouth (opposite to Norfolk), and took lodgings at the "Crawford House," where Captain Percival had taken rooms. On visiting the navy yard on Thursday, the 16th inst., I found "Old Ironsides" in the dry dock undergoing the operation of scraping, and having new copper put on where the old had been torn away.

From the above date until the middle of April, 1844, the sound of the mallet and chisel was heard without intermission, and during this period of five months over $10,000 of the public money was expended upon this favorite ship.

In the month of October, '43, when Captain Percival had been ordered to the ship, the naval constructor (Foster Rhodes, Esq.,) had sent an estimate to Washington of the amount necessary to repair the Constitution; the sum named was over $70,000, and it was then understood by the Navy Department at Washington, and so expressed, that the ship must remain in ordinary as before until the treasury contained the wherewithal to repair her. Contrary, however, to the

custom observed in such cases, Captain Percival was ordered to proceed to Norfolk, to examine carefully the ship and report to the Secretary of the Navy the amount in his estimation necessary to repair her for a three years' cruise. He reported that at an expense of $10,000 he could take her around the world.

The order was complied with, and after a diligent survey he reported the sum of $10,000 all sufficient for the purpose specified. If the Constitution under this proposal could not be repaired she was to remain as before, and Captain Percival, together with such officers as might have been ordered to her, were to be transferred to the frigate Potomac, then in order for sea at the Boston yard. This frigate afterwards became the flagship of the home squadron, and sailed on her cruise long before the Constitution was repaired.

Captain Percival had been selected to command this ship from his well known character of economy. He was not restricted in amount, and the ship was to be, in his opinion, thoroughly repaired and made fit for a three years' cruise.

Commodore Warrington (who held the important office of "Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks," a gentleman whose opinion is looked upon as worthy of confidence) was sent to Norfolk to examine the ship and report whether in his opinion she was fitted for a three years' cruise.

Upon his arrival he visited the ship, examined with attention the repairs and gave the subject that notice, which was expected from a gentleman of his experience and ability.

He returned to Washington, reported most favorably of the ship, and thus the fears of the people of Norfolk for the safety of the ship were set at rest.

The frigate being now perfectly tight, and not finding water in her to exceed two inches the twenty-four hours, orders were given to get ready for sea by the 1st of April, 1844, and from the 18th of March until April 11th she was receiving stores and occasional drafts of men from the U. S. recruiting ship Pennsylvania, Captain Zantzinger. In the early part of April, however, not being able to complete her crew at Norfolk, Captain Percival applied to the department to allow him to take the ship round to New York with the men on board. At the latter city seamen were to be had, and as this trip would in a measure try the stability of the frigate, the request was complied with by the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable John Y. Mason.

On the 11th of April the Constitution dropped from the navy yard opposite the hospital, preparatory to departing for New York, and on

the 14th following she dropped down to Hampton Roads, about six miles below Norfolk, and anchored at dusk off Fort Monroe, on "Old Point Comfort."

On the 15th the Committee of Retrenchment, Adjutant General Jones and others being on a visit to Fort Monroe, the captain invited them on board to view the ship. They came, and were well pleased with their visit.

On the 16th the ship dropped down and anchored in Lynnhaven Bay, and on the 17th weighed anchor, discharged the pilot off Cape Henry and stood out to sea.

Severe gales and head winds were experienced on our passage to New York. We were blown out into the gulf stream, and I had a severe attack of seasickness, which lasted for three days. My stomach could not bear the least particle of food, and I kept in my bed thinking of the *delights* of a sea life, and wondering what induced me to come to sea when land was so plenty in New England, and I really believe if I could have obtained possession of a *square foot* of land my chance for continuing this cruise would have been small.

But there is a "silver lining to every cloud," as the Irish say, and I was not doomed to die of sea sickness. The ship at length became easier, and I mustered courage enough to go out upon the half deck. I felt a little invigorated, more and more my spirits brightened, and at sunset no one would have supposed that I had lately "cast up my accounts," and been confined to my bed for three days.

After a very disagreeable passage of ten days, we anchored in New York harbor off Castle Garden, near the Battery.

Here we were tot take on board the Hon. Henry A. Wise, Minister to Brazil, and family, as passengers to Rio de Janeiro, and secure the remainder of the crew. (Mr. Wise had expressed a strong desire to try his fortune in "Old Ironsides," and the perfect success of the trip from Norfolk induced letters from him and others, highly complimentary.)

In New York Captain Percival found his wife and daughter, who remained during our stay. A short visit of four days was passed by them on shipboard, and their time was made as comfortable as possible.

They left for Boston on the 28th of May, their presence having afforded the captain a great deal of pleasure, and a little to myself.

A month or more was passed in New York receiving stores, etc. In that time I received a visit from Brothers William and Frank Cutter, afterwards Paymaster George F. Cutter, who broke in upon us in the cabin one morning entirely unexpected. The visit caused

me a great deal of pleasure. I did not see much change in William, and none in Frank Cutter. They were certainly in better health than when I last saw them, and I trust on my return to find them looking as well as the morning they gave the captain and myself an agreeable surprise. Our time was passed very pleasantly while in New York, and I visited the various theatres, etc.

On the 27th of May Mr. Wise and family came on board ship, and the entire cabin was given up to them, the captain having had an apartment screened off for himself on the gun deck, which he occupied until our arrival at Brazil. The family of Mr. Wise consisted of thirteen persons all told, and it was therefore necessary that the young persons particularly should be well situated, in their coming season of seasickness.

DEPARTURE FROM NEW YORK.

On the morning of the 29th of May, everything being in readiness, at 10 o'clock we weighed anchor and were towed down to Sandy Hook by the steamer Hercules, and in the afternoon cast her off and stood out to sea, under full sail.

While on our way out we passed the U. S. ship Columbus, at anchor off Sandy Hook. They cheered ship, which we returned; this was the last national ship we saw until we arrived off Cape "Frio," Brazil. At sunset we showed our colors to an English ship, also at anchor off the Hook. She was full of emigrants and they swarmed her sides as we passed and cheered us.

Well, we are now on our way across the broad Atlantic, and many a long day will elapse before we again see the friends from whom we so lately parted. Words cannot be found to express the thoughts that fly through one's mind on leaving home and friends and all that he cares for; to be gone two to three years, amongst strangers, with but few around him to take an interest in his welfare, the traveler is almost alone in the world. Where will be in sickness the kind and watchful eye of the mother? Where the cheering voice of the sister? Where the affections of brothers and friends? Alas, these family ties are beyond the reach of the invalid, and his couch is surrounded by strangers. Nothing will he meet but the cold, stern looks of those whom interest has called together. But *hope* bids each arouse and look forward to their return to their "native land," and trust in that being "who holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand." May those I left in the United States be as well in health and spirits on our return as when we parted.

From the day of our sailing until the 9th of June nothing special has taken place, excepting the usual seasickness attending the lands-

man. Mr. Wise and family suffered some, but not so much as was anticipated. For myself I had only a few hours of trial, having experienced a full share of the disagreeable feeling on the passage from Norfolk to New York. We have seen nothing, but once in a while a sail, and many of the little "Mother Cary's chickens" or "stormy petrel." These industrious little birds follow in the wake of the ship picking up whatever food may be thrown from the frigate. Occasionally we see a porpoise, or a black fish tumbling and sporting in the water, which to me is quite a novel sight.

On the 7th I dined in the cabin with Mr. Wise and family and passed a very pleasant time. As I before mentioned, the whole cabin had been given up to them, though they pressed the captain to retain a stateroom, but he declined.

At 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 12th of June land was seen from the masthead, and on a near approach it proved to be the Island of Flores. At sunset, though we were not over forty miles from it, yet it was plainly visible *in the outline,* and had the appearance of a large black cloud on the edge of the horizon. The practiced eye of a seaman is necessary to discover land at sea; and it was some time before I could believe that the large black object ahead was the beautiful Isle of Flores.

At sunrise the next morning (13th) I was up early, anxious to get a sight of the land, when lo and behold, we were within four miles of it, in a dead calm. Thus we continued for two days, and we had an excellent view of the island, together with its neighbor, Corvo.

They have the appearance of solid masses of rock, entirely destitute of cultivation, but with the glass, houses, fields of grain, etc., are seen, and every part of them bears the mark of industry.

The people of this island (Flores) are very sociable, more so, in fact, than the inhabitants of Portugal; the climate is one of the best in the world, and sickness is uncommon; wheat and wine are raised upon the island, though probably not much more than is requisite for their own consumption, and little communication is had with their neighbors. Flores is the outer island of the Azore group of Western islands, and is generally, if not always, made by the navigator who intends going into Fayal. Ships do not often visit her ports unless forced in by stress of weather or want of wood and water. Calms prevail also under the high lands.

On the 15th of June, in the afternoon, the Peak of Pico was seen by the lookout, and at sunset it had the appearance of a sugar loaf or cone, with the top cut off. It looked majestically rising out of the

clouds, and it being the only high land near us, was visible some sixty miles off.

On the 16th, in the morning, we had an excellent view of the islands of Fayal and Pico, on the latter of which the peak is situated, and is between 8,000 and 9,000 feet above the level of the sea. We had a series of head winds while nearing the islands, and we continued beating about until 7 P. M. when the harbor master came on board and took us in. We anchored at 9 P. M. in the Port of Orta, in thirty fathoms water.

FÁYAL.

The next morning (17th) at sunrise, Fayal presented a beautiful appearance indeed. The sun reflecting upon the white roofs of the houses, caused them to sparkle like silver, and my time till breakfast was passed in examining with the minutest attention the boats, houses. churches, etc., so entirely different from those in the United States.

At 7 o'clock we received a visit from the vice-consul, Frederick Dabney, Esq., who welcomed us, and invited the officers generally to make his mansion their home during our stay. Mr. Wise and family at his request went on shore and passed the four days with his family, and were extremely well pleased. As American ships of war rarely visit Fayal, on account of the calms which prevail, we at once became objects of great curiosity. The Constitution was the first frigate (American) that had visited the island, and perhaps this circumstance operated favorably with the inhabitants. In the afternoon a party of the younger officers (including myself) went on shore and passed a very agreeable time. The streets are very narrow, and the houses nearly of the same size; all are made of the same material, viz., lava, of which the island consists. The convents and churches are the only variations offered in the way of architecture. A visit to the consul's house and gardens will repay any one desirous of seeing to what extent the cultivation of the tropical plants and flowers is carried in the Western islands. The climate is very salubrious and vegetation flourishes all the year. The soil is decomposed lava, and supposed to be the richest in the world. The mercury is *never* above 80 degrees, and rarely lower than 50 degrees. The population of the island is 30,000 and Orta, the largest town, contains 10,000 inhabitants. The exports are fruit and wines, though the island of Pico furnishes most of the latter, and 18,000 pipes in a year have been known to be exported from that island. The peak was not visited by any of the officers of the ship, and its ascent is rarely undertaken, even by the natives. From the beach to the summit of the peak eighteen miles have to be traversed, and although the surface of

the mountain appears even from the harbor, and easy of ascent, yet it is very rough and difficult, and reaching the top is considered a great feat. The mountain is volcanic, though no eruption has taken place for many years. Hot steam, however, issues from the crater, and while in some seasons the middle of the peak is covered with snow, the summit is perfectly clear and the temperature is higher.

These islands (Western) belong to Portugal, and the governors and other high functionaries are sent from that country and manage to retain their offices so long as peace and quiet reign there. Labor is very cheap and can always be obtained for 16 cents per day, and it seems to be a principle with the government to keep the poorer classes where they are, and not to spread the light of religion or education amongst them. A system similar to the old feudal is carried on here. The rich always have their dependents hanging about, and allow them certain lands, the proceeds of which are to be paid over to the lord. The condition of the laboring class by this means is not much higher than that of the old English or Russian serf of the present day.

The women of the middle class wear a very peculiar dress, which gives them an extremely odd appearance; it is a large black cloak, with a calashe of velvet hanging over their faces, and they look more like turkey buzzards than anything else. At first I supposed they might be nuns, but was afterwards assured they were only following the customs of the country.

A visit to the churches is well worth the trouble of ascending the steep hills. Gilt and wax candles are very abundant.

On the evening of the 18th a ball was given by the consul in honor of the arrival of the Constitution, and the Portuguese beauties turned out in great force. As many of the officers attended as could be spared from duty, and the time passed off very pleasantly. I was much amused to find the ladies and gentlemen occupying opposite sides of the hall. There did not appear to exist that cordiality and feeling so abundant *at home* in the public parties. The Portuguese appeared suspicious and desirous of keeping the ladies as far from sight as possible. (In the daytime I did not see any ladies in the street, but as we passed by the houses the latticed windows were raised and many a pretty face was seen "behind the curtains" desirous of getting a view of the strangers.) The only disappointment experienced was that of having a silent partner. The ladies (or most of them) could not talk English, and we could not talk Portuguese, so it was but a blind bargain after all. The ball broke up at two in the morning, and the company separated highly pleased.

The next afternoon we felt bound to return the compliment; accordingly the quarter deck was made ready for the reception of the guests. Flags of all nations ornamented the ship and the guns were run out to give room for dancing. The company was nearly the same that met at the consul's. And after dancing, examining the ship and partaking of a supper in the wardroom, the party separated highly delighted with their visit to "Old Ironsides."

On the morning of the next day (June 20th) we took leave of our kind friends in Fayal, weighed anchor and stood out to sea.

On the whole, the four days passed at Fayal were productive of much interest and pleasure, and will not soon be forgotten by the officers, many of whom had taken the opportunity of visiting the remains of volcanoes in the island. Mr. Wise described a visit to one as follows, viz.:

"After ascending the highest peak of Fayal, probably a distance of nine miles from the beach, they came to what originally had served for the crater of the mountain. This cavity was six miles round the edge. On looking down they discovered at the bottom, which was one mile round, a lake of fresh water, and which evidently had been an aperture for the lava to issue when the volcano had been in operation. The depth of this cavity was 1,700 feet, and that of the lake has never been ascertained, and is said by the inhabitants to be fathomless. Goldfish are sometimes caught." Men and women were round its border gathering wood, a specimen of which Mr. Wise cut and gave me. The sides of the interior are cultivated and numerous flocks of sheep were seen feeding. All of the fuel used in the island is taken from this "curral" or sheep fold, and as it is used only for cooking, enough is found to supply the wants of the people.

The condition of the poor in the island is piteous in the extreme, and I have never witnessed in the United States, even among the slaves, so much misery as I saw in the islands we visited.

The day after leaving Fayal (21st) we spoke the American brig Lycoming, from Palermo, bound to Boston. Letters for home were put on board, and some of their crew being sick, the surgeon went on board and prescribed for them. The captain also sent from his private stock some chickens, potatoes, etc., for the sick.

Nothing further occurred until Thursday, the 24th, when the island of Madeira was in sight at sunrise, presenting another beautiful sight, and long to be remembered.

MADEIRA.

About 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 24th of June we came to anchor in the beautiful Bay of Funchal, having made our passage

from Fayal in exactly four days. We found here the Portuguese frigate Diana and the English sixty-gun ship America. This latter ship is a razee from the seventy-four of that name, built originally by us, and given to the French government (at the commencement of the peace establishment) and taken from them by the English some years afterwards. Besides these two frigates there was a Portuguese eighteen-gun brig, thus making four national ships in the harbor.

Immediately upon anchoring we received a visit from the health officers. The rules and regulations of the Portuguese government relative to ships entering their ports are very severe, and in Madeira if a ship should attempt to come in in the night she would be fired at from the Loo Castle. A salute was fired in honor of the Portuguese government, which was returned gun for gun. Madeira from the ship has the most fertile appearance of any islands we have seen, and promises to afford much pleasure from the visit.

I visited the shore next morning (25th) and took a stroll with some of the officers over the town. The landing place is not a good one on account of the great surf, and for this reason the native boats are made of a peculiar fashion, so that, upon nearing the shore, one of the oarsmen gets out to push behind, and the other in front, so that the boat is thus carried high and dry upon the beach and the patron then gets out beyond the reach of the surf. Mr. Baynim, the vice-consul, kindly invited us to dine and, in fact, during our stay did everything for our comfort that could be expected. Mr. Wise and family resided with him during the four days we remained at the island, though they did not have the company of the ladies, as at Fayal.

We made a visit to the Convent of Sa Clara, which is within the city. Here we saw the nuns pass and repass behind the iron bars, and having an interpreter with us, examined the wax flowers and feather work, for which the island is so celebrated. Afterwards we visited the church dedicated to the White Lady of the Mountain, and found it much superior in size and beauty to the churches of Fayal. The convent is about three miles up the mountains, and we rode thither on horseback, accompanied by guides, who clung to our horses' tails as if they were certain that we intended to take *leg bail;* the faster we galloped, the tighter they held on, nothing could shake them off. Beggars are not so plentiful as in the Azores, and there is evidently more industry and enterprise.

As in Fayal, the old custom of Lords and serfs is still continued, and I was told that while dealing with the latter class, no fears were entertained of being cheated, but with the former a person had to be wide awake to prevent being shaved in some way. Not a very great

compliment, I thought, as it appeared that those who could not read the precepts of the Christian Religion, were far more virtuous in their actions than the persons who had "the fear of God before their eyes."

I was much pleased with seeing at every fountain round the Churches and on the roads, little images of the Virgin, and the peasant always crosses himself before drawing the water and by this means he is made in a measure sensible of the great blessing conferred upon him. Of this truly great blessing, water of which other islands have but a scanty allowance, Madeira is abundantly supplied, and the mountain springs are rarely, if ever dry.

Funchal, the city of Madeira, (and a most beautiful spot it is) contains between thirty and forty thousand inhabitants. Here the streets are laid out in more style, and regard to proportion, than in Fayal, and everything is clean and neat. The poorer people dress better and are more industrious. The dress of the laboring class is very tasty; a small cap covers about half the top of the head, and ascends about nine inches in a peak, and looks something like a fool's cap, of school-boy days. The trousers are all gathered in at the knee, and all below is bare, while above the cloth spreads out like a great bag.

A walk through a vineyard is worth a great deal; here millions upon millions of grapes are hanging, shortly to be turned into wine, and upon the season arriving for that operation, great rejoicings are held all over the island among the laboring classes.

On the evening of the 27th a party was given by the Consul, and the company were *rather merry*. All passed off pleasantly and we broke up at an *early* hour in the morning, very well satisfied with the entertainment. A more hospitable place I never was in, and a more hospitable gentleman than Mr. Baynim, I never saw. Though English, he treated us as brothers, and his table was daily set for our convenience.

On the 29th of June, we were obliged to take leave of our kind host, from whom we parted reluctantly. At 3 P. M. we weighed anchor and stood out to sea; at daylight on the morning of July 1st the peak of "Teneriffe" was visible, and shortly afterwards the whole island. We were about sixty miles off when the peak was first seen.

TENERIFFE.

At 3 in the afternoon of July 1st we anchored in the harbor of "Santa Cruz," after a passage of only two days from Madeira.

On visiting the city, I was not much pleased with its appearance.

Through Santa Cruz has evidently been a place of great business and importance, it is fast dwindling away. There is not that neatness to be seen, that is everywhere visible in Fayal and Madeira. Poverty stares one in the face the moment of landing upon the Mole, and I never have seen in my life so much misery as I witnessed in the island of Teneriffe. Beggar women with naked children, old men, blind and lame, are seated about the streets, mendicants by profession, who live upon the charity of the stranger, and when not appeased do not hesitate to curse deep and loud.

A marble monument stands in the center of the "Plaza de Constitution," sacred to the memory of those who fell in defence of the city, and it is truly beautiful. I also saw in the English Hotel some statuary brought from Genoa, and said to be the most valuable in the city. The churches, as in the other islands, are very handsome and plenty of monks are seen about the city, with their slouched hats half over their faces, looking more like robbers than ministers of Christ.

The government of the island is Spanish and the city is continually kept full of soldiers. A splendid fort guards the mouth of the bay, to which we were refused admittance, the suspicious Spaniards being unwilling to allow strangers to see their preparations for war.

July 4th was celebrated in Santa Cruz, by the firing of twenty-one guns at 12 o'clock. The Spanish fort also saluted us. An entertainment was provided in the cabin, of which the officers partook, and the day was closed by firing rockets, burning blue lights, etc.

On the 5th the French corvette Berceau arrived from France, bound to Rio de Janeiro, so we are likely to have company at least part of the way.

Though the island of Teneriffe is celebrated for its fertility, none was visible in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. The rocks, rough and rugged, had the appearance of being thrown down any way without regard to order, and a cindery look pervades the island. The "Peak," which is not visible, while at anchor in the harbor is the only *real* object of interest in the island. A party was formed among the officers to ascend it, and on the day after our arrival, they left, and did not return until the day before we sailed, having been absent four days, and traversed during that time upwards of ninety miles. The height of the mountain is between 12,000 and 13,000 feet above the level of the sea. After leaving Santa Cruz on horseback, they had to cross the island to the port of "Oratava," and start afresh, and continued riding until within six or eight miles of the summit. They then walked, and while nearing the top most of the party were taken sick, and could hardly proceed, on account of the rarefaction of the air.

Some of them indeed wished to turn back, but the desire of accomplishing the undertaking led them on. Few Americans have reached the summit of the peak, while many have attempted it, and by moving little by little, our adventurous party stood, on the morning of the 4th of July, on the topmost peak of the mountain. The naturalist examined with attention the soils and the party secured many specimens of lava, sulphur, etc.

From the base of the peak to its summit three or four different kinds of soil are observed. First, near the base, that capable of great cultivation, and further on, that which yields nothing but wild trees and weeds; and higher still a portion of the mountain is composed of solid pumice stone, while at the very peak itself nothing is found but bare rocks. Near the summit it was found dangerous to lie down, as hot steam issued from the ground, and though it was very cold, yet by scraping away the earth four or five inches, an immediate change was felt in the temperature.

In "Oratava" they were shown Humboldt's chair, and the window in which he took his sketches of the island, and here they saw also the far famed "Dragon Tree." On the evening of the 5th they returned, completely exhausted from their journey, and never desirous again to visit the "Peak of Teneriffe." Though it is a feat rarely performed, yet the sickness, changes of weather and other causes operate unfavorably in the eyes of many, and our party said, "If they had known at first what they knew afterwards, nothing would have tempted them to undertake the ascent."

"Teneriffe" has the most sublime appearance of any islands we have seen; the rocks seeming to have been thrown together by the hand of nature, for the purpose of seeing into how many fanciful shapes they could be imagined. And above all towers the high and noble peak, with its point far above the clouds, appearing like the king of all. I have never seen a more sublime sight than the island of "Teneriffe."

On the 6th of July we weighed anchor; at half-past three P. M. stood out to sea for Rio de Janeiro, followed by the Berceau. She continued astern of us for three days and then parted, we keeping for the outside of the "Cape de Verde," she for the inside.

FROM TENERIFFE FOR RIO DE JANEIRO.

For several days after leaving "Teneriffe" we were followed by the French corvette Berceau, but on the 10th inst. she altered her course and stood for the inside of the "Cape Verde" islands, at the risk of being becalmed for a week perhaps. We experienced very delightful weather, and on the 13th inst. spoke the English transport ship Larpin,

Captain Lovewell, from Calcutta for London, last from St. Helena. A boat from her came alongside with an English naval officer, who desired to compare chronometers.

We gave him all the information possible, and also something substantial in the way of potatoes and chickens. This ship had met a few days before with the English frigate America, which had rendered no assistance, and the officer assured us that "We had shown them more civility than even their own national ship." A great compliment coming from an Englishman.

On the 22d inst. a man named Corbett fell overboard, the ship going eight knots at the time. The sea however was smooth, and, the life buoy having been cut away, he succeeded in reaching it, though not before we were a mile or a mile and a half ahead. If this man had not been a good swimmer, no power could have saved him, and even he had despaired of ever seeing his shipmates again.

On the 24th inst. we crossed the equator in latitude 0, longitude 30°, and celebrated the occason by a revival of the old custom of shaving the green 'uns. Permission had been given by the Captain, and at 9 A. M. everything was prepared for the ceremony. Neptune (an old quartermaster gunner) in a car, attended by his train, appeared upon the quarterdeck, and all were treated to a glass of wine or whisky, as they liked best. I am sorry to say that whisky had the preference. The first person called upon to undergo the course of treatment was the lieutenant of marines, who was led to the forecastle, placed upon a bench, and his face well lathered with lamp black, tar, etc. His countenance was then scraped with the iron razors, which, if they had been dignified by the name of saws, would not have taken the edge off any better. However, before he had time to think much upon the subject, he was taken by the heels and turned topsy turvy into a tarpaulin of water, where he was received by two black bears, who washed his face and head until he called for mercy. He was then told he might go about his business.

Thus *all* who had never crossed the line were obliged to be shaved, the treatment being varied according as the operator was liked or disliked by the crew. All were much pleased with the entertainment, and it cost nothing but a change of clothing. At 12 the decks were dried, and nothing would have been noticed, relative to the performance, if it had not been witnessed. Mr. Wise and family were much pleased, though they had to buy themselves off with a bottle of whisky.

After crossing the equator until we arrived off Cape Frio, Brazil, nothing of consequence happened worthy of notice. Our passage was a pleasant one, the weather was fine and the pleasure we soon hoped to

experience in Rio de Janeiro added greatly to make all contented with their situations. Evening after evening was passed in viewing the stars and Magellan clouds.

Occasionally a meteor would pass over the ship, illuminating the deck as it winged its flight through the air.

On the morning of August 1 a ship was seen standing towards us, apparently a man-of-war. On a near approach we perceived American colors, and she was made out, by exchange of numbers, to be the U. S. ship Erie. A boat put off from her and came alongside with her commander (Lieutenant Duke) and the Chilian Minister, Mr. Pendleton, on board. The Erie was from the Pacific station, and last from Rio de Janeiro, thirteen days, having been during that period within two days' sail of the latter port. We put letters on board, and after brief enquiries and congratulations had passed between the officers, we parted, cheered ship, and stood on our course for Rio.

In the afternoon about 5 o'clock "land" was cried from the masthead, and I soon had the pleasure of viewing the continent of South America. We were within twenty or thirty miles of it, and it proved to be Cape Thome, north of Cape Frio, and was visible until sunset.

In the evening the lighthouse on Cape Frio was distinctly seen, and every chance prevailed of our anchoring in Rio harbor before twenty-four hours more were passed. I had almost forgotten to mention that for three days past we have been followed by a strange sail, which we passed to leeward on the afternoon of the 30th of July. On account of our stopping to put letters on board the Erie, she had gained upon us, and on the afternoon of 1st of August we showed our ensign, and she hoisted a French flag. By taking a glass into the mizzentop, she was found to be the corvette Berceau, which followed us out from Teneriffe. Thus had we again met upon the Atlantic after an absence of nearly thirty days; probably the circumstance would not happen again in a lifetime of two vessels crossing each other's track so near the port of their destination.

At midnight (1st) we hove to, the moon having become obscured, and waited until morning to enter the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. The Berceau had passed us in the night and was becalmed under the land.

On the morning of the 2d the sugar loaf hill, at the mouth of the harbor, was seen, and the Berceau about two miles ahead like ourselves in a dead calm. About 8 A. M. a light breeze sprang up, and we hove ahead of the Frenchman, he being too near the land to get the effect of the wind. But, alas, about nine the wind left us, and we had the mortification of seeing the Berceau shoot ahead, and we anchored off the city of Rio de Janeiro at 3 P. M., while she was taking in her topgallant sails.

By looking at the track of the Berceau it was found that she had kept more to the eastward than the Constitution and got the trade wind sooner than ourselves, thus sailing between two and three hundred miles less. Though she had beat us in time and luck yet we beat her in distance, and the French commodore gave us the palm.

RIO DE JANEIRO.

On entering the harbor we passed the beautiful "Raza" Island, on which a lighthouse is placed. Nothing can be conceived more delightful than this spot. It is entirely isolated, and forms a very handsome residence for gentlemen in the summer, and is about seven miles from the city.

Farther on we pass Fort "Santa Cruz," on which a battery is placed consisting of 300 guns. This fortification is built upon the solid rock, and is supposed to be one of the strongest in the world, presenting a most warlike appearance either upon entering in or leaving the harbor. All vessels are hailed from this castle, and in the night are not allowed to pass it, with the exception of men-of-war. Nearer the city a smaller fort is seen, about half-way between "Santa Cruz" and the anchoring ground. It is situated upon a small island in the harbor near the shore, and commands the entire port. Ships in the daytime are all allowed to pass Fort "Santa Cruz" and anchor opposite the smaller battery, but if they attempt to pass the latter a shot is fired across their bows, which is followed by a ball if still persisted in, and the only satisfaction received is paying for powder, etc.

The harbor of Rio de Janeiro is a regular basin or lake surrounded on all sides by the most beautiful scenery. It is about five miles across and from ten to twelve from the entrance to the upper part. On the right hand side (as we front the entrance) the city is situated, and on the left the beautiful village of "Prio Grande." In the rear of the city the high hill of "Cocovado" is seen rearing its tall summit far above the clouds. From this mountain the city is supplied with water of an excellent quality. The celebrated "Organ" mountains are situated in the rear of the upper part of the shore, and all together contribute to render the harbor of Rio one of the most beautiful in the world. The view of the city from the anchoring ground is very beautiful and is justly entitled to more praise than any place we have yet visited, and wherever one casts his eye, a landscape always meets his gaze.

On our arrival we found at anchor the U. S. ships Raritan and Congress, brig Pioneer, H. B. M. frigates Alfred and America, and one Sardinian, one Brazilian and two French ships of war. On visiting the city I was extremely gratified, and experienced much pleasure in

viewing the many novelties. It being Sunday afternoon I took a walk over nearly the whole place. Stores were opened, and business was transacted as usual. On landing, the first place of interest is Palace Square. Here the Emperor's palace is situated, and fronts the harbor, and is a very large and neat building. The public aqueduct is also on the square, and is well worthy of a visit, and a perfect bedlam is made while the slaves are drawing water. Farther on we come to the most beautiful street in the city, and one that I had heard much of while on our passage to Rio de Janeiro. The "Rua de Ouvidor" is not entitled to any praise for the beauty of its buildings, but the variety of goods and fancy articles that are exhibited in the stores give it altogether a most pleasing appearance. Here a person can purchase anything he desires from a diamond ring to a saddle. In this street is the celebrated feather store so much spoken of, and indeed is well worth a visit. Sixty girls are constantly employed making flowers, etc., from the feathers of humming birds, etc., brought from the interior of the country. Never having seen any work of this kind before, I was much pleased with observing the different forms and articles into which the operatives fashioned the feathers. One of the girls only could speak English, and she was very polite indeed to us, and we passed an hour very pleasantly examining the birds and flowers.

It would be useless to write down all of the little incidents that occurred to give me a favorable impression of Rio; suffice it to say that during our stay of a month I enjoyed myself as much as it was possible under the circumstances.

After leaving the "Rua de O." the party continued on, until we reached the arches of the "Cocovado," through which the city is supplied with water from the mountain. These arches cross every valley from the hill to the city, and as works of art, would do honor to many European countries. The public gardens are also well worthy of a visit. The Sunday afternoon we walked there, a band of music helped to render the time of the pedestrians as pleasant as possible. This band consisted of nearly forty members, and was the best I ever heard.

While at anchor in the harbor, I had an opportunity of visiting the Emperor's Cathedral, though not during service. This church is attached to the palace, so that his highness need not go out into the open air to say mass, and of all places of worship I have ever seen this was the most superb. The altar was completely covered with gilt work, while at the back and round the sides of the chapel statues of Jesus, the Virgin Mary and the Apostles were placed. There were no galleries visible, all the worshippers kneeling upon the floor. A partition ran round the whole area, setting off about three feet of space, probably for ladies.

I had also the opportunity of visiting the Emperor's theatre and shall long remember the event with gratification. Understanding that Dom Pedro himself would be present, we went early in order to secure good seats. The play was the "Barber of Seville" by the Italian company. We purchased tickets to the orchestra from persons in the streets, there being no regular box office as in the United States. After first getting into the pit by mistake, and walking round the theatre once or twice, we at last popped into the right door. The orchestra is in no way connected with the music, but is partitioned off, and the seats consist of nice, comfortable arm chairs. The pit is in the rear of the orchestra, thus having three separate companies on the floor.

The theatre is immense, and would contain two such as the Park or Tremont. The whole is lighted by one large chandelier, hanging from the center of the dome, which is ornamented with paintings. There are fifty-four boxes on a side, contained in four rows. The Emperor's private box takes up nearly the whole of the back, and curtains were drawn before it. I should judge the boxes to contain more than twenty persons. Each box is divided from its neighbor by a partition, thus the audience on one side of the house can only see their opposite friends instead of those around them.

The evening being the anniversary of Dom Pedro's marriage, the house was crowded at an early hour. Those who held any rank appeared in uniform, and the sight was very imposing. I have never seen so many ladies together in a public place before.

The Emperor did not arrive until 9 P. M., and some Englishmen who sat beside us, uttered curses, rather loud, at being obliged to wait two hours for a boy. At last the curtains of his box were drawn and disclosed to view the Emperor and Empress standing in front. Dom Pedro was saluted with three "Vivas," to each of which he bowed his head in token I suppose of his great affection for his subjects. He was surrounded by gentlemen who occupied boxes, built inside of his own. There were about twelve of these boxes capable of holding at least five or six persons each, and the magnitude of the private box can be imagined when I say that it reached from the upper row to the pit. A large sceptre and crown over the curtain denoted the royal occupant.

After the cheers had subsided, the orchestra struck up the Brazilian National Hymn, and subsequently the curtain drew up, and displayed to view the whole operatic corps, who sang Dom Pedro's hymn, and a most beautiful piece of music it is. In the rear of the stage the Emperor's band was stationed, making upwards of sixty instruments for an orchestra. Afterwards followed the opera of the "Barber of Seville"

in Italian, and I can truly say that I never enjoyed better music in my life. The performers were said to be the best out of Europe, and for my part they deserved I think all the applause bestowed upon them.

The scenery is very good, and the instrumental music was the best I ever heard in a theatre. We left the theatre extremely pleased with our evening's entertainment, and our view of the great people of the land.

During our stay in Rio de Janeiro, the Prince of Naples had been created admiral of the Brazilian forces, and took advantage of the presence of so many vessels of war in the harbor to visit them. With the Congress he was much pleased and spoke highly of the discipline on board. Our ship being overhauling and painting was not visited nor did we regret the circumstance much, as we had already seen enough of saluting, manning yards, etc. The Prince is a fine looking man, and has the most amiable countenance of any of the great men we saw in Rio. He married the Emperor's sister, and is a great favorite with the people.

On the 29th of August while casually looking at the last Baltimore papers received by the ship Roanoke, to my great surprise and deep sorrow, I found the following paragraph: "The Boston journals announce the death of Samuel Sprague, Esq., the father of Chas. Sprague, the poet." I could hardly believe my own eyes, for it seemed so impossible that one whom I had left, though aged, in the enjoyment of good health should in so short a space of time have been numbered with the dead. The truth of that passage in the Bible struck me forcibly, "In the midst of life, we are in death." A dear relative, an honest and upright man, my mother's father, has gone "to that bourne from whence no traveler returns," beloved and honored by all who knew him, and the idol of his children and grandchildren. He has left behind him a name as pure and unspotted as innocence itself, and an example worthy of imitation. A long life had been spared to him and his aged partner, and their declining years have been passed in the society of their children, whose kind hands have smoothed the path of affliction and comfort in their latter days. God be thanked for all his kindness to the aged in the twilight of their existence.

REMARKS ON RIO, ETC.

As I was very busily employed in Rio, it is not to be expected that I can write down all the transactions and incidents that occurred, and I shall endeavor to give as far as possible some idea of the government, manners and customs. Since the abdictation of Pedro I., who is represented as having been rapacious, cruel, licentious and almost without

one redeeming quality, the country has been gradually recovering from the effects of his administration, though instances can yet be cited of late rebellions in the interior of Brazil. The constitution of Brazil differs very little from that of the United States, the people being represented in Congress by members chosen by themselves. The bad uses that the Constitution had been put to are seen in the unsettled state of the country and the strong hold that other nations (particularly England) maintain on the rulers. Brazil has a heavy national debt, of which nearly two-thirds are held by British owners, and such a thing as independence is not known in any of its commercial dealings. The slave trade has brought England in direct contact with Brazil, so much so, that the guardships of the former power are allowed to lie in the harbors of the latter. But in spite of the efforts of England, the slave trade still continues to flourish. Cargoes of slaves are landed under the very guns of the British, in defiance, and if by chance a vessel is taken, the slaves are put on board the guardships from thence apprenticed for the term of seven, fourteen or twenty-one years to planters. Thus England loses nothing by endeavoring to check slavery, on the contrary, rather increases its funds by this system of apprenticing, which amounts to slavery itself. The *rapacity* of England, otherwise called its *humanity,* is felt not only in Brazil, but in the Eastern world (for which see an account of the late war with China).

Though opposed to the above manner of emancipation, yet it is evident that this trade which has become so obnoxious to other powers will be the downfall of the prosperity of Brazil. At the lowest computation there are more than 1,800,000 slaves in the country entirely dependent upon their masters for support and it will be found in a few years that, as in the Southern States, the negro eats more than he earns. Again the climate of Brazil engenders various cutaneous diseases in this class of its inhabitants, to which the whites are often subject. I have seen blacks with their fingers and toes completely eaten off; and their feet, legs and thighs swollen as if nothing but bursting the skin could relieve them. Such are always dependent upon charity, and lie about the streets perfectly helpless.

The worst degradation I have seen has been in the slaves in Brazil.

The manners of the Brazilians are not such as to prepossess a foreigner in their favor. At the best those with whom we had dealings were but poor specimens of mankind. On the whole, I experienced from my visit to Rio de Janeiro more pleasure than I had anticipated, and was very agreeably surprised at finding my prejudices against the city unfounded. There are many curiosities in Rio and around it which time alone prevented my viewing, and which would have afforded much amusement.

I forgot to describe the appearance of the Emperor on the night of the performance. He is apparently about twenty-one years of age, light complexion, light hair (almost white) and blue eyes, and would be called good looking by the ladies. He stoops a little and his form is not symmetrical. His countenance is prepossessing, and amiable; from what I could learn, he is beloved by his subjects. Dom Pedro II. is exactly the reverse of his father, Pedro I., whose memory is not much revered. The present Emperor married a daughter of the King of Naples, and is related to many of the most powerful potentates of Europe.

On the 8th of September, having completed the stores and painted ship, etc., at sunrise we up anchor and stood out to sea, and at eight o'clock were well outside "Raza Island."

On the afternoon of the 7th Mr. Wise paid a farewell visit and dined in the cabin with Captain Percival, Captain Voorhees of the Congress and myself. At parting he was deeply and visibly affected at leaving the friends he had made on board. The crew who appeared much attached to him desired the salute might be given him, and seventeen guns were accordingly fired. His family had a few days previously paid a farewell visit, and a dinner had been given by Mrs. Wise to the officers of the ship at her residence, about three miles from the city.

During the sixty-three days that Mr. Wise and his family remained on board the ship entire harmony and good feeling subsisted between all concerned, and it was with great reluctance that the officers took leave of those who had rendered the passage so agreeable.

I question whether any minister to a foreign court on a voyage from *home* ever experienced more attention and courtesy than did Mr. Wise, and it is a gratification to know by his conversation and feelings upon the subject that they found a place in his heart. He endeared himself to all on board.

On the 7th I also received three letters from home, with some newspapers, the first and last in Rio. With these letters in my pocket, and a clear conscience, I felt myself richer than Queen Victoria.

B. F. STEVENS.

(*To be continued.*)

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

An analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the most important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. The French Naval Estimate for 1904.—*Mar. Rund,* Dec., Jan.; *Rev. du Cercle Mil.,* Nov. 28.
2. The French Naval Programme, 1900-6.—*Jour. Roy. Unit. Serv. Inst.,* Nov.
3. The New Battle Fleet of Germany.—*Same.*
4. The Royal Naval Reserve.—*Same.*
5. The Chinese Army.—*Same.*
6. The Military Forces of Japan.—*Same.*
7. A Russian Opinion of the Japanese Army.—*Mil. Mail,* Dec. 4.
8. The Egyptian Army.—*Army and Navy Gaz.,* Nov. 14.
9. Army Promotion.—*Same.*
10. Compulsory Military Service.—*Natl. Service Jour.,* Jan.
11. The Problem of the National Defence.—*Same.*
12. The Corps of Officers.—*Unit Serv. Mag.,* Dec.
13. The Promotion of Regimental Officers.—*Same.*
14. The Indian Empire and Its Army.—*Rev. Du Cercle Mil.,* Dec. 5, 12, 26.
15. The Annual Report of the Navy of the U. S.—*Mar. Rund.,* Jan.

The *first* article is a full discussion in *Marine Rundschau* of the French naval budget, in which particular attention is given to submarines and the fortification of points of support for the fleet and coaling stations. The article in *Revue du Cercle Militaire* is a brief outline of the report on the budget.

According to the latter, five new cruisers will be completed by the end of 1907; of the 28 destroyers proposed, 9 are under construction; of the torpedo boats, 38 are being built; and of the submarines, 28 are completed, 18 are nearly completed and 16 are to be built this year.

The *second* article is an abridged translation of the report of M. de Lanessau, the late minister of marine, and this valuable paper is so interesting in a general sense that we quote from it somewhat freely:

"CRUISERS.

"The second category of large ships in all modern navies are those which come under the general classification of cruisers.

"Their leading feature should be the predominance of speed and radius of action over offensive power and protection.

"In the earlier history of modern cruisers such an importance was attached to speed, that everything, even radius of action, was sacrificed to it. It was an epoch when the dimensions of the ships were diminished of set purpose in order to have a larger number of the same type, it being considered that the number of units was of greater importance than their power.

"PROTECTED CRUISERS.

"This period was marked by the construction in every navy, but more particularly in ours, where the idea originated, of ships with displacements of from only 1,500 to 2,000 tons, in which every effort was made to attain the highest speed which could be reached at that time, but at the sacrifice of every other quality, owing to their small displacement. Their offensive power was represented by a small number of medium-sized and small-calibre guns, with two or three torpedo-discharges for use against battleships if any opportunities presented themselves. The only protection was afforded by a thin steel armor deck, which extended the whole length of the ships at the water line, below which was the machinery. The radius of action was necessarily limited, owing to the small size of the ships. We have no hesitation in saying that these cruisers have two grave defects. In the first place, their protection and armament are now recognized to be far too weak. In the second place, experience has shown that the speed for which everything else has been sacrificed was a merely nominal one, since it fell off very rapidly when the ship had to struggle against ever so little a sea. One knows to-day, as the result of experience, that no fast cruisers of less than 4,000 tons displacement can hope to maintain, in spite of the sea, a speed anything like that attained at her trials.

"These larger displacements were adopted as soon as the necessity for them was clearly demonstrated; but the only protection for these fast cruisers continued to be an armored deck and cofferdams running

along the side above this deck. The economy realized, however, by the weights which represented protection, served to increase the offensive power, particularly in the matter of Q. F. guns of medium calibre.

"ARMORED CRUISERS.

"Nearly every navy has now given up the construction of protected cruisers, as it is realized that a vast expense has been incurred on a class of vessel which, although they may be able to work mischief against unprotected merchant ships, are quite incapable of holding their own against any ship better protected than themselves, and may even be put *hors du combat* by a simple armed mail-boat. Consequently, during the last few years, all navies have striven to give at least a certain number of their cruisers a relatively speaking fair amount of protection.

"THE ARMORED 12,550-TON CRUISER OF THE NEW PROGRAMME.

"It is in view of these conditions that the plans of the 12,550-ton armored cruisers, which figure in the 1900 programme, have been drawn up. Their speed will be 22 knots, that is, equal if not superior to that of the English cruisers of the Drake class. Their radius of action will be 7,500 miles with the normal coal supply, and 12,000 miles when coaled to their fullest capacity, that is to say, a radius approaching that of the Drake. Their offensive power will consist of four 7.6-inch guns, in pairs in two turrets, one forward and one aft; sixteen 6.4-inch guns, twelve of which will be in pairs in six turrets, three each side, and four in casements; twenty-two 3-pounders, and five torpedo-tubes (two submerged). The protection of the hull is assured by a complete belt 6.8 inches thick at the water line, 7 feet 6 inches deep, tapering to 4 inches at the ends; with an upper belt reaching up to level of the main deck, 5 inches thick; the total height of armor protection above the water line is 7 feet 9 inches, except forward as far aft as foremast, where 2-inch armor is carried up to upper deck. The lower armored deck is 2 inches on the flat and 2.8 inches on the slopes, and the upper armored deck 1.8 inches thick. The turrets for the 7.6-inch guns are 8 inches thick, those for the 6.4-inch guns 5.8 inches thick, and the casements 4.8 inches. These cruisers therefore represent a more powerful type on the whole than any others which have been as yet laid down abroad, and they will be able to accept battle with any they may come across and fulfill all the various duties which fall on vessels of this class.*

*The displacement of the armored cruisers of the 1900 programme, which yet remain to be laid down, has been increased to 13,550 tons.—*Translator.*

"FIGHTING DUTIES OF CRUISERS.

"The military duties of cruisers vary naturally, in a certain measure, with the qualities of the units of this class of ship. The same rôle, for instance, cannot be assigned in war to 'protected' cruisers as to 'armored,' to the fastest as to those of only medium speed, to cruisers strongly armored as to those where the protection has been sacrificed to some other qualities, to those heavily armed as to those with only a medium offensive power. It is first to the general staff, and then to the commanders of the different fleets, must be assigned the duty of telling off in war the different classes of cruisers for their special work, taking into account the good qualities and faults of each ship. We must now indicate in a general fashion the principal military duties which fall on this class of ship.

I.—"SCOUTING FOR THE BATTLE SQUADRONS—DESPATCH VESSELS.

"Cruisers are useful auxiliaries to the battle-fleets for various reasons. In the first place they serve as the eyes of the fleet, observing the movements of the enemy and keeping up communications with the shore. For this special rôle speed must be the predominant quality. Cruisers sufficiently fast to be in a position to escape from a more powerful enemy will suffice for this.

"*Auxiliaries in Action to the Battle Fleets.*—Cruisers may render valuable service by acting as decoys, engaging and holding an enemy until the rest of the fleet can come up; while during a battle they may, even at long ranges, be able to inflict appreciable damage from their quick-firing guns upon his battleships, engaged as they will be in a life and death struggle with the ships immediately opposed to them. They ought also to be ready to seize the opportunity of attacking battleships which, through damages they may have received, have lost their offensive superiority, and also of destroying the hostile destroyers and torpedo-boats.

"In operation against the enemy's seaports and coasts they ought to be able to contribute much to their success, thanks to their speed and their powerful quick-firing batteries. There are no ships better suited for making sudden night attacks against batteries or harbors, whether with the object of preparing the way for an attack in force by the fleet, or for creating a diversion to draw attention away from the real point threatened.

"*A Useful Screen for the Battle Fleets.*—Cruisers can again render useful service in keeping hostile torpedo-boats and destroyers at a distance from the fleet.

"DESTRUCTION OF THE ENEMY'S CRUISERS AND MERCHANT SHIPS—CORSAIRS.

"One of the most important duties of cruisers is the capture or destruction, if possible, of the enemy's cruisers and small vessels.

"Some of our officers therefore have held the opinion to chase merchant vessels it will be better to employ high-speed mail steamers, fitted as auxiliary cruisers, rather than build a special type of warship for the purpose.

"The justice of this opinion will not be contested if it is applied to vessels like the Guichen, Châteaurenalt, and Jurien de la Gravière, that is to say, the *corsairs,* pure and simple, not armored.

"However, in view of the fact that naval powers are now building almost exclusively armored cruisers, mail steamers fitted out as *corsairs* would seem to be condemned in future wars to the single work of destroying merchant ships. Deprived of all protection, they will be unable to fight even a protected cruiser, much less an armored one. Whatever may have been the case a few years ago, the policy of transforming them into *corsairs* is to-day questionable; they may be of some service in time of war, but they cannot be counted upon for carrying out any really important fighting service.

"THE NECESSITY FOR ONLY CONSTRUCTING FIRST-CLASS ARMORED CRUISERS.

"Another of the consequences of the road along which all naval powers are now traveling is that the French Navy must build, even in view of *corsair warfare,* only armored cruisers of the very first order. Not having the means of providing a large number of units, as the cost of construction and maintenance would be too heavy for us, we must not hesitate in securing quality.

"Even for *corsair warfare* it will be better to have fewer cruisers and have them heavily armed, very fast, amply protected, and with an extensive radius of action. They will make, perhaps, fewer prizes, but they will make them with less danger to themselves and with a greater chance of securing a profit. It is these armored cruisers which we must build in view of *corsair warfare,* and we must build vessels that will have nothing to fear from similar foreign vessels. That is to say, we must employ for running down merchant ships the same armored cruisers which we shall employ on all the other duties this class of vessel is expected to fulfil.

"There is another still stronger reason why we should only build armored cruisers of the first-class, and that is the very limited number of our over-sea *points d'appui,* as compared to the large number of

naval stations which England possesses in the seas which bathe the coasts of our colonies. The result of this will be that in the case of a war with Great Britain it will be extremely difficult for our cruisers to gain our colonial harbors for resting and filling up with coal and supplies. They will only be able to do so if they have a sufficiently large radius of action to permit them to remain at sea, while waiting a favorable opportunity for passing through the enemy's cordons without too great a risk. To accomplish all this, it is indispensable that they should be of large displacement, for without this condition it will be impossible to combine in them all those numerous qualities which are essential to their efficiency.

To resume, whether we consider our cruisers as the auxiliaries of our battle-squadrons or as the destroyers of weaker ships of war, or whether we look upon them merely in the light of commerce destroyers, we can but arrive at the one conclusion, that they can only fulfil their duties effectively if they surpass or, at the very least, equal similar foreign vessels in speed, radius of action, offensive power, and protection. The proposed large cruisers which figure in the new programme seem to fulfil all the necessary conditions, and we shall be able to employ them indifferently for any or all the duties we have enumerated. And if, for reasons which can be foreseen, a *corsair* war appears inadvisable or impracticable, or unlikely to produce profitable results, we shall not have to deplore waste of money on ships like the Guichen and her sisters, which are only fit for the one duty."

The *third* article is also of considerable interest, but a brief quotation must suffice here:

"The fleet is now constituted as follows:—

"*First Squadron.*

"First-class battleships—Kaiser Friedrich III (flagship of commander-in-chief), Kaiser Wilhelm II, Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, Kaiser Barbarossa, Kaiser Karl der Grosse, Wittelsbach, Zähringen, Wettin.

"*The Cruiser Division of First Squadron.*

"First-class armored cruiser—Prinz Heinrich.

"Second-class cruiser—Victoria Luise.

"Third-class cruisers—Amazone, Niobe, Ariadne, Frauenlob, Medusa, Arcona, Hela, Blitz.

"*First Torpedo-boat Flotilla.*

"Division-boat—G 110.

"A Division—G 108, G 109, G 111, G 113.

"B Division—S 102, S 103, S 104, S 105, S 107.

"*Second Squadron.*

"Third-class battleships—Baden (flagship), Würtemberg.

"Coast-defence ships—Hildebrand, Beowulf, Hagen, Heimdall.

"*Second Torpedo Flotilla.*

"Division-boat—S 106.

"C Division—S 114 to 118.

"D Division—S 91 to S 95.

"As the reconstruction of the four ships of the Brandenburg class is completed, and the new battleships now in hand are finished, they will take the place of the old and small battleships now forming the Second Squadron."

The *fourth* article, by Commander Caborne, concerns the British navy more particularly, but is such an exhaustive treatise that it naturally contains much of more general interest. It was discussed by Admirals Fremantle and Bowden-Smith, each of whom made some interesting remarks.

The *fifth* is a continued article on the Chinese Army by General Frey, late brigade commander of the French Expeditionary Force in China.

The *sixth* and *seventh* relate to the Japanese Army. We quote from the latter:

"The following opinion of a distinguished Russian military officer, which has recently appeared in the 'Novoé Vrèmia,' may be of interest at the present time:—

" 'It goes without saying that the Japanese Army is a serious adversary for us, especially on account of the vast distance which separates the heart of Russia from the future theatre of operations, but, in spite of that, the troops of the Rising Sun labor under many defects. We place in the first rank the weak effective and bad quality of the cavalry. It does not consist in war time of more than 99 sqadrons, that is to say, from 12,000 to 13,000 horsemen, which constitutes a thirtieth portion of the whole of the Japanese armed forces. It must be generally admitted that this proportion is an excessively small one compared with European powers, where the proportion of cavalry to the other arms varies from one-seventh, in Russia, to one-twelfth and one-fifteenth. The principal obstacle to an increase of cavalry appears to lie in the small number of horses actually in the country. Further, according to competent authorities who have visited Japan, these horses are small and unsuitable for cavalry work. The paucity of mounted men, the unfavorable conditions of the country from a topographical point of view, and the density of the population, do not per-

mit of such necessary training to be given to the cavalry in peace time as to prepare it for large sweeping strategic operations.

"'Although the government is seriously endeavoring to improve the breed of horses, and buys from breeders in other countries, it still requires much time in order to develop, in sufficient quantities, the breeds of saddle and draught horses. The Japanese Army would find serious difficulty in bringing units and their equipages up to a war footing in the event of mobilization. It would have to bring horses from a distance, buying them in Australia, and losing much time before the necessary mobilization requirements could be properly carried out. The consequences of this situation are at once apparent. This is not the place to lay stress on the pernicious influence that insufficiency of cavalry in both quality and quantity would exercise on the conduct of operations. We will merely remark that every army, under such conditions, marches at haphazard and in darkness. Such an army, even if it obtained a success, could not take advantage of it, in consequence of its inability to pursue, and could thus never gain a decisive victory. On the other hand, if unsuccessful, it would incur great danger from the cavalry of its conqueror.

"'The infantry appears superior to the other arms; its morale is excellent, but, on the other hand, its physical qualifications are small. In hot countries the Japanese infantryman has proved himself capable of enduring great fatigue; but it is not likely that he would show the same quality in cold climates. Not long ago a company, making an ordinary march in Japan, was surprised by a snow-storm, and almost entirely annihilated by the cold. As regards its tactical instruction, the infantry is good, but there is reason to believe, based on recent military operations in China, that it is but little trained in taking proper advantage of ground. The press has given but little information regarding the artillery, but, at the same time, it is known that the matériel is not bad. In a general way it is difficult to estimate, as a whole, the fighting value of an army which has not yet seriously received its baptism of fire. It is, however, beyond dispute that, during the last thirty-five years, the Japanese have been able to create a very valuable military machine. They had natural advantages at their disposal, and the seed has fallen on good ground, viz., a naturally warlike nation, as her history proves Japan to be. That history shows a series of internecine wars, which have given a military temper to the people. It remains to be seen how that army will bear itself on the day when a great war will put it to a decisive proof, when it has to bring into line all its available forces, and not merely a portion of them.'"

The *eighth* article relates to the conditions under which British officers serve in the Egyptian army.

The *ninth* has a little interest for us.

"Although we do not agree with the proposed remedy suggested by Captain Adams in his very interesting article which appears in the current number of the *United Service Magazine,* we fully admit that the regimental system of promotion does, under existing conditions, involve elements of pure 'luck' that bear hardly upon the fortunes of very many most deserving officers. Yet we do not think that the American system could profitably be adopted by the British Army. In the United States the system of army promotion is as old as the army itself, and the latter until recently was a very small force indeed. But in our case the destruction of regimental *esprit de corps* could not fail to be entirely detrimental. Obviously, by the adoption of army promotion 'the regiment' would cease to command the devotion which it now inspires, and there would be nothing else attainable whereby to replace it. To destroy what *is* seldom involves insurmountable difficulties, but to create what is not is a very different affair. Be all this as it may, Captain Adams has at least succeeded in drawing attention to a matter which clearly deserves careful consideration. Not only does promotion proceed in some regiments with abnormal rapidity, or the contrary, but in addition to this the officer who reaps advancement as the reward of his participation in a 'small war'—often, too, without having displayed singular merit—must necessarily profit at the expense of others who in many cases are much better qualified than himself.

"An idea occurs to us which would seem calculated to tone down the disparity of chances, whilst it would not in any way interfere with the regimental system as now existing. What we would suggest is that throughout their service officers should take precedence in each succeeding rank according to the dates of their first commissions in the army, and that, in order to avoid difficulties in the case of commissions bearing the same date, a general list of seniority should be kept at the War Office."

The *tenth* article bears on a subject which has interested Great Britain deeply since the Boer War:

"At no time has Carlyle's theory of the subordination of the individual and his co-ordination to the State organism as a whole justified itself more forcibly than at the present moment.

"Self-sacrifice and effacement of selfish interests are the fibre of national life, without which no country can remain great, and the

truth has been amply exemplified by the dangers which lately threatened the empire.

"England's greatness is none of our creation, not our acquirement, but, as Carlyle emphasizes, it is our heritage, the outcome of centuries of human struggle, and it should be the object of our life, seeing that it is the condition of our existence, that we maintain it, even to the last extent of personal sacrifice.

"The empire, by reason of naval supremacy and commercial monopoly of the seas, has enjoyed periods of unexampled peace and prosperity. This has beguiled us into a feeling of security and of immunity from all dangers from without, has dulled our sense of risk, and dropped us into a state of relaxed efforts and useless ease.

"This influence of *laisser aller* has left the nation indifferent to the growth of her rivals and given us a confidence that betrayed little disquiet at the rising ambition to dispute our command of the seas and threaten our commercial supremacy.

"The Fashoda and Venezuela incidents—near enough issues to war—our inadequate representation in the relief of the Chinese Legations, the Transvaal's policy of defiance and preparation and our own inaction point significantly to the small concern of the nation for its real preparedness to meet the situation. Indeed, it needed the great object lesson of a war to lay bare our deficiencies and to impress us with the requirements of the nation.

"Although in certain quarters attempts have been made to condone and explain away the deficiencies revealed by the war and the Commission's Report and to make us believe that all is 'well' with our present organization of national defence, the country has already shown unmistakable signs of its intention not to leave 'bad' alone.

"The lessons of the Boer War and the disclosures of the War Commission's report should be regarded as a great national warning, as a deterrent to the disastrous policy of *laisser-faire* and as an incentive to rouse the individual to a proper sense of his duty toward the empire. They have also given living proof that a nation like the Boers, united by the strongest ties of patriotism, but relying for preservation on courage, independence, and self-confidence, cannot successfully hope to overcome armies trained on modern principles, and that all the self-sacrifice and heroic devotion of a people acting as one in the hour of stress will not stave off disaster and save a country that fails to regard efficiency as the basis of military economies, and displays imperfect knowledge of military science and its application. For instance, one cannot imagine a trained army failing to utilize to the utmost the advantages which were the lot of the Boers in the earlier

stages of the war, and herein lies the difference between bodies of merely brave men and disciplined armies versed in the art of war. The South African War also gives the latest example of the resources needful to meet possible contingencies in connection with our foreign possessions, and we unfortunately know to-day how it taxed and almost overtaxed the combined strength of the empire, leaving a dense home population to depend entirely on the navy and its protection of our coasts.

"We know that Nelson, Wellington, Napoleon, and Collingwood considered the landing of a hostile army on our shores to be perfectly possible. This we also note to be the view of our Continental neighbors, who realize that modern invention has reduced the passage of the Channel to a matter of minutes. We know that necessities might suddenly arise for our regular army to go abroad. The great functions of the navy, we are told, are in future likely to be on the open seas, and, owing to our widespread interests, our navy might need dispersion.

"Lord Wolseley tells us that his estimates for home defence were based not on what he considered adequate material, but on the material available. He has urged in unmistakable language that universal military service—preferably the Swiss model—is the only system that can meet the requirements of the nation, and that by compelling every hale man to go through a military training we confer an enormous benefit on the country.

"And has not Lord Roberts told us that it is impossible under the present system to rely upon the Volunteers as they are now or upon the Militia even for home defence; and foreshadowed universal service as a national necessity unless certain conditions are fulfilled?

"The adjutant of the forces, General Sir T. Kelly Kenny, has, with even greater force, expressed his conviction in favor of compulsory service for home defence."

The *eleventh* article is closely associated with the preceding:

"During a period of fifty years the military condition of our neighbors on the continent of Europe has enormously developed. The unification of Germany, the result of the wars of 1866 and 1870, created a powerful empire, under the lead of Prussia, out of what had previously been a collection of small States loosely bound together by political association. The national army, a common source of pride to every member of the associated States, formed the link which connected the idea of empire with the several interests of its component parts. Other Continental nations followed in the steps of Germany, realizing from the success which attended their powerful neighbor,

that a truly national army, representative of all that is best in a nation, is not only the most powerful weapon which any State can possess, but that it is also from its very composition the best guarantee of peace.

"Continental armies of the present day represent all that is physically and morally the best of the nation, and this material is, while in the prime of life, trained for a consecutive period upon clear and well-defined principles by a body of highly-trained experts. As might be expected, the result is sufficiently remarkable, and has had, and will continue to have, the effect of postponing to an appreciable extent the likelihood of war between nations so armed and trained. The extraordinary difference between armies trained on these lines and composed of such material, and the forces which can be improvised upon the spur of the moment, is well illustrated by the events of the latter portion of the Franco-German War. After the crushing defeats of August and September, 1870, the major portion of the French regular army was dispersed, captured, or killed. In spite of this a vigorous defence was organized by the nation. The troops which were raised and armed with incredible rapidity fought in their individual capacity with bravery and tenacity, and, while acting on the defensive about Orleans and in the north, hampered the action of the German armies, without, however, succeeding in effecting decisive results. But when these same troops attempted to assume the offensive, as in the campaign on the Lisaine, they were decisively crushed by forces numerically inferior to them. The fact remains, and can scarcely be disputed, that a collection of brave men deficient in training and organization possess no possible chance of ultimate success when opposed to organized troops trained upon well understood principles.

"Again, the recent war in South Africa is a further proof of what it is desired to convey. Had the Dutch republics possessed any trained and organized army they might in 1899, owing to our want of preparedness, have inflicted blows which might indeed have 'staggered humanity.' When the numerical disparity was to some extent readjusted, their chance of success finally and forever disappeared. That they were able after the occupation of Pretoria to prolong the war for a further period was owing to other circumstances, which it is not necessary to discuss here, and which have nothing to do with the argument we desire to put forward.

"The prolongation of hostilities and the maintenance of a system of irregular warfare resulted, in the case of the two republics, in making the final overthrow more complete and disastrous than would otherwise have been the case, while the country itself suffered to an untold

extent from a three years' war. In a densely populated country like England a guerilla form of warfare could only result in such destruction of property and life as would leave us, even if in the end the victors in the struggle, crippled for the next fifty years."

The *twelfth* article and the *thirteenth* relate to conditions in the British Army, but are nevertheless interesting reading, and contain valuable lessons for us all.

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. Military Education.—*Army and Navy Gazette,* Nov. 14.
2. Education of Cadets.—*Mil. Mail,* Nov. 13.
3. The French Field Artillery Practice.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.,* 10.
4. The British Army Maneuvers of 1903.—*Revue du Cercle Mil.,* Nov. 28.
5. The German Maneuvers of 1903.—*Same,* Nov. 14.
6. The Swiss Maneuvers of 1903.—*Same,* Dec. 5, 12.
7. The Carrousel at Fontainebleu Artillery School.—*Jour. Arty.,* Nov., Dec.
8. The Maneuvers in Italy.—*Int. Rev. Beih.,* 46; *Kriegstech. Zeit.,* 10.
9. The Maneuvers in Hungary.—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.,* Nov.
10. The English Naval Maneuvers.—*Same*; and *Mar. Rund.,* Jan.
11. Artillery Practice on Board Ship.—*Int. Rev.,* Suppl. 56.

The *first* and *second* of these articles relate to the British Military Academies at Sandhurst and Woolwich, and contain some interesting remarks on general education as well as on military education. We quote the principal points in each.

"It will be seen in another column that the Advisory Board on Military Education and Training has recommended drastic alterations in the present system of entrance examinations for admission to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and Royal Military College, Sandhurst. At present the examinations for these two institutions are separate and distinct. For the academy the examinations are considerably stiffer than those for Sandhurst, and, moreover, the age limit for Woolwich is lower. The first recommended alteration to be noticed is that though there is to be still a qualifying test before a candidate for either institution can be allowed to compete in the further examination, that test is to take the form of a 'leaving cerificate,' or such certificate as the Advisory Board may deem sufficient to qualify for admission. How this will work it is difficult to say at first sight. It seems to us to have one great merit, and that it has a tendency to keep boys longer

at school, and to lessen the time spent at a crammer's establishment. The preliminary examination has been to some boys a terrible bugbear, on account of dictation.

"With regard to the competitive examination the board considers that for Sandhurst there should be two compulsory subjects, and for Woolwich three. It is also proposed that all candidates should be examined on the same papers, so that Woolwich candidates who fail for Woolwich may count for Sandhurst their marks in English, French (or German), and the best two of their three remaining subjects. This proposal will, no doubt, be looked upon with favor by candidates and also by their parents. Another recommendation is that the cadets of both Sandhurst and Woolwich should pass through a course of two years. At present the normal course at Sandhurst is a year, while that at Woolwich is two. Sandhurst cadets at present, with their year of training, do not compare favorably with the Woolwich cadets with their two years, although things are a great deal better now at Sandhurst than they were a little time ago.

"The following letter, addressed to us by Colonel Edgar Kensington, late R. A., late professor at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, will be read with interest in this connection:—

" 'Will you permit me, on the strength of over thirty years' experience in military education, to offer a few remarks on the 'Advisory Board's conclusions'? Since the former 'preliminary examination' was abolished, and, a few years later, the obligatory qualification in arithmetic, the candidates for the army have fallen off immensely in their knowledge of elementary subjects. Their arithmetic is disgraceful. They cannot write decent English, and, being ignorant of the first principals of grammar, they cannot read the meaning of a correctly-constructed question in examination. The board, perceiving the necessity, recommended a revival of a preliminary test; but they fail to perceive that no pupil, on leaving school, will be made more efficient by receiving a 'leaving certificate' from his headmaster. I maintain that the schools have failed to provide a proper education, except for those cleverer boys who understand at once what is taught without requiring real painstaking instruction. The schools are therefore the last authority to be relied on for certificates of proficiency. Have they (the board) considered how impossible it will be to obtain any approach to a uniform standard in the hundreds of schools throughout the country? We must therefore have a preliminary examination for all, to be held at certain school centres, as formerly. I wish here to enter a protest against the holding of the competitive examinations for Woolwich and Sandhurst at the schools. I consider that this arrange-

ment gives a marked advantage, such as sitting next to school-fellows amidst familiar surroundings, over their less favored competitors.

" 'The next point I wish to urge is that a mistake is being made in practically neglecting both freehand and geometrical drawing. With regard to the first of these, I consider that there is scarcely any elementary qualification that is of more use to an officer than to be able to represent on paper what he sees and wishes to make intelligible in his report or explanations. The board can scarcely have realized what the state of affairs in the army would be if the majority of officers were without even their present slight knowledge of drawing—if they could not use their instruments, had no appreciation of the proportions of lines or angles, and were ignorant of scales. Yet they only recommend that 'a small proportion of marks should be allotted to model drawing of common objects as a voluntary subject.' I do not object to its being voluntary, but I think high marks should be awarded to induce its being seriously taken up.' "

"EDUCATION OF CADETS.

"It is to be feared that a good many people had forgotten that there is sitting at the present time an Advisory Board on Military Education and Training, and the publication this week, therefore, of some of the decisions at which this board has arrived will serve as a reminder of its existence. Curiously enough, on the same day that this report was issued, there was a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution by Lieutenant Colonel Maude on the subject of military education, and a most interesting discussion on the subject afterwards took place in which General Sir A. P. Palmer, Dr. Miller Maguire, and others took part. At this discussion some very harsh things were said, and rightly, too, about the mental attainments of many of our public school boys to-day, who show a sad deterioration compared with those of a generation or two ago. It is from this material that the great majority of our officers have to be made, and it is scarcely fair to blame Sandhurst and Woolwich for turning out such poor work when the material supplied it is so unsuitable.

"It is in the public schools, it is safe to say, that the first efforts must be made when endeavoring to raise the mental standard of our young officers, and this is a work that cannot be undertaken too quickly. This is a fact that the Advisory Board seem to have discovered, and some good result may now come about. Glancing over the scheme as at present outlined by the Advisory Board, it strikes us a very good one, and one that should be a great improvement on the one at present in force. We do not say that the scheme is incapable of improvement;

no scheme was ever that since the world started, but it seems to us a thoroughly practical endeavor to introduce a much needed improvement. There is an excellent suggestion, for instance, for what they term a 'qualifying test,' which is really a certificate from the school of the candidate's general ability and fitness to join the army. This qualifying certificate must include (1) English, (2) history and geography, (3) mathematics (elementary), (4) French or German, (5) either (a) Latin or Greek or (b) science. With regard to the competitive examination, the Advisory Board consider that for Woolwich candidates it should consist of three compulsory subjects, viz.: English, either French or German, mathematics I., and of any two out of the following: mathematics II., science, history, French, German, Latin, Greek. For Sandhurst candidates they propose that there should be two compulsory subjects, viz., English and French or German, with any two of of the following: mathematics I., mathematics II., science, history, French, German, Greek, Latin. It is also proposed that for both Woolwich and Sandhurst a small proportion of marks shall be allotted to model drawing of common objects as a voluntary subject. Some fault might be found with the foregoing lists of subjects by reason of the inclusion of Greek and Latin, which, after all, in these days is very rarely required either in the army or outside it, and the time devoted to this study might very well be more profitably occupied.

"It is further proposed that the limits of age for the entrance examination, both for Woolwich and Sandhurst, shall be from eighteen to nineteen years and six months, and that the course both for Woolwich and Sandhurst shall be two years. The age at which such candidates might obtain a commission would thus range from a few months over twenty years to a few months under twenty-two years of age. Altogether we welcome this scheme of the Advisory Board, which promises on the first, and necessarily rather cursory, examination to work very well."

The *third* article is of great interest just now, as all important nations are adopting new field artillery material, and are looking for data on which to base new drill regulations.

The French are decidedly opposed to the so-called *masses* of field artillery on the battlefield. They bring into action only so much of the artillery as may be necessary (determined by the *extent* of the target), hold in reserve, either limbered (position d'attente) or unlimbered (position de surveillance), the remainder, to bring it into action unexpectedly.

Less importance is nowadays attached to the estimation of distances, because correct ranging is now easily attained in three seconds, by using battery salvos. Thirty shots a minute is regraded as a maximum rate of fire, but twelve to fifteen as the most common rate.

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS.

1. The New Cartridge Belt.—*Jour. Arty.*, Nov.-Dec.
2. The U. S. Springfield Rifle.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.

MILITARY GEOGRAPHY.

1. The British Line of Communications Across Canada to India.—*Mar. Rund.*, Dec.
2. Manchuria.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Nov. 14.
3. The Yellow Bosphorus.—*Int. Rev. Beih.*, 45.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

1. Field Telephony of the Present Day.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 9.
2. Telephonic Light Telegraphy.—*Same.*
3. The Balloonists at the Swiss Maneuvers.—*Same.*
4. The Security of Railway Transportation.—*Same.*
5. Telegraphy in War.—*Same*, 10.
6. The Line of Communications of the Allied Forces in China.—*Int. Rev. Beih.*, 45.

TRANSPORTATION.

1. Transport and Supply.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Dec.
2. Security of Railway Transportation.—*Kreigstech. Zeit.*, 9.

We quote the last part of the *first* of these articles, illustrating the transport of supplies in South Africa:

"It was for these reasons that the regiment or battalion was selected, upon working out the details of mobilization, as the lowest unit to be self-equipped. Hence arose the term Regimental Transport, our first line of Transport, which, as is well-known, falls into two divisions—the Fighting Transport for the conveyance of ammunition, entrenching tools, and the like; and the Subsistence Transport, carrying one to two days' supply of food and forage for the unit. An officer, a sergeant, and (in an European war) drivers are furnished by the battalion or regiment for this Regimental Transport.

"To replenish the first line there is a second line of Transport, called the Supply-Column or Replenishing Transport, calculated also to carry from one to two days' supplies. These Supply-Columns are organized for four distinct units, Cavalry Brigade, Infantry Brigade,

Divisional Troops, and Corps Troops, each under the charge of a company of the Army Service Corps, that is to say, of trained men under trained officers, with all the necessary equipment of account books, steelyards, butchering implements, and the like, for the services of Transport and Supply. The Supply-Column, therefore, contains all the machinery for these services, so far as its unit is concerned, and has thus an importance of its own quite apart from its function as Replenishing Transport, which makes it the link between the first line and the third line.

"This third line, technically called the Supply-Park, is a Traveling Depot or Rolling Magazine, organized to carry at least three days' supply of food and forage for the men and animals of the Army. This, again, is under the charge of the officers, trained to the duties both of Transport and Supply, of the Army Service Corps.

"It will be seen that, allowing for the difference of a moving and stationary population, the Regimental Transport is to an Army what its store-cupboards are to each household in a town; the Replenishing Transport corresponds roughly to the tradesmen's carts which deliver our food-supplies daily at our doors; and the Rolling Magazine to the tradesmen's depots to which their carts return, when empty, for a fresh load.

"There is also a fourth line of Transport called Auxiliary Transport, which is designed to take the place of a railway where no railway exists from which the Rolling Magazines can be replenished. It is organized in Companies under officers of the Army Service Corps.

"Such, very briefly, is the principle upon which the services of Transport and Supply had been based in 1898 to meet the requirements of war."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The naval appropriation bill which was reported to the House of Representatives on February 11 is regarded as a most satisfactory measure. The building programme reported includes one battleship, two armored cruisers, three scout cruisers and two colliers, a compromise from the General Board recommendations in that an armored cruiser was added and two proctected cruisers omitted. Satisfactory provision is made for Guantanamo and for the work at Olongapo, though the details of the latter appropriation will probably have to be amended to provide for the satisfactory course of work there. An effort will be made to include an appropriation for a naval training station on the Great Lakes under a special rule. The usual opposition from representatives of Lake Erie points is expected. The total cost of the building programme as reported is $29,885,000, and the total of the approved estimates is $96,338,038.94.

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The hearings of the House Committee on Naval Affairs have been of unusual interest this year. The general subject of the increase of the navy and the duties of sea power was taken up at considerable length, and the result was shown in an advanced position in favor of sustaining current naval theories taken both by the report of the committee and by Chairman Foss in a statement that was made at the time the bill was reported. As a result of Secretary Moody's two years of work with the powers in Congress, the days of satisfaction with an inefficient navy are definitely ended.

★ ★ ★

The post at Fort Terry, New York, is to be considerably enlarged and a board of Army officers has been constituted to determine on sites for the several buildings included in the proposed enlargement.

★ ★ ★

Naval officers who are coming up for examination for promotion are "boning" on international law with much industry. The current prominence of the subject gives it especial weight at the present time and wise officers are not to be caught napping. A question arose during February as to the detention of an Ameri-

can ship by one of the parties in the war and the authorities on neutrality and the rights of neutrals are assuming the first importance in the eyes of those who will have the duty of carrying out the details of incidents which may be expected to arise any day. The first and most difficult problem that was offered was as to the location of the vessels of the United States during any conflicts that might occur between Japan and Russia. The Navy Department is anxious to get all the results of experience that can be gleaned, but the delicacy of the situation was appreciated. A happy solution was reached by giving orders which detained the battleships of the Asiatic squadron in the Philippines, but permitted a cruiser squadron to cruise to the approximate scene of hostilities, with provision for giving the vessels in succession a view of preparations and possible hostilities.

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The midshipmen who graduated from Annapolis in February are, after a short leave of absence, to be distributed among the vessels of the Navy where their presence, in the present shortage of officers, is ardently desired. Five of the young men waived their leave in order that they might secure assignments to the Missouri at once, while several others have been retained at Annapolis as instructors. A number have applied for transfer to the Construction Corps, but under the ruling of the Department future line officers and constructors must alike spend the remainder of their six years at sea.

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Strict adherence to lines laid down marks the conduct of the Naval Academy under the present administration. As a result of the February examinations several midshipmen were permitted to resign and a number found deficient were turned back into a lower class. Appeals to the Department and the influence of friends were alike without result, as the Department did not attempt to interfere with the discretion of the Academic Board, basing its decision on the statutory powers given that board. Instances of desired resignation of satisfactory officers before the expiration of eight years have also been decided in favor of retention of their services and the Academy administration is hewing to the line without departure to the right or to the left.

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Regret is expressed that the events of the first engagements of the Japanese-Russian war were such that the two Russian ships, Retvizan and Variag, built in Philadelphia, were not tested to the full as to their fighting and maneuvering qualities. So much of an opportunity to determine

the qualities of American built ships has been lost, as the Retvizan at Port Arthur and the Variag at Chemulpo are supposed to have suffered from torpedo fire, though reliable details are lacking of both contests.

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The following designations of the duty of general officers have been made:

Brig. Gen. W. S. McCaskey to duty in the Philippines; Brig. Gen. C. C. C. Carr to command of the Department of Dakota; Brig. Gen. Francis Moore to command of the school at Fort Riley.

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Opinion as to the advisability of attempting to secure the passage of the pension providing for a service pension of $12 per month applicable to the cases of all soldiers who served in the Union armies for ninety days or more and who have arrived at the age of sixty-two is divided. The bill which was introduced in the Senate and House also provides for a pension of the same amount for widows who were married prior to June 27, 1890. The bill has the approval of Chairman Sulloway of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions, but is opposed on the ground of the great expense which would be incurred and the effect on the total of the year's appropriations. It is assumed that a service pension at some date is inevitable, and the disposition has been to hold it off as long as possible. The aim of the opponents of the bill will be to prevent the matter coming before the House for consideration at this session.

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A happy selection has been made by the Navy Department of Lieutenant Newton A. McCully, U. S. N., for responsible duties in observation of the operations of the Japanese-Russian war. Lieut. McCully, who has seen much sea service, is a former torpedo lieutenant and has lately been the crack executive of the Dolphin, the Secretary's dispatch boat. He left Washington on the 12th for St. Petersburg with the object of securing permission to accompany the Russian fleet at the scene of operations. If the permission cannot be obtained, he will relieve Lieutenant Marsh as naval attache at Tokio and Pekin and will have charge of the observations of the naval operations from central points. Lieut. McCully is physically and mentally equipped for splendid service in an especially arduous position.

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The Board of Ordnance and Fortification of the War Department has been constituted as follows:

Major General George L. Gillespie, assistant chief of staff; Brigadier General Wm. Crozier, chief of ordnance; Brigadier General John P. Story, chief of artillery; Brigadier General Alexander Mackenzie, chief of engineers; Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay D. Potts; Major Erasmus M. Weaver; General Thomas J. Henderson, civilian member; Captain Tracy C. Dickson, recorder.

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The stay of the battalions of the United States Marine Corps at Panama, under the command of Brigadier General Elliott, has been prolonged beyond the time originally anticipated. The month has been quiet as far as active operations go, but the time has been by no means wasted, as the conditions and topography of the country are better known than they have ever been before by the military authorities of the United States, and the experience of the Marine Corps in successfully establishing posts has been a most valuable one. The dispositions of General Elliott have shown his skill as a commander and the health of the men has shown an understanding of the requirements of sanitation that is most praiseworthy. The opportunity afforded the new head of the Marine Corps to establish the wisdom of the selection of a successor to General Haywood has been met most satisfactorily and the growing impression of the efficiency of the United States Marine Corps has received an added warrant for its existence. With the care that is being exercised in the selection of the large number of new officers provided for by the legislation of 1903 the continuance of the high standing of the corps is assured. General Elliott has returned to the United States with a substantial addition to his reputation as a successful commander.

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The "point of order" referred to as having been instrumental in removing the provision for consolidation of offices in the War Department, and which is frequently resorted to in the defeat of measures which have secured the approval of the army and navy committees, is based on the rule that no "new legislation" can be included in appropriation bills. It is the most facile way of adopting a new plan to include it and the appropriation for carrying it out in one bill. But for the rule in question the major part of the constructive legislation of Congress would be effected in the appropriation bills in which the necessity of the whole greatly increases the strength of the component parts. "New legislation" is not accurately defined, but it may be stated to be a change of policy which has not received the approval of Congress by the passage of a measure definitely

framed for the purpose. Many pet schemes which are worked through committees are stopped in the House by the application of this rule. New legislation can only be included by unanimous consent, and if any member raises a point of order, the clause must be stricken out if the chair decides that the proposition has not previously been definitely passed upon. There is no more potent safeguard of the interests of the officers of both services than this excellent rule which prevents the year by year alteration of military conditions in accordance with current fads.

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The question of the establishment of a general staff for the navy has not been taken up by the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives. Individual members have taken the position that statements should not be made piecemeal, but that general hearings on the subject should be held and the testimony and argument confined to the one subject. The campaign of education which was being carried on by the advocates of the general staff has not had to do with the details of a general staff plan, but has been principally devoted to bringing to the lay attention the opinions of military experts on the value of the general staff. Paymaster General Harris, of the Navy Department, representing, it is assumed, the present staff officers of the navy, has entered into the campaign as an opponent of the general staff proposition. It cannot be said that the situation at present offers a luminous condition on either side. The general staff proposition is so indefinite and the opposition is so unconditionally negative that the position of the committee seems to be that it would be wise to wait and see if some concrete measure is not forged out in the conflict of opinions.

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The plan to consolidate the adjutant general's and Record and Pension office of the War Department under the head of the present chief of the the latter was objected out of the army appropriation bill in its passage through the House. The objection was not that the measure would be of no value to the Department, but that it would include promotion for Brigadier General Ainsworth to a major-generalship. General Ainsworth, as well as General Wood, was formerly a medical officer, and, although the two propositions were by no means on fours, the House refused to sanction the change that would have brought about the promotion of General Ainsworth one grade with the title of military secretary. It was unfortunate that the main administrative question involved could not have been separated from the

question of rank and title. General Ainsworth's service to the department has been one of exceptional merit, but its success is civilian rather than miltary, and it would seem that some arrangement might be made to give him further administrative direction and authority without the attempt to still further infringe on the spirit of military promotion. It does not appear that General Ainsworth was himself anxious for the success of the rather undigested proposal, and his attitude throughout has been characteristically modest and unassuming.

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First Lieutenant H. S. Haywood, assistant surgeon, U. S. A., has been attached to the Legation Guard at Pekin.

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Brigadier General John G. Butler, U. S. A., for several years in command of the arsenal at Watertown, Mass., has been retired at his own request after more than forty years of service. Since the Civil War his service has been largely at the different arsenals.

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The general publication of the fact that the Navy is short of officers has caused a considerable increase of the number of petitioners before Congress for restoration to the active list of the Navy. These include not only the cases of those who have resigned from the lower grades in former years of comparative inactivity, but a strong movement has been made during the past two sessions for the reinstatement of graduates of the Naval Academy who were forced out at the ending of the course by lack of vacancies in the line. There is a not unnatural disinclination on the part of the officers in the active service to approve these measures which would indirectly work to the disadvantage of the present officers, since if restoration is effected it cannot be equitably made without a considerable increase over the rank at which the persons affected left the service. The difficulty of getting back into the service is one which should be considered by those who are under the sometimes temptation to resign as a result of temporary dissatisfaction. Civilian life has its attractions, but it also has its difficulties, and with the present outlook for successful careers in both arms of the service, resignation is not to be lightly resorted to when the inconveniences of the service press irritatingly.

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The Library of Congress needs the fourth number of the Army and Navy Quarterly to complete its set, and the L. R. Hamersly Co. would be glad to purchase a copy of that issue.

Owing to the absence of General Chaffee, the army was represented at the Congressional funeral exercises for the late Senator Hanna by Major General Gillespie, assistant chief of staff. The army has been exceptionally fortunate in late years in the personality of its representative men and General Gillespie in dignity and soldierly bearing fully maintains the tradition in this respect. He was an especially marked figure among the assemblage of men of national reputation.

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The retirement of Rear Admiral Cotton from the command of the European squadron makes the third change in the command of important stations within a few months. The first followed the retirement of Admiral Crowninshield from the European squadron, then Admiral Lamberton from the South Atlantic, and now Admiral Cotton from the European. The state of Admiral Lamberton's eyes compelled his return to the United States, giving Admiral Sigsbee a suitable sea command, which, however, compelled him to relinquish the duty which promised to be a pleasant one of representing the Navy at the St. Louis fair. Admiral French E. Chadwick goes to the European squadron from the presidency of the War College. The selection is a peculiarly happy one, as Admiral Chadwick is not only widely acquainted among the personnel of foreign navies, but his work at the War College has commanded international attention and his presence on the European station will undoubtedly be made the occasion of a cordial recognition of his work by foreign naval experts.

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The orders for the addition of the Tacoma to the Asiatic fleet is taken to mean that gradual additions will be made to the naval force stationed in Eastern waters until the fleet there assumes proportions of considerable strength. Although the Tacoma is not a heavy fighting ship, she is an exceptionally well designed general utility ship and gives promise of excellent service in many lines, including some rather brisk fighting if there should be need of it. Commander Nicholson, the navigating officer of the Oregon in her trip around the Horn, assumed command of the Tacoma after a successful tour of duty as the detail officer of the Bureau of Navigation, and is hard at work getting the Tacoma's complement into thorough trim.

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Several changes in the personnel of officers now attached to the Department in Washington will take place within the next few months as the result of the expiration of terms of shore duty.

Lieut. Commander Sharp, in charge of the detail of enlisted men in the Bureau of Navigation, having passed his examination, will receive a command within a short time, and Pay Inspector Simpson, who has been assistant to the Paymaster General for some years, will take sea duty, being succeeded by Paymaster McGowan.

* * *

A new class of artillery instruction at Fortress Monroe has been designated. The determination of Secretary Root that these courses of instruction should be something more than pro forma affairs and the summary action that was taken in some cases will bring over into this year an influence that will be for the material benefit of the service. While it is not likely that the method of promotion will be seriously affected by action under the principle of promotion by selection, owing to the difficulty of applying the principle equitably, the need for constant improvement on the part of officers in the service will enforce a weeding out of officers who are not willing to make a personal application of the necessity.

* * *

After statements and counter-statements as to the extent of the winter maneuvers in the West Indies, it is apparent that there is to be at least a short season of active work under the direction of the Admiral of the Navy. The Mayflower is being overhauled for the purpose of taking the Admiral south and the married mess of the President's yacht observe the finish of what was anticipated as a winter in Washington. The Mayflower has had a season's work that is a marked contrast to her usual snug winter berth at the Washington Navy Yard. Incessant rolling about off Colon, varied only by scouting trips along the Mosquito coast, assume an added hardship when substituted for the anticipated pleasures of a Washington winter.

* * *

The influence possessed by Admiral Dewey in matters pertaining to the Navy was shown in one of very many ways by the action of the House Committee on Naval Affairs in accepting his view of the most desirable building programme for the year as a modification of the programme presented by the General Board. Very many who have thought on the subject of additions to the naval force of the United States will approve his preference of one armored cruiser to a protected cruiser. With the new vessels coming into the navy list, the work which is laid out for the smaller vessel can be handled very well with the

present equipment, but strength on the fighting line is still far below the desideratum, while the country may as well prepare to accept the fact that some of the ships of the navy are not efficient in a modern sense and cannot be made efficient economically. There is more than one makeshift in the present fleet formation and the weak points should be supplied with modern vessels at the earliest possible date. Because there is no general attention called to the work being done by the Admiral of the Navy, he lacks something of the appreciation which is his due, but it may be said with absolute truth that his active participation in the directive work of the Navy, his strong common sense and his accurate and absolute knowledge of naval requirements and duties, are of the very greatest value to the Navy of the present time.

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Brig. Gen. Alexander Mackenzie, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., has been named as a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Soldiers' Home, vice Major General Bates, retired.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 9th, 1904.

Editor United Service Magazine:

Dear Sir: The grave of the late Rear-Admiral Jouett, U. S. N., Farragut's favorite captain, has not even a headstone to mark it, although it occupies one of the most conspicuous sites in the National cemetery at Arlington. It is an object lesson to those who "seek the bauble reputation at the cannon's mouth." Only a few years ago and the name of Jouett was in everybody's mouth. The man who had commanded the Metacomet, the ship that was lashed alongside of the Hartford at the battle of Mobile Bay; the ship that sunk the Confederate gunboat Selma in the same fight; men loved to tell how Jouett when a lieutenant on the old frigate Santee, when off Galveston, led a boat expedition into the harbor and boarded the Confederate gunboat Royal Yacht. How, in his flight, a Confederate sailor turned and facing Jouett drove a boarding pike through that officer's body, pinioning him to a mast, breaking the staff, and rushing below without waiting to see the effect of his thrust. How Jouett's crew became panic stricken and leaped over the side and into their boat and rowed away, and how Jouett wrenched the pike out of the mast and with it still in his body rushed to the taffrail and called aloud, "Men! don't desert me, I have her!" How they came back, and how he led them below, where the Confederates had taken refuge, and after a desperate hand to hand struggle Jouett took them prisoners, set fire to their vessel, and returned to the Santee.

Jouett died poor, because he was notoriously the most hospitable and generous of men. He left barely sufficient to provide his widow, an invalid, with the necessities of life, and she, forsooth, has not yet been able to get a pension because it cannot be proved that her husband died from causes incident to the service.

In what contrast is the American worship of the inanimate to their neglect of their human heroes. How many of the people who would rise in indignation at the idea of letting the old frigate Constitution sink and be buried in the mud at her dock, either know or care as to what has become of the remains of "Hull" Bainbridge or Charles Stewart? Forty-five years ago the writer was a midshipman aboard of the Constitution, and at that time it was well known that there was not a timber in her that had participated in her glorious victories. The binnacle, the steering wheel and the main bits had been in the old ship, and they had better have been in a museum, so far as historical value is concerned, than on the modern Constitution. So, too, the Hartford is venerated by the populace who are always ready to vote thousands to perpetuate her memory, but how many of these enthusiasts know or care where Admiral Farragut is buried? Yet I saw the Hartford the other day, and she bears no more re-

semblance to the Hartford I saw Farragut fight at New Orleans in 1862 than the modern cruiser Brooklyn does to the Pilgrim's Mayflower.

A committee was formed some eighteen months ago for the purpose of raising a small sum with which to place a stone over Admiral Jouett's grave, but so far their efforts have met with little more than indifferent success. It may be that the ears of the patriot have not been reached. Rear-Admiral Watson, treasurer of the committee, was the flag lieutenant of Admiral Farragut and a witness of Jouett's gallant conduct. An appeal from him should surely meet with consideration from those who still take an interest in the heroes of the passing generation.

Subscriptions may be sent to Rear-Admiral J. Crittenden Watson, U. S. N., Navy Department, Washington, D. C., or to

Yours very respectfully,

JAMES MORRIS MORGAN,

International Banking Corporation,
1415 G Street, Washington, D. C.

JAPANESE GRADUATES OF ANNAPOLIS.

From the Yellow Sea to Chesapeake Bay is a far cry, and yet the doings at Port Arthur which crippled or sank a dozen Russian warships in the opening action of the great war in the East are only the echoes of the happenings in the years that have but recently faded into the past in the halls and on the drill grounds of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. To the training which the officers who are now handling the Japanese fleet received at Annapolis is in a great measure due the success which they have achieved over the Russians. In Annapolis the little fellows from the land of chrysanthemums were Americanized, and they took so readily to the process of Americanization that when the naval commanders of the Czar met them in battle they had to fight Americans rather than despised Japanese. This in a nutshell is the story of Japanese superiority. The Japanese are the Americans of the Orient.

When Japan awoke from the long sleep of centuries and determined to adopt what she considered best in western civilization she set her heart not only on being great in the arts of peace, but also on being second to none in the game of war. Her dreams she knew could not be realized unless she had her sons trained in the methods of the great nations, and, casting her eyes over the seas she came to the conclusion that America was in the van. She would build a navy and she would have her fighting ships and their officers and men American as far as possible in everything. Her brightest youth she would send to the American Naval Academy, and they, on their return to the homeland, would establish a similar school in time. But Annapolis was only for Americans—officers for foreign navies might not be trained there. Here was a supreme difficulty; but Japan, very diplomatic, very polite—wonderfully polite, indeed—was able to surmount it and satisfy her darling ambition.

Japan appealed to the United States—appealed in a manner that could not be gainsaid, and thirty-six years ago, when Johnson sat in the Presidential chair, Congress passed an act, which received his instant approval, providing for the admission to the academy of young men selected by foreign governments.

THE FIRST JAPANESE CADET.

Japan lost no time in taking advantage of the courtesy extended, and so

it came to pass that one morning through the streets of Annapolis marched a strange-looking little fellow all the way from the Orient. From the Island Kingdom in the Far East came the small stranger, over ocean and continent, to the quaint old city by Chesapeake Bay. He was small—five feet two inches—but a manly chap, well built, with good shoulders, and his name was Zun Zu Matzmulla. He was yellow skinned, but he wore the clothes of an American youth. And he put up at the leading hotel.

These things caused the residents to marvel very much, and they had not yet satisfied themselves as to the little fellow's identity or nationality when on another morning a few days after his arrival he came with a swing through the gates of the academy and in the uniform of a cadet. This was early in 1869, and before Uncle Sam had begun to pick up groups of islands in the Pacific on which yellow-skinned people dwell, and the citizens of the old town, of which they are very proud, could not imagine what it all meant or how a yellow-skinned boy, not so far removed in their mind from a negro, could be admitted to the company of American cadets. But the truth of the situation was not very long in traveling over this little city, which is today a practically unchanged piece of the seventeenth century. And undoubtedly the Japanese youth who was watching for marvelous things of which he had heard in his faraway home was wondering where the throngs of men were, where the rush of commerce, where the tumult of a Western city's street, for here everything was quiet as in a Japanese village.

Annapolis is an ideal college town. Over all there is an acedemic silence, the hush and stillness of the cloister. There is neither trolley car nor horse car to disturb the quiet, there is no rush of business, and the town has simply held on in the even tenor of its way ever since Charles Carroll was born within its precincts or George Washington was nominated for the position of commander in chief of the Colonial Army. Annapolis has much to be proud of. It is a historic spot and may well live on its ancient glory as the "Athens of America."

Save for an additional wing the State House, which crowns the hill overlooking the valley through which the Severn flows past the Naval Academy into Chesapeake water, is as it was when Congress sitting within its walls ratified the treaty of peace with England, and George Washington, having made good the Declaration of Independence, resigned from the Army. A little distance away is the old ballroom, in which on the night preceding his resignation the Father of his Country was honored at a great banquet. Ninety-eight bottles of wine and two and a half gallons of whiskey were consumed at the feast, so that the gallant Marylanders and other gentlemen of those days were capable of taking and enjoying a nip of good stuff.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS.

In the immediate neighborhood of the State House are still the houses in which Charles Carroll of Carrollton, now owned by the Redemptorist Fathers and William Paca, another signer of the Declaration of Independence, made their homes. And the house still stands where lived, when Annapolis sent out her ships to all parts of the world, Absalom Ridgely, a merchant prince of the time, and father of the historian of the United States.

Sweeping seaward from the Capitol or State House of Maryland is Col-

lege Avenue, which passes the famous St. John's College, in which Francis Scott Key, the author of "The Star Spangled Banner," was educated, and the very spot on the college campus on which stands the "liberty tree," under which Washington and Lafayette camped together. A few yards further on the avenue loses itself within the wide gates of the Naval Academy, so that the young cadet from Japan trod on ground sacred in American history, and could draw from all his surroundings inspiring lessons of patriotism and honor.

Matzmulla, indeed, did take a great interest in the historic places of Annapolis, and before he was long in the academy knew the story of every historic landmark from the State House to Windmill Point, which is within the academy limits and was made famous by the burning there in the troublous tea tax days of the brig Peggy Stewart. The little fellow, the "first of the Japs," as he is remembered, became quite a favorite, not only with his class fellows, but also with the officers of the academy, his instructors, and the townspeople.

At the outset his class fellows made a great deal of fun with the "Zun Zo Matz," but, whether out of sense of courtesy to strangers or what, no attempt was made to haze him, and "hazing" was much in vogue in those days in the academy. His lack of the knowledge of English was Matzmulla's great trouble, and until he left Annapolis he had become by no means a master of it. His "breaks" in broken English were very amusing, and when he attempted to talk in this tongue foreign to him, he was the most grotesque looking little being it is possible to imagine. Then when everybody laughed, he would laugh himself and tell his hearers: "You no understand me; I no understand myself."

CLEVER AS A JUGGLER.

Zun Zu won his way into the hearts of his fellows by his cleverness as a juggler. His feats as a juggler were really wonderful, and in free time in the cadet building he was in constant demand. "He really did most extraordinary things," said that fine old Frenchman, Swordmaster A. J. Corbessier, who has been at the academy for nearly half a century, "better than I ever saw from professionals. I was younger then than I am now, and I often enjoyed his tricks; but, Mon Dieu, what a fencer he was—clever, quick—sabre, foils, anything—every inch a swordsman; and with the cane, Oh, he was clever with the cane. And he was so polite—the soul of politeness. My countrymen have a reputation for politeness, but, my—oh, not in it with the Japs."

Matzmulla was a wrestler, also, but was not able to hold his own with the Americans when it came to the Græco-Roman style. With his own jiu-jitsu he was a past master, and could place at his mercy any man in the academy. A fourth class man, a powerful young fellow, who is now a well-known officer in the navy had a set-to with Matzmulla, but in less time than it takes to tell it he had a jiu-jitsu hold on the American, and could have broken his neck or choked him to death. Matzmulla did not care much for social affairs, as they are usually understood, but on Saturdays and Sundays, when the cadets were allowed out to town, he could thoroughly enjoy himself, and was rather a favorite with some of the young women. In working days juggling was his chief recreation. As a student he was quite a model—the most industrious in the academy.

In those days ironclads were in their infancy, the great fighting-ships of to-day were undreamed of, and

seamanship pure and simple—the seamanship which the old salts who despise the "tinkers" the machinists and engineers love to talk about—the seamanship that made sailors, not mechanics, as Lord Charles Beresford will put it—the seamanship of sail and spars and rigging—in this seamanship Matzmulla was one of the best in his class, and it was one of the subjects on which he stood highest when he graduated. He had a peculiar talent for mathematics, as indeed, have had all the Japanese cadets or midshipmen, as they would now be called, but he and they cared very little for languages. Some of them did not even take a course in French.

Physics and mechanical drawing occupied a good deal of Matzmulla's attention and he became proficient in astronomy. General literature, elocution, and such things had for him little attraction. So far as elocution was concerned he was handicapped by his poor English. In the subjects of most use in his practical work as a naval officer, Matzmulla made a very respectable showing, but his low marks in other branches of the course made his grand total at his graduation not exactly what would have given him full credit for the ability he possessed. Others of the Japanese graduates were similarly affected, and there were quite a number who having obtained the practical knowledge they desired, left the academy without graduating.

Matzmulla took the full four years' course, and was graduated along with Commander C. J. Badger, who is now the commandant of midshipmen at the academy. Mr. Badger remembers Matzmulla very well and talks of him as a very bright fellow. Matzmulla graduated in 1873, and as soon as he returned home he laid the foundations of the naval academy at Hakodate, which, conducted on Annapolis lines, has made Japan a sea power to be henceforth a prime factor in the calculations of the nations. Matzmulla, whose father was a count of the Japanese empire, has risen to high rank in the navy and is now one of the admirals directing operations against the Russians.

SWAGGER LITTLE KATZ.

While Matzmulla was still in the academy another young man from Japan arrived at Annapolis. He was Koroku Katz, who entered in 1871, and remained for a six-years' course. Katz was quite unlike Matzmulla in his general demeanor—unlike, indeed, those who followed him also, and he was one of the jolliest, gayest, best fellows in the academy. Polite, as all the Japanese are, Katz instead of being in any way reserved or demure, was a regular "hail-fellow-well-met" sort of chap; a rough and ready rollicker, who didn't seem to care particularly how the world moved. Katz delighted more in a frolic than in hard study, but he was nevertheless a bright, clever fellow, and he had in his veins some of the bluest blood in Japan. His father was a high State functionary, in close relationship with the Mikado. Naval men who saw young Katz in the East a short time ago say he is one of the most dashing and bravest officers in the service of the Mikado, and that there is no finer commander to-day in the war. Katz was a skylarker of the first water, and was continually getting himself into trouble—nothing serious—but he was full of high spirits, a boy of boys.

It is related of Katz that one night while skylarking in the court building he forgot he was on the second floor, and in order to get away from a classmate, he jumped clear through a window, but escaped

without injury. When he jumped his pursuer and the other cadets in the room were greatly alarmed, and they rushed out to his assistance, expecting to find him with at least a broken leg. Katz lay on the ground moaning until his fellows picked him up and proceeded to carry him into the building. Then with a shriek he sprang from them and ran away.

Katz walked with a "don't-care-a-hang" swagger, and had always difficulty in keeping in line with his classmates when marching. This was particularly annoying to Commander Hodgson, who will be remembered for his connection with the Schley-Sampson controversy, and when the little Japanese began to forge ahead of the line, his command "Back Katz" could be heard all over the academy grounds. This command, repeated so often, made a nickname for the Jap, and "Back Katz" he was called until he left the academy.

"Back Katz" had a namesake from Illinois in his class, with whom he got along famously, but the identity of name led to funny mistakes and amusing situations. One of the funniest errors which led to a lot of amusement was the receipt by the little Jap of an invitation to a "hop" in the town intended for the man from Illinois. Koroku saw at once that a mistake had been made, but he was too full of mischief to rectify it, and spick and span he went off to the house in which the dance was given and walked in to the utter amazement of everybody. When the truth was discovered not a word was said and the Jap cadet was the partner most looked for in the dances of the evening. The girl with whom he failed to dance, and he was tireless, went home sad at heart. The only one who ever got mad about it was Illinois Katz, who for days declined to speak to his Japanese namesake.

Katz in his studies excelled in mathematics and the physical sciences, and was quite a born sailor. He also became an expert in gunnery.

Prof. N. N. Terry thought a great deal of Katz and says he was a wonderfully bright little fellow. Like all his countrymen he was a master of the sword and a prime favorite with Swordmaster Corbessier. "Oh, little Katz!" said the professor as he allowed his mind to wander back to the seventies. "Yes, he was a good boy—an awful mischief maker—but he was good and bright, and he could handle sword or rapier with the best. And quick—lightning—he was a cat. He had splendid judgment, a fine eye. But my, it is so long ago! Yes; we all liked little Katz. They tell me he turned out an excellent officer."

KATZ'S MANY TRICKS.

In Katz's class was Lieut-Commander Fullam, who has charge now of the gunnery school at the academy, and who is one of the most popular officers in the Navy. He remembers Katz well, and talks of him in the heartiest fashion. "He was a most lovable little chap," said the captain, as he is called, "the most dare-devil little fellow I ever met. He had no fear in him, would do anything, go anywhere. And what a swagger he had. He was wholly unlike any of the others I have seen. As a rule these Japanese youths are very serious fellows, all with a purpose in life, but Katz couldn't be serious, and he didn't seem to care for anything.

"I shall never forget the night he jumped through the second story window," said Capt. Fullam, as he told of the affair. "It didn't affect him any more than if he were a rubber ball, and he had the laugh on the crowd. Another fellow, I believe, would have been killed. He was a manly fellow in everything, and full

of deviltry. I don't think there was anything he enjoyed more than to hear Hodgson call out "Back, Katz!" to keep him in line on parade—everybody enjoyed it. Katz was very ambitious—all of these Jap cadets were —and as a rule never wanted to play second fiddle. They thought nothing of destroying their papers at an examination if they saw at all that they were not going well to the front. I remember Katz tearing up every thing because he could not answer a fifth question, although he was all right with the other four. He was very neat in his work. I saw Katz since in Japan. He was then a commander—you see a man can become a commander and an admiral much sooner in the Japanese service than our own."

When Katz left Annapolis he was assigned by his government to the academy growing up at Hakodate, and no doubt while there his thoughts often wandered westward over Toyama Bay to old Annapolis by the Chesapeake.

GLOOMY KUNITOMO.

Of a different stamp from Katz was his friend Giro Kunitomo, who graduated along with him in 1877 after a five years' course. Kunitomo was quite unlike all of the Japanese seen at Annapolis. He was big, burly, fat-faced, while the others were hardy little felows—muscle and skin and bone, with thin drawn faces. And yet they were bright, happy little chaps, while he was taciturn and morose, always living in an overshadowing gloom. He looked, said Capt. Fullam, as if his soul were burdened with all the sorrows of his race.

It is said of Kunitomo that no one ever saw him smile. He was as impassive as an Indian, but withal he was very polite and was highly respected. He bore himself very sedately and would not think of joining in any student frolic. Kunitomo was taller by a head and more than the ordinary Japanese gentleman, and was as strong as an ox. With his jiu-jitsu grip he could break every bone in a man's body, but he would not be made to wrestle in American fashion.

He cared less than any of his countrymen who have come to Annapolis for athletics, but he was a splendid swordsman. He had more taste for literature and language than was shown by the others, but his forte was mathematics and the applied sciences. He had the reputation of being an earnest if not a particularly brilliant student and stood high in the estimation of the professors. On his return to Japan he entered immediately on sea service and apparently forgot everything about America. At least that is what Capt. Fullam found when he visited a port at which Kunitomo was stationed. "We inquired about him," said Capt. Fullam, "and were told that he was much in favor with the naval authorities, but he never called on us." He knew, of course, we were there. He never even sent us any word of welcome. He had evidently forgotten the courtesies shown him at Annapolis. But I suppose he could not help himself. He was a peculiar fellow, shrunken within himself and thoroughly unsocial. I was particularly friendly toward him while he was here, and I have his photograph in my album, along with others of my classmates."

With Katz and Kumitomo there was also in the academy a Japanese student named Machidu, who was very clever and very reckless, but never graduated. He went back to Japan, but only to get mixed up in a conspiracy against the ruling house, a little affair, which cost the young

man his head, so that he does not figure in the present war.

Yonoske Enouyey, who entered the academy in 1872 and graduated in 1881, is scarcely remembered. He was just, one is told, a little Jap who managed to work his way through and nothing more, nor is there any one who knows what he has been doing since he returned home. Tasak Serarta, who came to Annapolis with him, was a favorite at the academy and is still remembered and highly spoken of, but he is dead.

POLITE LITTLE URIU.

The graduate whose name has been most frequently mentioned since the outbreak of hostilities with Russia, Soto Kichi Uriu, is one of the admirals in command of the Japanese fleet, whose training at Annapolis he has put to such excellent account in dealing with the enemy. In Annapolis they are very proud of his achivements. Uriu, who comes from one of the first families of Japan—one in closest touch with the emperor, was sent to the academy in 1877, together with Emoney and Serarta, both of whom he easily outshone in everything, so that while they are practically forgotten he is remembered not only within the academic walls, but also by the townsfolk. He was the most diminutive little Jap yet seen in the college, quite a delicate young fellow, who did not appear to be destined for a long struggle in this world. He was, however, a perfect little lady in his way, the very personification of politeness. His bow was a dream and he had a general charm of manner which endeared him in social circles. With his fellow cadets he was equally a favorite, and delicate though he was he entered freely with them into all their sports. He was not up to the mark in gymnastics attained by other students from the Flowery Kingdom, but on the track he proved himself quite a sprinter. None of them, however, was a match either in the gymnasium or on the field for the American save when it came to some game peculiar to their own country. In the fencing school, however, Uriu like the rest of them, was master.

URIU WITH THE SABRE.

"It was perfectly marvelous," said Mr. Corbessier, "to see that mite Uriu handling a sabre. You would think to look at him he could not lift it, but Sacre! he could do what he liked with it. He simply had you before you had time to wink. His thrust was very dangerous. He was equally clever with the lighter weapons."

Uriu was a very close student, and gave every satisfaction to his teachers in all the subjects of the course. He was one of the ablest fellows in the school of gunnery, and learned everything there was to be learned, and in seamanship was the equal of anybody of his time. He was a sound mathematician, showing especial cleverness in the calculus and higher mathematics, and also in physics.

Prof. Terry, speaking of Uriu, said: "I am not surprised at the distinction he has won. Uriu would win distinction at anything. I do not mean to say that he was a genius in any way, but he was a hard worker, and whatever he did he did well. To say that he was distinguished in mathematics is not saying very much when you are talking of these Japanese cadets, because they were all wonderful mathematicians, but Uriu was an all round student of fine ability. He gave me great satisfaction in physics and mechanical drawing, and I think there was not a teacher here at that time but was entirely satisfied with him, and he was a model in conduct."

HIS CLASS RECORD.

Lieutenant- Commander Poyer, who is assistant superintendent of the academy, also spoke very highly of Uriu. "He was a very bright young man," said the commander, "a model student, and when one considers the difficulties with which he contended, he ranked high in his class. The English language was the great stumbling block to him, as to all of the Japs who came here, and you can readily understand what a handicap this was in his studies. But in spite of this he stood twenty-sixth in a class of seventy-six. This I consider in his case, a very fine showing. Poor Serarta, who is dead, did better, however, standing the fourteenth man in the same class.

Uriu took only the regular four year course, and on reaching the homeland was immediately sent to Toyama bay, on the west coast of the island kingdom, where he took charge of the Naval Academy at Hakodate. Under his sway the academy grew in influence rapidly, and when a few years ago he became vice-minister of the admiralty, he saw to it that it was thoroughly equipped in accordance with modern advancement, until it rivalled even his American alma mater. Uriu's rise has been exceptionally rapid when, as Lieutenant Commander Poyer put it, one considers how far away yet from his American class mates are an admiral's stars.

DEAR LITTLE TAMURA.

In Annapolis, however, in town and academy alike, Uriu and all the others are forgotten with the past at the mention of one name—Tamura. Tamura is a magic name on the banks of the Severn and along the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Commander or captain, lieutenant or ensign, staid professor or natty midshipman, matron or maid—that name Tamura sends a glow from the heart. And with the hotel proprietor as with the policeman, with the social leaders and the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the barber and the bootblack, the little Japanese cadet, Hiroaki Tamura is fondly remembered.

"Tamura, Oh, dear little Tamura!" the girls say. "Tamura, one of the finest fellows ever stood in the academy!" say the officers. "Tamura—clever, remarkably clever; a splendid character!" the professors affirm. While tears of affection actually come into the eyes of Sword Master Corbessier as he recites the excellencies of "that dear boy."

Tamura was, as a matter of fact, the lion of the academy and of the city. With the girls he was first favorite—so pronounced a favorite that nobody in Annapolis can speak a second sentence about him without announcing the fact. "Oh, he was a great favorite with the girls," one is told in the first minute of conversation. Prof. Terry will tell it to you, Captain Fuller will tell it to you, and so will Commander Poyer and Mr. Corbessier.

TAMURA LOST HIS HEART.

When Tamura graduated, indeed, and was called home, he found it very hard to leave, and would have refused to go had he dared. His heart, it was said, was gone entirely to one young lady, and affectionate letters come even still from the Orient. Some of the ladies in the naval circle, who were recently in the East, saw Tamura, who is now a vice-admiral, and say he is the same old Tamura, the same splendid, sterling fellow that he was when at the academy, and that he showed them every possible kindness and courtesy. Wherever these ladies have gone since their return they have invariably been asked, "Did you see Tamura?"

Tamura came to the academy in 1896, and at once stepped into popularity. He excelled even Uriu himself in politeness, and all the others in ability; he was the handsomest and manliest that had yet come out of the East. He was no taller than the average of his countrymen, but he was stockily built, broad-shouldered, and carried himself like a prince. That he was of high family was known at the academy—that he stood very close, if he did not, indeed, belong to the royalty itself; but he never spoke of his family.

"He was clever, very smart," said Prof. Terry, "and, although it is four years since he left here, we still miss him very much; he was such a splendid character. And he quite broke the hearts of the girls. He was a very bright student, and, in spite of the usual difficulty of his countrymen with English, his record is high. For instance," said the professor, fishing out a record, "in seamanship he scored 9 2-10 out of a possible 12, and the highest mark scored was only 10 4-10. In astronomy he got 7½ out of a possible 12; in history he secured 5 3-10 out of 8. He did not take French, for what reason I don't know. In calculus, out of a possible 48 he got 28 marks; in physics, 21 7-10 out of 40, while in mechanical drawing his mark stood 10 2-10 out of 12. This was an altogether great showing. In the principles of mechanism his mark was 18 7-10 out of 32. Now, let us turn to general efficiency, and we find opposite his name 23 2-10 out of a possible 28, and for his conduct he was awarded 26 out of 28. All this is highly creditable, and I shall be very much surprised and disappointed if Tamura does not make a great name for himself."

FENCED IN NEW YORK.

Tamura was the finest swordsman and fencer, possibly, that ever graduated from the Naval Academy. He had certainly no equal there in his own time, nor was there anybody that could excel him in the forty years during which Prof. Corbessier has been instructor. Those who came nearest him were Katz and Matzmulla. He, with two other midshipmen, represented Annapolis in the intercollegiate tournament in 1900 at the New York Athletic Club, at which West Point, Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and other colleges were represented. Although his team did not win the trophy, he was the only one of all the contestants who defeated Columbia's captain, the crack man of the winning college. When congratulated, he said: "Oh, I don't want any medals; I wanted the trophy."

Corbessier will cherish Tamura's memory while his life lasts. "There was never anything like him in the academy." said the fine old sabreur, who has imparted his art to every officer in Uncle Sam's Navy who has come out of Annapolis in almost half a century; "he was the beau ideal swordsman—the fencer magnifique. Sabre, rapier, foils, the cane—he was master of all. Had the two others been anything approaching him in cleverness the trophy would have been ours. He had such an eye; he was so quick—cat—no, no! panther! And he was so very great with the ladies," added the professor, abruptly turning from the fencing as he conjured up memories of the lad. Then he said pathetically: "He didn't want to go home. I wish he hadn't. I wish he was here now. I am making up a team for the coming tournament in New York, and with him we should win the trophy."

And so up and down Blake Row, and Upshur Row, and Goldsborough Row, go the stories of the school days of the men who are now making history in the Far East.—*From New York Globe, Saturday, February 20, 1904.*

DAYS OF OAK.

When ship met ship in olden days,
With battle banners flaunting,
From stem to stern the cannon's blaze
A fiery challenge vaunting—
Then man fought man, as brave men should,
To keep those walls of native wood.

When broadsides roaring swept the deck,
And crews were madly cheering;
When sail and spar were shot to wreck,
And ships were swiftly nearing;
Then men faced death, as brave men should,
Behind their walls of native wood.

When face to face and hand to hand—
When boarders' blades were flashing;
When bloody pikes made desperate stand,
And pistol balls were crashing—
Then man fought man, as brave men should,
To keep those walls of native wood.

When valiant arms prevailed at last,
The foe for quarter crying,
The dying seaman eyed the mats,
And cheered his colors flying—
For men met death, as brave men should,
Behind their walls of native wood.

GEORGE E. BELKNAP,
Rear Admiral, U. S. N.

The Prudential Insurance Company of America has just had one of the most successful years in its experience, unique as that experience has been among life insurance companies. People not yet in middle age can remember when The Prudential was founded and began operating in Newark, N. J. To-day it is represented in almost every State in the Union; it has over five million policies on its books; and it paid last year to policyholders over $11,500,000.

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CHARLES STANHOPE COTTON.

Rear-Admiral Charles Stanhope Cotton, U. S. N., who has just relinquished command of the European squadron, was born Feb. 15, 1843, at Milwaukee, Wis. He was appointed acting midshipman at Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., from First District of Wisconsin, Sept. 23, 1858; and on May 10, 1861, was detached from the Naval Academy and detailed for active duty. June 7 to Aug. 15, 1861, served on board frigate St. Lawrence; Aug. 15 to Nov. 19, on duty in Philadelphia in connection with the trial of prisoners captured on board the Petrel; Nov. 19, 1861, to Feb. 24, 1863, served on board frigate Minnesota, flagship North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Participated in action between Merrimac and Monitor and the fleet in Hampton Roads, on March 8 and 9, 1862. Promoted to ensign Nov. 11, 1862; Feb. 24 to July 13, 1863, attached to steamsloop Iroquois, off Wilmington, N. C.; March 8, 1864, to Aug. 10, 1865, attached to steam sloop Oneida, W. G. B. Squadron, except a few weeks of service on board the Hartford and the Kineo. Promoted to lieutenant Feb. 22, 1864; Aug. 5 to 23, 1864, served on board Oneida during the battle of Mobile Bay and subsequent operations to surrender of Fort Morgan; Nov. 13, 1865, to May 3, 1869, attached to steam sloop Shenandoah, in the East Indies and China. Promoted to lieutenant-commander July 25, 1866; from Sept. 30, 1869, to July 29, 1870, on duty at Naval Academy; Oct. 1 to Dec. 23, 1870, duty at Navy Yard, Kittery; Jan. 5 to April 24, 1871, attached to frigate Tennessee, San Domingo Expedition; April 24, 1871, to Feb. 16, 1874, attached to steam sloop Ticonderoga, as executive, on the Brazil Station; May 1, 1874, to June 1, 1876, on duty at Navy Yard, Kittery; June 1 to Sept. 9, 1876, torpedo instruction duty at Newport; Sept. 15 to Oct. 4, 1876, executive of receiving-ship Worcester, Norfolk; Oct., 1876, to July, 1880, on duty at New York Navy Yard. Promoted to commander April 25, 1877; commanding U. S. S. Monocacy, Asiatic Station, Sept., 1880, to Sept., 1883, except a period of six weeks, during which he commanded the U. S. S. Alert, on that station, June-July, 1881; inspector of ordnance, Navy Yard, Norfolk, Va., from Jan., 1884, to Oct., 1887; inspector Fifteenth Lighthouse District from Oct., 1887, to Dec., 1890; commanding Mohican, April, 1891, to May, 1892; in command of Behring Sea Patrol Squadron from June to Oct., 1891. Promoted captain May 28, 1892; commanding receiving-ship Independence, May, 1892, to Aug. 15, 1894; commanding U. S. flagship Philadelphia, Pacific Station, from Aug. 24, 1894, to Sept. 1, 1897; temporary duty Washington Navy Yard, from Jan. 17, 1898, to April 22, 1898; commanding auxiliary cruiser Harvard from April 25, to Sept. 2, 1898.

The first duty upon which the Harvard was employed was scouting, in company with the U. S. auxiliary cruiser St. Louis, to the eastward of the Windward Islands, watching for the approach of the Spanish squadron under Admiral Cervera. The Harvard arrived at the Island of Martinique, West Indies, on the forenoon of May 11, 1898, a few hours in advance of that squadron from the Cape Verde Islands, and the cablegram from the Harvard reporting the arrival there of Admiral Cervera, with the four cruisers and the three torpedo destroyers under his command, was the first official information of that important event to reach the Navy Department.

After the destruction of Cervera's squadron, off Santiago, July 3, 1898, the Harvard rescued from the shore, where they had landed near their burning ships, the surviving officers and men, nearly 700 in number, of the Spanish cruisers Infanta Maria Teresa and the Almirante Oquendo, whom, with some 300 more Spanish prisoners, mostly from the Vizcaya, she carried to Portsmouth, N. H., and to the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.

Captain of the Yard, Navy Yard, Mare Island, Cal., from Oct. 3, 1898, to April 19, 1899; commanding receiving-ship Independence, Mare Island, Cal., from April 19, 1899, to March 23, 1900. Promoted rear-admiral March 27, 1900; president Retiring Board, Washington, D. C., from March 26 to July 14, 1900; commandant Navy Yard and Station, Norfolk, Va., from July 16, 1900, to Aug., 1901; commanding European Squadron in the early part of 1903. Detached and placed on the retired list Feb. 17, 1904.

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CONCERNING

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[illegible] Mar. 25, 1902. WILLIAM.

By [illegible]

To the War Ministry.

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COMMANDER CHARLES E. COLAHAN, U. S. NAVY.

THE

UNITED SERVICE

EDITED BY L. R. HAMERSLY, Jr.

APRIL, 1904.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING MARRIAGE OF MILITARY PERSONS OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY AND OF THE PRUSSIAN GENDARMERY.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY CAPTAIN WALDO E. AYER, THIRTIETH INFANTRY.]

(Marriage Order.)

PURSUANT to a report which I hold I hereby approve the following order concerning marriage of military persons of the Prussian army and Prussian gendarmery, cancelling all former regulations. At the same time I authorize the war ministry to give explanations and to undertake changes of a kind not fundamental, particularly with reference to the prerequisites under which the proved income is accepted as sure or assured; and, touching the rank and file, cases in which the reserved permission to marry or the assent to dispose of the marriage portion have not to be forwarded to me.

Castle Urville, May 25, 1902. WILLIAM,
By Goszler.

To the War Ministry.

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A. MARRIAGE PERMISSION.

I. OFFICERS AND SANITARY OFFICERS.

1. Officers and sanitary officers of the peace establishment, as well as the officers and sanitary officers used in those places of the army provided for in the budget, require for marriage the permission of His Majesty the Emperor and King.

A like permission require those states placed in the army for temporary service; the separate states which belong to but have not been taken into the Prussian union.

2. Permission to marry is therefore not required by:

(*a*) Princely persons who are chiefs of troop sub-divisions or who stand in the suite of such but who are not to be regarded as officers of the peace establishment;

(*b*) Officers in the suite of the army so far as they are not in the military budget places;

(*c*) Those sanitary officers in the suite of the sanitary corps who do not belong to the active service;

(*d*) Officers and sanitary officers who have withdrawn from active service;

(*e*) Those available officers and sanitary officers not used in the budget places of the army.

The above mentioned officers and sanitary officers do not require permission to marry even when they are temporarily called or admitted into the service.

3. Permission to marry for an officer or sanitary officer with a less salary than that of a captain (riding master) of the first salary class need be sought only when proof has first been introduced that the officer or sanitary officer has a private income which at least must amount to:

For a captain (riding master), cavalry captain, of the second salary class,* or for a district officer of the gendarmery with a salary of 4,500 marks; yearly, 1,500 marks.

For a district officer of the gendarmery with a salary of 3,300 marks; yearly, 2,100 marks.

For a first lieutenant and lieutenant, including corporal and private of the mounted Field Rifle Corps (Feld Jäger Korps); yearly, 750 marks.

For an ordnance, artillery or engineer captain of the second salary class; yearly, 1,000 marks.

For a staff surgeon of the second salary class, a first and an assistant surgeon; yearly, 750 marks.

Permission to marry for an officer available for use in a budget place of the army, whose pension amounts to less than 3,000 marks yearly need only then be sought when first there is proved a private income such that it and the pension together at least reaches the designated amount yearly.

This regulation is applicable to the sanitary officers used in the budget places of the army with this limitation, that the pension must either amount to 2,000 marks or must be raised to this point by private income.

For the members of ruling houses the requirements concerning presentation of an income-proof have no application.

Officers of hospitals are relieved from presenting an income-proof. In place of it there is presented in the case of the officers of the designated grade of captain downward the proof that there stands at the disposal of the officer the necessary means to found and maintain a home in the hospital.

Application for permission to marry, in so far as this does not have to be laid before the supreme head, will be handed in with the monthly lists of requests. With reference to the requests to marry coming from the adjutants of the royal (Königlichen) princes, and of the German princes (Fürsten), and from other officers in similar places, it is assumed that these applications are submitted to his Majesty, the Emperor and King, by authority of the prince in question.

To the application list are to be added:

(*a*) The application of the petitioner to the commander of the regiment, of the separate battalion, etc., or chief (director, etc.,) of

*Captains and riding masters (cavalry captains) who have not entered upon the salary of their grade must prove a private yearly income of 2,500 marks.

a service board. The application must contain: Calling and family name of the bride; the standing (social), exactly stated, of her father; whether the bride is a widow or divorcée; the standing of the deceased or divorced husband; and if an income-proof is attached, the explanations required hereafter, sections 23 to 25.

(*b*) The income-proof, if such is required by section 3.

(*c*) When it is a case of marriage with a divorcée, the decree of divorce together with the grounds. Should the groom be divorced, the time when the separation became legal is to be given.

The application lists themselves must contain exact information on the origin, training, education and calling of the bride, together with a conscientious and careful verification by the commander of all the circumstances coming into consideration and an explanation showing that neither service nor social considerations are in opposition to the proposed marriage.

There must be added further:

(*a*) In cases of captains and cavalry captains, as well as staff surgeons to whose applications no income-proof is appended, whether or not they are in the first salary class.

(*b*) In cases of lieutenants, the age (number of years).

(*c*) In cases of officers from the designated grade of major down, and in cases of sanitary officers from the designated grade of surgeon (oberstabsarzt) down, the amount of the pension at the time of handing in the application.

5. The applications of sanitary officers for permission to marry are forwarded through the channel of military surgeons to the general staff surgeon of the army and by him submitted to the supreme head.

The sanitary officer must report to his military superior of the line that he has forwarded his application in order to give him the opportunity to bring any doubts concerning the proposed union to the attention of the applicant's superiors in the Sanitary Corps.

II. SUB-OFFICERS AND PRIVATES.

6. Sub-officers and privates of the peace establishment must seek through military channels permission to marry.*

*Recruits and volunteers at their homes and not yet in active service require for marriage the authority of the district commander (Military Laws of the Empire $\S 60_4$, and Defence order $\S\S 80_3$ and 85_5). Moreover the persons withdrawn from active service are not subjected to limitations in the matter of matrimony (Mil. Law of the Empire §61 and Defence order $\S 111_1$).

7. Authority to give permission to marry (see appendix 1) in so far as special statements are not met with, is assigned to the regimental commander or to that superior to whom disciplinary authority in the applicant's case has been conferred.

In particular, authority is conferred upon:

(*a*) For ordnance sergeant-majors, laboratory sergeants and pyrotechnists who are seeking advancement to the position of ordnance or pyrotechnical officer,*

The chief ordnance officer;

(*b*) For fortification inspectors who are seeking advancement to grade of fortification construction officer,

The inspector general of fortifications;

(*c*) For the other ordnance sergeants major‡ and fortification inspectors and for the ordnance sergeants,

The immediate superior of the rank of regimental or brigade commander—in the technical institutions, always from the inspector;

(*d*) For the laboratory sergeants and pyrotechnists who do not come under Class A,

The proper artillery depot director;

(*e*) For the sick in hospitals,

The governor or commandant of the hospital;

(*f*) For the gendarmery,

The Brigadier;

(*g*) For the assistant surgeons and the one-year volunteer surgeons,

The general staff surgeon of the Army;

(*h*) For the one-year volunteer military apothecaries,

The corps chief surgeon;

(*i*) For the military attendants of the sick,

The chief surgeon of hospitals.

8. Permission is not to be given if the marriage is opposed to service considerations or does injury to the position of a sub-officer,

*Consent for marriage is given to the pyrotechnical sub-personnel as a rule only after their advancement to grade of ordnance sgt. major; in exceptional cases of special ripeness of character and upon proof of settled behavior this consent may be given earlier, but only upon approval of the chief ordnance officer.

‡Ordnance sergeants major who seek further advancement may apply for permission to marry at the earliest after one year's service as ordnance sergeant major; others at the earliest after three years' service as ordnance sergeant majors.

in the cases of those sub-officers who are seeking advancement to position of ordnance, etc., officer, or is opposed to the future rank.

The examination of the application need not go to the extent of requiring the marriage ceremony to be performed in a particular denomination, nor may the grant of permission be made dependent upon the kind of a church wedding.

For the granting of permission there is the further condition that, in addition to the funds necessary for the preliminary matters, there must be on hand (in so far as no special regulations obtain) in the case of sub-officers a property of 300 marks; in the case of privates 150 marks if the bride is a native, 300 marks if she is a foreigner. This must be deposited in the troop money-chest in sure, interest-bearing securities or savings bank books.

The sub-officer or private must engage not to dispose of the principal of the deposited property without the approval of his superior. A partial or total expenditure of the marriage wealth can be made by a commander* in case of extraordinary need. See further A. IV., 15.

10a. Ordnance sergeants major, laboratory sergenats and pyrotechnists—the two last so far as they have attended the higher courses of the higher schools of pyrotechnics—as well as fortification inspectors who have not expressly (by a written statement) renounced later advancement to grade of ordnance, pyrotechnic or fortification-construction officer have to prove a private income of 1,000 marks annually.

(*b*) Assistant surgeons have to prove an annual private income of 750 marks. In special cases the inspector general of fortifications can moderate the amount required of fortification inspectors.

(*c*) Paymaster aspirants, and sub-veterinaries who do not expressly (written statement) renounce advancement to grades of paymaster and veterinary surgeon, must prove an annual private income of 750 marks.

Applicants for the commissary bureau service must also prove the same income.

Only in special cases, with approval of a general officer—in the case of applicants for the commissary bureau service, with approval of the war ministry—may departures herefrom be made.

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*Under this term "Commander" is to be understood the head of the administrative unit in question (Battalion, etc.).

III. MILITARY OFFICIALS.*

11. Military officials require for marriage the authority of their superiors. The applications are to be laid before the deciding authorities by the military channels. If the immediate superior of the official seeking authority to marry is not competent for the decision, he must in forwarding the petition, express any doubts he may have concerning the intended marriage or state that neither service nor social considerations are opposed.

12. Permission is given by

(*a*) The war minister

For superintendents, chief commissary councillor, councillors, assessors and referendaries with the military boards, the higher military law-councillors, and judges;

The war minister in union with the chaplain-in-chief

For the evangelical field-provost;

(*b*) The director of the general war department in the war ministry,

For the army-music-inspectors;

(*c*) The commanding general,

For the corps veterinary surgeons;

(*d*) The chief of the general staff of the army,

For the heads of bureaus in the office of the chief of the general staff;

(*e*) The chief judge advocate,

For the military court secretaries;

(*f*) The commander of a regiment or independent battalion, etc., or the head (director, etc.) of a military board,†

For chief paymasters, paymasters, chief veterinarians, veterinaries, regimental saddlers, carpenters, and ordnance masters;

(*g*) The inspector general of fortifications,

For fortification construction superintendents of higher and lower grades;

(*h*) The general staff surgeon of the army,

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*Civil officials of the military administration require no authority to marry. They must, however, immediately render notice of such marriage to their superior authority. In the notice are to be given the name of wife, the names, residence and calling of her parents.

†The inspector of the military veterinary service grants the permission for the personnel of that service in the military veterinary schools, and the blacksmith apprentices.

For the corps staff-apothecaries and staff-apothecaries;

(*i*) The senior military court councillor or the military councillor of a court,

For the military beadles;

(*k*) The military intendant (superintendent),

For the secretaries and registration officials of the corps and division boards;

(*l*) The chief councillor of the board of military institutions,

For his subordinate secretaries and registration officials;

(*m*) The evangelical field provost of the army,

For the evangelical military chaplains;

(*n*) The military rector,

For the military sacristans under his charge.

13. Permission to marry is to be given to military board assessors and referendaries only when they prove that their incomes, through an assured supply added to their pensions, amount together to at least 4,500 marks. Employees of boards must prove before their marriage an addition to their service pay of 750 marks.

IV. GENERAL REGULATIONS.

14. If permission to marry is given, a certification of the fact is made for the petitioner to lay before the registrar.

In cases in which this authority is granted by the supreme authority this certificate is subscribed and sealed by the commander to whom the application is addressed (No. 4*a*); in other cases, by the superior who granted the permission.

Officers to whom permission to marry has been given directly by the supreme authority are permitted to submit to the registrar the supreme cabinet order itself, or an authenticated extract therefrom.

Further, those persons competent to grant permission to marry—in the cases of officers and sanitary officers, the regimental commanders and corresponding superiors; and in the cases of officials their immediate superiors—must communicate immediately to the proper military chaplain or to the proper civil clergyman entrusted with a chaplain's duties every case of granting this authority.

15. Touching the security of income and the income-proof, the following regulations given for officers under BI and II are authoritative for all military persons charged with carrying out such a proof.

For approval of the full or partial return of the marriage property or goods after compliance with the necessary prerequisites (concerning officers and sanitary officers see B III) are competent:

For military board, assessors, and referendaries,
The war ministry;
For other officials as well as sub-officers and privates,
The superior who is authorized to grant permission to marry.

B. INCOME-PROOF FOR OFFICERS.

I. SECURITY OF INCOME.

16. Revenue from city or country real estate, from coal mines, mines, manufactories, mercantile concerns, particularly dividends from stock companies, can be accepted as sure only when the real estate, etc., lies within the German Empire or the business undertaking in question has its seat there, and it can then be accepted to only one-half of the average annual revenue which has obtained during the last five years.

17. Income from mortgages, real estate and rent annuities are to be considered sure when they comply with the following requirements:

They must pertain to real estate within the German Empire and must stand within one-fifteenth, or, so far as no one else equals or precedes in right to enjoyment of the revenue, within one-twentieth of the net revenue after deduction of land tax as determined by the state; or, in case of country real estate, stand within the first two-thirds of its worth; in case of city real estate, within the first half of its value.

With country real estate the work is to be determined by appraisement of a public credit institution, composed of a union of real estate owners and possessed of legal authority by state grant, or by appraisement of a public provincial (communal) state institution for real estate credits, or by judicial appraisement; in the case of city real estate, in like manner or by appraisement of a public fire insurance company (state or communal).

Excluded are mortgages, real estate and rent annuities which are entered upon the possessions of parents, grand-parents, adopted or foster parents of the groom or bride.

Only five per cent. is accepted as an income likely to be sure, even if the rate of interest in the mortgage or ground rent is more.

18. Interest on bonds are deemed secure if they are promises of the Empire or a German state, or consist of such other German or non-German bonds as are approved or loaned on by the Reichesbank.

The fact of the bank's approval of the bond must be noted on the white deposit receipts of the Reichesbank when depositing the bonds with the bank. In addition it (the bank's approval) must be manifest in the income-proof.

19. The interest of a book account of the groom or bride in the Reichesbank, or in a bank of one of the German states as well as of Alsace Loraine constitutes a sure income.

20. Income from the property of a third person can be considered in the case of one submitting an income-proof only when its use has been ceded to the bride and groom, and for the contingency that the former should die when the use of the income must go to the widower as an aid in educating the children sprung from the union, so long as the officer is in active military service and has pay less than that of a captain (cavalry captain) of the first class, or is on duty in one of those places of the army reserved for officers and receives less than 3,000 marks yearly pension.

As sure income are the following:

(*a*) Interest and proceeds of mortgages, real estate and rent annuities which comply with the requirements (No. 17) after entry of the usufruct in the land register.

(*b*) Interest of sure bonds (No. 18) which, with the interest not yet due at the time of the projected marriage, together with a certificate of rights in subsequent interest payments, are deposited in the Reichesbank with the explanation that the usufruct thereof belongs to him who seeks the marriage permission (designating him by rank, name and regiment), or, in lieu of him, to his bride until the military board (No. 28) approves the revocation of the right of usufruct.

(*c*) Interest on a German book deposit (No. 19) in which the owner has had entered the usufruct and a limitation to the effect that the usufruct can be disposed of in any other way only upon written consent of the military board.

II. MANAGEMENT OF AN INCOME-PROOF.

21. In so far as the income consists of secure bonds deposited with the Reichesbank or of book deposits the submission of the deposit receipts issued by the Reichesbank, or an authenticated copy of the entry in the deposit book is sufficient.

22. In other cases the income-proof is to be executed by the officer before a judge or notary and the action there recorded to be submitted.

All information necessary to the proof, particularly relating to the securities, their interest and rights thereto, are to be laid before the judge or notary. They are to be entered separately in the proceedings. All the papers, viz., the mortgages, real estate and rent annuity certificates are to be immediately returned to the owner.

In the case of mortgages, real estate and rent annuities, the owner of the pledged real estate is to be designated in such a way that it may be clear that it is not a case for exclusion under No. 17, par. 4.

23. For proof of the property right of the groom or bride in the securities standing in his or her name even when they are deposited in the Reichesbank, the certificate of the officer upon honor and duty that the papers in question are the property of himself or bride is necessary and sufficient.

24. If the income is composed of interest or proceeds of secure mortgages, real estate and rent annuities arising from the property of a third person (No. 20 *a*) the officer must certify that he will not renounce his right of usufruct without the written consent of the military board so long as he is in active service and receives a lesser salary than that of a captain of the first salary class, or is in one of those places of the army reserved for officers receiving a yearly pension of less than 3,000 marks.

25. In addition there is required in all cases a statement of the officer, upon honor and duty, that he himself, and, according to his conviction, his bride have no debts.

Should there be debts the officer must show, in addition to certifying on honor and duty as to the correctness of the statement, that for their discharge none of the indicated income need be used. If the united debt is taken into consideration in the proceedings of the income-proof, as for instance the charges against the pieces of property mentioned in No. 16, the certificate of the officer upon honor and duty that he himself and, according to his conviction, his bride have no further indebtedness than that mentioned in the proceedings is sufficient.

26. The income-proofs are to be verified, even those presented by officers and sanitary officers of the war ministry and ordnance officers by an official of this board to be designated by the war ministry. In other cases the verification of the income-proof, even that to be presented by sanitary officers, rests upon that judicial military justice official to whose official department the staff or troop unit forwarding the request-list belongs.

The income-proofs are to be laid before the supreme authority only

when they comply with regulations and bear a pertinent short remark of the official who has performed the verification.

The income-proofs are returned to those officers to which the orders of the supreme cabinet are addressed and are handed over to the petitioners.

III. APPROVAL OF MILITARY BOARDS FOR DISPOSAL OF THE MARRIAGE PROPERTY.

27. Consent for surrendering the income set aside from the property of third persons (No. 20) must be given by the military board, as follows:

(*a*) For a first lieutenant who has entered upon the salary of a captain of the second salary class, only so far that there shall remain to the officer the prescribed private income of the new grade;

(*b*) For an officer (sanitary officer) who has entered upon the salary of a captain of the first salary class (cavalry captain, staff surgeon) or who has become separated from the service without being put on duty in one of the fixed budget places of the army reserved for officers (sanitary officers).

(*c*) For an officer (sanitary officer) utilized in one of the budget places of the army and who receives a higher pension, only so far that with the pension and private income together there shall remain to the officer 3,000 marks, to the sanitary officer 2,000 marks annually.

(*d*) If a mortgage is called in for repayment by the mortgagor, or a bond is redeemed, and in similar cases in which the capital must be returned to the proper owners, said capital required for repayment is to be replaced in some other way according to these regulations. The proof that this has been done is to be presented to the military board by the officer within a time fixed by the board.

28. For granting the approval reserved for the military board the following are competent:*

(*a*) The chief of the general staff of the army,
The chief of the mounted field rifle corps,
Commanding generals,
Inspector-generals,
The governments of Berlin and Ulm,
The superintendents of the riflemen (Jäger) and sharpshooters,
The superintendents of the infantry schools,
The superintendents of the field artillery,

*If herein the co-operation of a judicial military justice official is necessary, he is to be that official who has to verify the income-proof (No. 26).

The superintendents of the railway troops,
The chief of ordnance,
The chief of the gendarmery,
The commandant at Potsdam.

For all officers belonging to the districts commanded by these several service places, or which belonged to them at the date of their separation from active service.

(*b*) The war ministry,

For all other officers and for all sanitary officers.

APPENDIX 1 (No. 7).

To (rank, Christian and surname).....
of the (regiment, etc.) permission to marry (Christian and surname) .....daughter of..... (town and district, living or dead, Christian and surname) is hereby given.

Notice is hereby given to the competent chaplain or civil minister entrusted with spiritual matters of the soldiers.

The prescriptions noted on the back hereof are to be observed.

.....(place).....date.....
.....signature
Colonel and Commander
of the.....Regiment.

Marriage Authority
for
Name.....
Rank.....

1. Notice of the church wedding and the securement of the publication of the banns must be attended to by the competent chaplain in proper time. At this time both certificates of baptism, or certified copies thereof, are to be presented.

Competent is the military chaplain or the civil minister entrusted with spiritual matters of the soldiers in the military church-community to which the groom belongs.

2. In case another military or civil minister—even the pastor of the bride—should perform the wedding ceremony, at least fourteen days beforehand the certificate of authority to marry, which is furnished gratis, is to be obtained from the competent military or civil chaplain. Should for any special reason this certificate not be turned over, the competent chaplain must give instead of it a certificate to the effect that it has been applied for.

APPENDIX 2. (No. 20c.)

A.

The usufruct of.....(figures) marks, write.....(words) marks, an annual interest sum of.....marks, write..... ..... marks, has been assigned to.....(rank, name, regiment) from the day of his marriage as an addition prescribed by regulations, and for as long a time as he is in active military service and receives a salary less than that of captain (cavalry captain, staff surgeon) of the first salary class, or is put on duty in one of the offices reserved for officers and receives a yearly pension of less than 3,000 marks (with sanitary officers 2,000 marks). During this time the recorded claim to or the right to the usufruct of.....marks in the name of .....(rank, name) can be dissolved wholly or in part only upon the written approval of the competent military board.

B.

The usufruct of.....marks, write.....marks, a yearly interest sum of.....marks, write.....marks has been assigned to.....(name and address of bride), who is about to marry..... (rank, name, regiment of the officer or sanitary officer), as an addition prescribed by regulations, and until the time when the before mentioned officer (sanitary officer) leaves the service or is no longer required to furnish proof of a private income. Should.....(name and address of bride) die within the designated period the right of usufruct passes to the before mentioned officer (sanitary officer) that the income thereof may be utilized as an aid in the education of the children sprung from the union.

So long as.....(rank, name) is in active service and receives a less pay than that of captain (cavalry captain, staff surgeon) of the first salary class or is assigned to duty in one of those places in the army reserved for officers and receives a yearly pension of less than 3,000 marks (with sanitary officers, 2,000 marks), the recorded claim to, or right to the usufruct of.....marks assigned to..... (name of bride) or the subsequently married (rank and name of officer or sanitary officer) and her husband as aids in the education of the children sprung from the union can be wholly or partially dissolved only upon the written approval of the competent military board.

THE PURITAN MILITIA.

WHEN our forefathers landed in this country they found themselves in a boundless wilderness, the absolute architects of their destiny, with no kindred people to influence or modify their social customs. They came from a paternal government to the wild, free shores of the new continent without leaders, "save those whom God raised up as such by reason of their superior abilities." No one among them could lay claim to the prerogatives of ruler from family heritage, and, of a necessity, when this small band were called upon to settle questions of common weal, the minority acquiesced to the will of the majority. No other plan could have been possible under the circumstances, for there was not one great genius among them to assume the character of dictator. These pilgrims emigrated for a specific religious purpose, too well known for explanation here, and therefore they delegated the privilege of participation in their temporal affairs to those only who were of their sacred faith. The laws of Plymouth state that the voter, whom they called a freeman, should be of "sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion" (Brigham, Compact, 258). This being determined, the subsequent admissions to the franchise were conferred upon applicants by vote of those already privileged, and as full communion with the church was the provisional requirement, the result was that, as the colonies increased yearly by immigration the governing power resided in a minority of the male inhabitants, placing the larger number of men of ripe age in the condition of mere wards of the commonwealth. This disproportion was augmented by the refusal or disinclination of many of the church members to accept or claim enfranchisement, because they did not wish to hold or be eligible to office. This state of affairs was of such concern to the colonies at one time that the General Court of Massachusetts made it a punishable offense to refuse or neglect the duties and privileges of the electoral right. Thomas Lechford, in a contemporaneous review of this subject of the union of church and state (Plaine Dealing, 73; Comp., 17), states that "three parts of the people of the country remaine out of the church" in Massachusetts.* With

*In Plymouth, 1643, about two hundred and thirty persons only had acquired the franchise (Plym. Rec., viii. 173). At the same date only seventeen hundred and eight persons had been invested with citizenship in Massachusetts (Mass. Rec., i. 366; ii. 291).

this preliminary glance at the lawmakers, we shall be able to comprehend more intelligently the character of the statutes they enacted for the conservation of their institutions.

As emigrants they felt no veneration and cherished no love for the establishments of the country they had left, and they chose as the fabric of their government the laws of the Mosaic dispensation rather than the contemporary laws of Old England. After making legal provision for the building up of a virtuous, intelligent, and prosperous society, they proceeded to organize a physical force to carry on their functions safe from enemies without and disturbers within. The Royal government afforded them none of the advantage of military protection, and they were not wealthy enough to maintain a standing army which could be called upon at any moment to be the advance-guard of a colonial defense. The exigencies of mutual protection and self-preservation therefore transformed this peaceful people, who came for the freedom of worship, into a military nation. Hemmed in by a savage race, whose methods of warfare were entirely novel to Europeans, they were obliged to become themselves a standing army Besides the aborigines, who were a continual menace to the settlers, another enemy, from the North, made common cause with the Indians against the English. France, Spain, and England were the great claimants for the supremacy in the Western continent, and their complications upon the European continent were quickly reflected hither, and the colonists were kept constantly on the alert lest an invasion from Canada should sweep away their territorial possessions. These hostile influences, which were met by the settlers, necessarily involved them in continual skirmishes and battles, either with Indians or French, and oftener a combination of the two. It was a contingency that forced itself upon them, and they went about solving the problem, clumsily, it is true, for the old adage, applied to them in altered sense, describes their condition,—necessity knows no law. In this predicament they formulated their ideas of a military system into the plan of a defensive league, where every able-bodied man should be a soldier. Their logic in relation to the need of such a system was expressed in the following simile: "For as piety cannot bee mainetained wthout church ordinances & offic^{r}s, nor iustice wthout lawes & magistracy, no more can o^{r} peace & safety bee p'served wthout military orders and offic^{r}s."*

Every male, therefore, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, able to bear arms, should compose this provincial army; but, like every

*Unless otherwise indicated by reference, the extracts from the ancient laws hereafter quoted are taken from the Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

other law, this sweeping statute had its exceptions. Due deference to their social relations, with a veneration for the great and good, necessitated this clause, which exempted:

"All majestrates deputjes, offic^{rs} of Court, Eld^{rs} & deacons, the presedent, ffellowes, students & offic^{rs} of Harvard Colledge and all proffessed schoole masters allowed by any two majestrates, the treasurer audito^{r} gene^{ll} surveyo^{r} generall of the armes &c publick notarjes, phisitions, chirurgeons allowed by two majestrates, maste^{rs} of shipps and othe^{r} vessells aboue twenty tonns, mille^{rs} & constant heardsmen & such other as shall by any court be dischardged eithe^{r} for bodily infirmity or othe^{r} reasonable cause." Another statute made an addition to the list in favor of "all fishermen while they are abroad during fishing seasons, ship carpenters wch follow that calling & mille^{rs}." While these enactments provided for a bodily absence from the training-field, yet a spiritual presence was enjoined by the substitution of "a sufficient man in their roome to traine twice a year, according to ye order," as well as the clause which declared that the favored ones "are to bee ffurnished wth armes."

The unit of their military organizations was the train-band, which must be at least "to the number of sixty-fower persons" besides the officers, and could contain two hundred. Later the law was amended so that "no troop within this jurisdiction shall exceed the number of 70 listed souldiers." Should there be a larger quota of men, two bands were formed, but if any town had less than the requisite number, they were not permitted to elect a full set of officers. Concerning the election of their officers, the following statute will indicate their ideas:

"All persons of any trayned band, both freemen & others, who have taken the oath of residents, or shall take the same & being no covenant servant in household wth any other, shall have their votes in nomination of those psons who are to bee appointed captaines or other inferio^{r} officers of the same band, pvided they nominate none but such as shalbe freemen: for it is the intent & order of the court that no person shall hencefourth bee chosen to any office in the comonwealth but such as is a freeman."

The officers of a full train-band were a captain, lieutenant, ensign, four sergeants, corporals, and a company clerk, who were elected in town-meetings annually by the freemen. This privilege, in 1658, was given to the companies, and obtained for many years, but in 1672 the appointing of the commissioned officers of every rank was then vested in the General Court, and the officers of the bands, who ranked by the seniority of commissions, named their subordinates.

The honor of an office in the militia was much esteemed. Hon.

John Hull, once treasurer of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and a thriving merchant of Boston, who was chosen a corporal in 1648, praises God for giving him "acceptance and favor in the eyes of His people and, as a fruit thereof, advancement beyond his deserts" (Diary, Archæolog. Amer., 145). When, six years later, he was promoted to be an ensign, he recorded his prayer, "beseeching that the good Lord, who only can, would please to make me able and fit for and faithful in the place I am called unto, that I may, with a spirit of wisdom and humility, love and faithfulness, obey my superiors, so also be exemplary and faithful to my inferiors" (ibid., 147).

The train-band was composed of two kinds of soldiery, the musketeers and pikemen, the numerical proportions being by statute "two thirds muskets." The arms of the private soldiers were muskets and pikes, according to the division of the band in which they served. Their fire-arms are best described in the language of the regulations: "No muscquet shalbe allowed for servjce vnder bastard musket bore, & not vnder three foote nine inches in length, nor any peece aboue fower foote three inches." These muskets could be either match-lock or fire-lock, according to the election of the soldier; in the former case the soldier had to be supplied with two fathoms of match in addition to the usual equipments. This outfit consisted of "a priming wyer, worme, & scourer fitted to ye bore of his musket . . . bandleroes and rests, powder and shott" (Plym. Rec., ii. 65). This diversity in the length of the musket and the choice of match- or flint-lock must have been detrimental to a correct and uniform manipulation in drill. When we consider that no similarity in dress was enjoined, a faint idea of the heterogeneous character of this military body may be obtained. The "bandleroes" (bandoleers) were leathern belts hung around the waist, with pouches dependent for powder, bullets, and other small articles. The rests were crotched sticks for facilitating exact aim when firing. Pikemen, selected for their superior stature, were placed in the front ranks, and carried pikes, which were wooden staffs tipped with a spear-head, or more often with a mere knife or piece of a broken scythe. The pikes, "ten foot at length, at least, in ye woode" (Conn. Rec., i. 74), answer the description of the weapon used by Cromwell's soldiers in 1650, during the civil wars, as we learn from Elton, "Complete Body of the Ar Military." Besides this distinctive weapon, the law further provided "yt those wch serve wth pykes have costlets & head peeces."

The equipments and ammunition of the private soldier were furnished by himself, but the General Court found that they were not dealing with a moneyed community, and soon had to make provision

for the impecunious. In 1641 the following resolution took into consideration the state of the finances of many, "in regard that mony is now very scarce," and ordered "that ev^ry such pson who shall not have mony to pvide powder shalbe excuse frō the penulty if hee shall bring to the surveyar so much corne or other comodity" of equal value. "And for other defects, as the want of a bullet or 2," the soldier was doomed by a magistrate "according to the nature of the defects." The stringency of the money market in those days may be seen from an order which was passed by the court to relieve the depression of business: "Muskett bullets of a full boare shall passe currantly for a farthing a peece, provided that noe man be compelled to take above xij^d att a tyme." The pikemen, too, were afforded relief in an enactment which ordered that a "buffe coate or quilted coate" should be used in consideration of the fact "that corslets are wanting to many souldyers."*

The militia officers were privileged characters in all the walks of life, and at a time when the colonists were given to the vanities of extravagant apparel they and their families were declared to be exempted from the laws which were directed against excess in dress. The General Court, in their cumbersome phraseology, concluded that it was necessary for them to appear in fine clothes on account of their exalted station. On duty the commissioned officers carried swords or partisans (commanders leading staff), and, if they desired, could have a pistol besides. The sergeants bore halberds, which were a modified legacy of the weapon of that name in use during the middle ages. At first the captains were maintained by the train-bands, then the general government attempted it, but later the charge was referred back to the several organizations. This maintenance we conclude to be the supply of arms, uniform, and pay to which they were entitled while on duty. Their commissions were issued by the General Court "in parchment fayrly writen," which reached them after a long process of circumnavigation from grade to grade. All the officers were obliged to take special "oathes suitable to their places," the tenor of which was a fidelity to the government.

The aggregation of these town organizations formed regiments, which were artificially divided by the shire-lines of the colony. The officers of each county regiment were a lieutenant and sergeant-major,

*The prices of arms and equipments varied considerably, according to quality. In 1633 corselet and pike were rated at one pound ten shillings (Plym. Rec.), and in 1690 a gun was worth one pound. This was old tenor, and cannot be accurately computed now, although in general terms it may be stated to be of greater value than our present currency.

annually elected by the freemen at the town-meetings. The sergeant-major, who was a species of muster-master, was enjoined, "once ev^{r}y yeare at least . . . to drawe fourth his regiment . . . & y^{r} to put ev^{r}y cap^{t} & offic^{r}s of ye companies in y^{ir} places and to instruct y^{m} in y^{ir} duties, according to ye rules of military discipline & to ex^{r}cise his regim^{t} whether it shall consist of horse pikes or musketers according to his best skill & abilities, as if he were to leade y^{m} forth against an ennemi." The several regiments were under command of the sergeant-major-general, an officer inferior only to the governor, who in turn was "to be gene^{r}all of all the military forces" in times of peace. In case of war, a special commander was appointed by the General Court. The regimental officers, from governor down to sergeant, were obliged to meet semi-annually "to consult of such matters as tend to the safety of that sheire," and "to take notice of all millitary affaires." Besides the usual commissioned officers, the spiritual welfare of the troops was not overlooked, and the General Court, mindful of its duty, incorporated this clause in their laws relating to the regiments: "And for the chaplaines . . . to the severall companies the severall townes shall make choice of some principall man or two or three in each town & psent them to the counsell who shall appoint one of them to the office in each company."

With the paraphernalia of the regiments, who only met once a year, and later once in three years, we shall not meddle. The key to the whole system can be studied in the train-band, and to them we shall revert after a brief note upon the numerical strength of the militia. In 1644, just after the colonial confederation, the population of Massachusetts Bay was fifteen thousand; Plymouth, three thousand; Connecticut, three thousand; and New Haven, two thousand five hundred (Palfrey, ii. 5). At the same date in Massachusetts there were twenty-six train-bands, and there had been "of late a very gallant horse troop listed" (Johnson, "Wonder-Working Providence," 190).* Twenty years later the General Court state, in answer to the Royal commissioners, that "our militia is ordered into three regiments of foote besides some supernumary companjes vnder three majo^{rs} & one majo^{r} generall, together withour troopes, consisting of about fower thousand ffoote & ffower hundred horse."

For the proper discipline and exercise of the militia, the eager lawmakers, who were themselves exempt from training in the ranks, ordered, in 1631, "that euy captaine shall traine his companie on Sater-

*The number of males of the military age in Plymouth, in August, 1643, was six hundred and twenty-seven (Plym. Rec., viii. 187-197). As before noted, but two hundred and thirty were freemen.

day in euerie weeke . . . the traineing to begin att one of the clocke of the afternoone." As may be supposed, this regulation was altogether too burdensome; so the next year they reduced it to "but once a monethe," excepting July and August. This was found too much of a task for a people who were busy making new homes, and it was reduced to eight times a year " . . . what dayes & tymes they shall find to bee most fit for avoyding of losse of tyme & the oportunities of the furtherance of husbandry & other busines of the country." After various compromises, all tending toward a reduction of the number of days, the court, in 1679, declared that "for the easement of the country the ordinary traynings of foote & horse are reduced to fower dayes in the yeare, any law vsage or custome to the contrary notwthstanding."

We now come to the great Puritan holiday, when the stern and dignified pilgrim unbent his rigid mien and sated his natural desire for display in the glories of Training Day. Here, gathered upon the town common, was the yeomanry of the village, with polished fire-arm, glittering corselets, and savage halberds. What a sight to thrill the incarcerated sensibilities of the fair maidens of that extremely proper century, when "light conversation" between the sexes was prohibited by statute!

The legal summons upon training-days was "a beacon fired & 4 muskets discharged & a drum beaten at wch every man shall repaire to his colo^{r}s or appointed meeting place to attend further order." The troops being assembled, the training was opened with prayer (Plymouth Rec., ii. 61), which was the custom at Plymouth, and it is probable that this routine was the same in the other colonies. The clerk of the band then called the roll and inspected, and reported to the captain upon the condition of the arms and ammunition, ascertaining if each soldier had "one pound of powder 20 bullets & 2 fathome of match wth musket, swords, bandilers & rest, upon ye poenalty of 10s for ev^{r}y defect." If any soldier was absent, the clerk reported such absence at the headquarters, when the delinquent person was subjected to the provisions of this rule:

"It is ordered that if any trained soldier shalbe absent from traineing vpon their traineing dayes, haueing lawfull warneing, shall forfect V^{s} & that it shalbe lawful for one of the s^{r}ieants appoyncted by the cap^{t} of the company to levye: vnless wthin 2 dayes after it be demaunded, the pty offending bring a certificate from the nexte Assistant that hee had a necessary occacon to be absent."

These and all other fines for delinquencies were applied "eith^{r} in ensigne, drum, holberds, candle or wood for their co^{r}t of guard, or to pvide powder or armes for ye porer sort."

These little duties and delays being over, the morning review was held, and the train-band went through the excitements of the sham fight and such other maneuvers which were calculated to make them experts in the art of war. This mock battle was one of the features of the train, and was productive of great personal prowess and regimental glory. Old Judge Sewall (Diary, Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. v. 100), the veriest gossip in Boston, and a transplanted Pepys, writes thus in 1685 of the "Training of six companies. Exercise was Taking of the Fort and advancing white Colours with Red Cross above the Red Colours: so it stood while went to Dinner. Then Retaken." Evidently sound in hygienic laws as in the mystical theology of the Trinity were they, for the pangs of hunger were superior to the heroic calls from superior officers. For a time there was no music but the drum, each company having two, the drummers being compelled to serve under a penalty. Gradually this monotonous tattoo was supplemented by the fife and bugle, innovations which shocked the godly people as the church-organ and furnaces did in later years.

Of the manual of arms we know but little, and that would be impossible to explain, except at length, without the aid of illustrations. It will be sufficient to state that the arms were carried in the left hand, and the manual of firing was complicated by the use of the flint and match. To be certain, however, of their intentions about drill, they recorded their opinions as to the propriety of a strict adherence to the code of tactics. Therefore it was thought necessary to state "that all postures of pike and muskett, motions, ranks and files, &c., messengers, skirmishes, seiges, batteries, watches sentinells &c. bee always p'formed according to true millitary discipline."

The noon rest was occupied in the mess, and with such diversions as the enterprising peddlers always brought there to attract and amuse. The venders of small wares, cakes, and milk were there in full force, and with them the dealer in ardent spirits, whose straight whisky made the bibulous private walk crooked. This gradually became a source of trouble, and the General Court, "because of late there hath been toe much d^{r}unckeness," ordered that if any person came to the training-field to sell "wine, strong liquo^{r}s, cider and other inebriating drincks" without a license, their stock in trade should be seized. If the soldier should attempt to pass away the hour with bird or game shooting, he would be informed "that noe trayned soldier shall make any shott vpon any traineing day, but with bullets att a mke by direccon of the captaines vnder the penalty of xij^{d} for eury such shott." If he were given to the pleasures of the games of chance, and should be lured into gambling, using his equipments for stakes, the clerk of the band

would report such fact to the captain, who would then proceed under this clause: "If any shall . . . sinfully play away theire armes at dice or cards . . . they shall be kept as pyone^rs or scavingers till they furnish themselves with as good armes."

In the afternoon the same routine was performed as in the morning, and the great day closed with prayer (Plym. Rec., ii. 61), after which time it was enacted that "all trayned souldjers whether horse or ffoote, shall repaire to theire seuerall quarters & lodge theire armes imediately afte^r theire dismission vpon trayning dayes, & whosoeuer shall either singly or in companyes remayne in armes & vaynely expend theire time & powder by inordinate shooting in the day or night" should be subject to a court-martial. We really can know more about the things which they could not do than their actual duties upon training-day, because the regulations are devoted mostly to a description of the penal offenses.

The laws of the courts-martial were strict, and included capital punishment for desertion, seditious language, insult to superior officers, rape, adultery, and unnatural abuses. The lighter offenses of theft, fornication, concealed knowledge of crime, were treated to some "grievous punishment," which was defined as "casheiring, the strappadoe or riding the wooden horse to fetch blood." The strappado was a machine constructed for drawing the offender to the top of a beam and letting him fall, ostensibly to dislocate a limb, and the bilbo was a kind of stock or shackle. They provided also for military honors when a companion in arms died, and the laws of Plymouth (Winsor, 91) state that upon the death of any member "ye company upon warnieing shall come together wth their armes and interr his corps as a souldier and according to his place and quallytye." This was the only ceremony the pilgrims would permit at a burial. With their intense hatred of the Established Church and its forms of worship, they were over-zealous in an opposite extreme, and not even a prayer was offered at the cheerless entombment of friend and kindred.

Nor did the military spirit neglect the rising generations, who were mute but admiring spectators at these martial festivities, for they provided the young with a cadet service having all the necessary attention paid to drill and equipment. These logical pilgrims, who always had a habit of apologizing for every law they made, thus expounded their ideas: "Whereas it is conceived y^t ye training up of youth to ye art & practice of armes wilbe of great use in ye country in divers respects & amonge ye rest y^t ye use of bowes & arrowes . . . all youth . . . from ten yeares ould to ye age of sixeteen yeares shall be instructed . . . in ye exercise of armes as small guns, halfe pikes, bowes & arrowes,"

and "in very company some vnde^{r} office^{r} shall be appointed by the chiefe comand^{r} to exercise such children as by their paren^{ts} or maste^{rs} allowance shall resort to the traynings."

In addition to the work of the train-band service, the towns had military watches, an officer akin to the modern metropolitan police, and the citizen-soldiers took turns in occupying these posts. The watches, which were more for protection from the Indians than from civilized enemies, were kept from "halfe howe^{r} after sunset to halfe an howe^{r} before sunn rising." The court thought it best that the watches "should stand double, a pike & a musketere togethe^{r}," and "if ye sentinell or watch shall meete wth such as shall pve too strong for y^{m}," or in any way "put y^{m} to fear . . . they shall charge their pike & discharge their musket upon y^{m} & returne wth speede to their co^{r}t of guard & raise an alarum." It would hardly be thought necessary to define an alarm, but the specific deputies to the General Court described the proper one to be "the distinct discharge of 3 muskets or the continued beate of ye drum or ye fyring of a beacon, or discharge of a peece of ordinance or any one of these in the night . . . which each sentinell shall answer by going to the houses in his quarte^{r}s & crying Arme, arme."

These citations from the old colonial militia laws are but a tithe of the whole, but are just enough to give us a satisfactory glance at their soldiery. As the settlements grew, and the temperament of the original colonists was modified by various factors, they found it necessary to tinker and patch the early statutes many times to meet new circumstances. Revisions of the entire code are numerous, and each successive draft became more elaborate than its predecessor. Thus it was that the peaceful pilgrim, who came to these shores for the liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, became a man of arms, and thus his children grew up to learn the strategy of offensive and defensive warfare. But as time passed away the necessity for continual apprehension of the savages and their allies grew less as the colonies increased in population and the peace in Europe was settled. In a hundred years after the first settlements in the Bay Colony the paraphernalia of this cumbersome system fell into disuse. The settlers were sated with the pomp and circumstance of war. Yet the training-day lingered in the affections of the people for more than two centuries, and many of our older citizens of the New England States can recall the dying brilliancy of the general muster of the militia. The compulsory train-bands had perished by default, and the volunteer rifle corps, taking their places, merged the "fowe^{r} dayes eury yeare" into one grand encampment and muster of the heroic spirits of the time. Oh,

the glory and the gusto that were crammed into the fleeting moments of those grand old days, when it seemed as if the united armies of the world would be decimated before the swelling ranks of our bold and high-stepping grandfathers!

This embryo militia system, which has a humorous tinge to this generation of readers, became the foundation of our strength in the Revolutionary war, and was the fountain-source of that dauntless spirit which developed so grandly in the late test of our nation's prowess. Then the peaceful citizen suddenly became a man of might, and the transformation was as natural as the change from youth to manhood.

CHARLES EDWARD BANKS, M. D.

A CRUISE ON THE CONSTITUTION.

No. 2.

FROM RIO JANEIRO ROUND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE morning of the 8th of September (Sunday) was very pleasant, and we experienced beautiful weather for many days, accompanied by fresh breezes. Our course was for the islands in the South Atlantic, when change of wind occurs.

On the 13th for the first time since leaving Rio, we saw birds, though not in any quantity. They were the cape pigeons, and resemble the wild pigeons in shape, but not in color, their bodies being white and their wings brown with white spots. They frequently follow ships two thousand miles, leaving them in the longitude of the Cape.

On the 16th, for the first time, I saw an albatross. This bird is about the size of a swan, or between that and a goose, and from wing to wing sometimes measure fifteen feet. The bodies of the young are brown, while those of the old ones are entirely white, and the wings the same. I should suppose the beak to be from three to six inches in length and hooked at the end. The sailors baited a hook with a piece of fat pork, and as the ship was nearly becalmed, quite a number flocked around it. In a few minutes one was caught and safely landed upon deck. For a little while the gluttonous bird was quite seasick and vainly endeavored to lift himself from the deck, but without avail. Its eye was large and black, and well did the poet Coleridge choose this beautiful bird for the subject of his poem of the "Ancient Mariner."

I am sorry to say, however, that sailors have little faith in the opinion of showing mercy to either albatross or shark; the little stormy petrel being the only wanderer safe from harm.

On the 17th we saw an English bark to windward, and hove to, after passing her; this little incident may be thought not worthy of a place in a journal, but it was interesting as being one of the few occurrences of a sixty days' passage.

On the 18th and 19th, we were becalmed and made scarcely five miles during that period. A calm at sea is truly one of the most tiresome events that occurs in a sailor's life. The sails flapping, the

swell of the sea, and the disagreeable rocking of the vessel all combine to render this part of a voyage to many more unpleasant than a "reef topsail" breeze; and when at last we did catch the breeze it seemed an age we had passed. A ship going along eight knots, with beautiful weather, puts a different face upon the affair. All on board enter into the excitement, and the monotony is in part worn away and gives place to good feeling and hilarity. The only amusement found was in the capture of a shark. This fellow was about six feet in length, and was a fine specimen of the genus. He was caught over the stern, hauled in on the quarter deck, carried forward by the sailors, who soon showed their antipathy to the race.

On the afternoon of the 23d the Isle of Tristan d'Acunha was in sight, and we again saw the English bark and boarded her. She proved to be the Lord Eldon, from London for Bombay, and made the island for the purpose of rectifying her observations.

It had been the intention of Captain Percival to send a boat ashore on the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, and orders were given to lie to when within five miles of the beach; but unfortunately a heavy breeze sprang up in the night, and we drifted to within two miles of it. We then wore ship, and the morning of the 24th ushered in a gale which lasted until the night of the 25th. We were thus obliged to keep clear of the island, and stood on our way to the East. During the heaviest of the gale the ship was hove to with her main topsail to the mast, and much of the time had on her only trysails. Her spar deck ports were frequently under water, and life lines were run around the sides. Both of her decks were wet, particularly the main, and I began to see the inconvenience and danger of a sailor's life. The frigate worked well, and during this blow was easier and more comfortable than many other ships would have been. An account of the above island may not be uninteresting, as few are acquainted with either its locality, inhabitants or usefulness.

DESCRIPTION OF TRISTAN D'ACUNHA.

This group of islands situated in the South Atlantic Ocean consists of three, viz.: Inaccessible, Nightingale, and Tristan d'Acunha.

The latter island, the largest and most fertile of the group, takes its name from the celebrated Portuguese navigator. They are not often visited by merchantmen, only occasionally a whaler stops to procure refreshment. The highest land of Tristan d'Acunha can be observed sixty miles at sea and is between 7,000 and 8,000 feet in height. All accounts of the fertility of Tristan d'Acunha are vague, though it is generally supposed to be capable of great cultivation.

Its origin is volcanic, and would undoubtedly be taken advantage of, but that the harbors are extremely difficult of access. Potatoes and vegetables are raised in great abundance, and wild hogs and goats are plenty.

The other two islands of the group are entirely barren, and are always avoided by navigators. Inaccessible is about nine and Nightingale island about seven miles in circuit. Tristan d'Acunha is about twenty-five miles in circuit, and its highest peak is 8,326 feet above the level of the sea. In the year 1811, three Americans remained on the island, to prepare seal skins and oil, but left before 1813. Afterwards a naval station was formed by the English when Bonaparte was taken to St. Helena; this was afterwards discontinued, and transferred to the Isle of Ascension, where it now is. The next account of the island is up to 1821, when the ship Blenden Hall, from London for Bombay, was wrecked on Inaccessible Island on the 23d of June. Here the crew and passengers remained nearly six months, living on penguins and eggs (the only food), until they arrived at Tristan d'Acunha in a boat made from the wreck.

On the Isle of Tristan d'Acunha they found a Scotchman with a small colony of about twelve persons. This Scotchman was the head man on the island and was called Governor Glass, who treated them very hospitably until an English brig arrived on the 9th of January, 1822, and carried them to the Cape of Good Hope. Two of the passengers, however, a man and woman, remained on the island with the colony, and were married by Governor Glass. Shortly after this wreck happened, an English sloop of war (Gloucester, I think), touched at the island to make observations. A passenger (Aug. Earle) obtained permission to visit the shore; but stopping too long, the ship was forced to put to sea, and left him on the island. Here he found the colony in a flourishing condition, one or two children having been born since the departure of the English brig. He remained on the island nearly a year, and describes it as being a most delightful spot, where vegetables of many kinds, hogs and goats were found in great abundance. His narrative is an interesting one, and excited great attention when it appeared. In the month of November, 1824 or 1825, he was taken off by a vessel bound to Van Diemen's land.

In 1829 a vessel had stopped there and reported the colony to have increased, and were very healthy; the children uncommonly so, and free from those infantile diseases in more thickly populated countries.

Governor Glass is yet alive, or was when the Constitution returned from her cruise. The old governor has undoubtedly been the means

of saving many of his fellow creatures from a watery grave, or at least starvation on the neighboring barren islands.

This circumstance, together with a desire to see if any seamen or others were still on the island, induced our commander to lie to; but in the gale of the 24th and 25th of September we were forced to keep away. Interesting information might certainly have been obtained from our visit, and I had congratulated myself upon seeing the strange character who has passed more than thirty years of his life almost exiled from the world.

These islands are under British protection. At certain seasons of the year, gales are frequent, accompanied by a heavy sea for several days before and afterwards, and are only the stopping place for whalers, and ships desirous of rectifying their observations. It is to be regretted that Tristan d'Acunha is so far from any other land, as no doubt exists of this group being capable of great cultivation.

We pursued our course and had very pleasant weather until midnight of October 3d, when a gale struck us off the pitch of the Cape of Good Hope. It might rather have been termed a squall, for it lasted but a little while. Our cross jack yard was carried away broken into three pieces. This was the only damage sustained.

Two days before this (October 1st) we spoke the American whale ship Sally Anne, from New Bedford in eighty-five days, cruising for whales. We parted at dark, and the next morning she was way astern.

We doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th inst., with pleasant weather. On the 5th the cry of "Breakers ahead!" was heard from the topsail yard, but it proved to be nothing but the reflection of a cloud upon the water. Near the longitude we were in, discolored water has from time to time been seen by different vessels, and in consequence of the French brig Telemaque being the first to have discovered it, the spot off the pitch of the Cape is called the Telemaque Shoals. This circumstance happened in the year 1786, and the captain and passengers were of opinion that they had passed over a coral bank of considerable extent, having apparently not more than two fathoms on some parts of it. The danger was supposed so imminent that they did not sound, but kept away. This spot they made in Lat. 38, 50 S. Long. 22, 2 E. (from London).

Since that date, several vessels have seen discolored water near the spot mentioned above, and to all appearances it extended as far as the eye could reach. In 1796, 1807 and 1816, one English and two American ships saw the same appearance, and soundings of 90 to 40 fathoms were *said* to have been taken.

It is satisfactory to navigators to know that the supposed danger of the Telemaque shoal no longer exists; for although said to have been seen by the above ships yet H. M. S. Heron surveyed the spot carefully and published an account of it.

The sea at times presents curious appearances in these latitudes; as in the case of the Constitution, the clouds, for instance, will reflect the rays of the sun at certain angles and cause an appearance of breakers; again, the great quantity of animalculæ abounding in certain seas may have caused the alarm, and vessels have been known to pass over dead bodies of whales, etc., and magnified the circumstance into a large shoal, with soundings, etc., etc. Probably the Telemaque shoal is of one of the above origins, for the fact of its non-existence is settled in the minds of navigators.

Nothing of interest happened after we passed the Cape of Good Hope, until we sighted the island of Madagascar, on the morning of October 15th, 1844. Our course had been for Port Crocker, as it was desired to make the land below St. Augustine's Bay. Accordingly at ten on the morning of the 15th we made the shore about half way between Port Crocker and St. Augustine's Bay. We then kept along the shore, being about four or five miles off until Sandy Island was in sight. We then kept off from a quarter to three quarters of a point east, and rounded Sandy Island at about a mile distant. The land all along shore presented a barren aspect, and any one who has seen either Cape Henry or Sandy Hook, can judge of the appearance of the coast. Sandy Island, which lies about two and a half miles from the mainland, is near the mouth of St. Augustine's Bay, and is about two miles long, and a half to three-quarters wide, with sand and a few trees. There is no cultivation upon this island. Round it a reef of coral extends, to the distance of a mile, and we passed this reef about a mile distant. Between St. Augustine and Sandy Island there is a channel with from eight to eleven fathoms water, and the passage through it is about half a mile wide. Horsburgh's directions for entering this harbor (St. Augustine) are correct, and were followed by Captain Percival. Though this channel is both wide and deep enough for large ships to enter, yet, for various reasons, such as strong currents, etc., it is advisable to go in on the outside of Sandy Island. The reefs and breakers in St. Augustine's Bay are easily discovered. At half past five P. M. on the 15th of October we anchored in the entrance of St. Augustine's Bay, about two miles from Sandy Island, in seven fathoms water. While coming up the coast no sounding had been obtained with twenty-five fathoms line.

ST. AUGUSTINE, MADAGASCAR.

On the morning of the 16th boats were sent up the bay to take bearings of the anchoring place, and Horsburgh's directions were found to be correct. At 10:30 A. M. we got under way, and at 1 P. M. anchored where one of the boats had been left.

Canoes put off from the shore, and we soon had the pleasure of shaking some Malagary by the hand. Prince Green, who owns Tent Rock; John Green, his purser; John Stouts, his toady, and other hangers-on came on board; also Captain Amber, Captain Martin, and others. Prince Green, who appeared to be the greatest man among them, was dressed in a faded pair of tight white pants, an old "pepper and salt" colored coat, given him by an officer of the Concord, and a navy cap with an old faded gold band. He was a man about fifty years of age.

John Green, his purser, as he styled himself, was dressed in the most original manner possible. An old tattered navy waistcoat, one epaulet, a sailor's hat, and pieces of cotton composed his wardrobe. To crown the whole he had an American eagle (brass) fastened onto his vest behind. He had only one eye, and on the whole was the most original looking officer I have ever seen. Most of the other men had nothing but strips of cotton crossing from the shoulder to the hips and fastened round their loins. They soon found their way into the steerage amongst the reefers, and quickly made a good use of the clothes given them. One fellow had a shirt given him, and a pair of drawers, which set tight to his legs, and, with the aid of an old straw hat, was soon transformed into an apology of a well dressed man. With this (certainly to him, at least) finery he was walking the quarter-deck, as proud as any Turkish Bashaw with three tails. Another fellow was honored with the crown of Neptune (used in crossing the line).

Nearly all brought letters of recommendation from different whale ships, which were not very favorable to their honesty. One of the them brought a letter signed by "Sam Slick," stating the bearer to be a rascal and not trustworthy. Not being able to read, he had been gulled into taking it, and it would have done a person's heart good to see the look of approbation with which he received the letter again and carefully stowed it away, presuming, I suppose, that it bore testimony to his honesty, etc.

I went on shore several times and was not much pleased with the visits. The people are beggars and robbers, and I was eased of my 'kerchief in a very short time. Dollars, buttons, beads, cloth, etc., etc.,

are the articles of trade for which the natives give vegetables, fish, spears, etc. No cultivation is seen on this part of the island. The people live in bamboo huts not higher than themselves, and have to crawl in through a door, upon all fours. They appear to resemble pigsties more than the habitations of human beings. Tamarinds grow wild near the Dartmouth River, where we obtained our water, and of these we picked a great quantity to take to sea. They make a very palatable drink, which resembles lemonade. There is nothing in St. Augustine to interest one but observing savage life; the natives are treacherous, and it would be dangerous to stay over night amongst them. Two months in the year, viz., January and February, the sickly season prevails. The chief articles of export from St. Augustine are moss, used for dyeing, and dollars, which the natives receive from ships. Not much can be said of this harbor. The water is bad, or rather thick and muddy, and the wood is not the best; these objections, together with the desire of the natives to pilfer, render St. Augustine's Bay only a resort for whalers. We shall not regret our departure from this sink of knavery. One thing we learned was that the savages are far worse off now than before the white man introduced civilization amongst them.

On the morning of October 20 we left St. Augustine Bay for Mozambique, an old Portuguese settlement on the coast of Africa. At the entrance of the bay we boarded H. B. M. brig Sapho, from a cruise, bound in for water; exchanged civilities and stood on our way to sea.

We had a pleasant passage over to the east coast of Africa, and on the morning of the 25th came in sight of land on the lee, and afterwards on the weather bow. Soon we had the pleasure of viewing the Mozambique shore. It appeared similar to the shore of Madagascar with the exception that the former bore more evidence of fertility than the latter.

After beating about the coast all the afternoon and evening we anchored at 7.30 P. M. outside the port of Mozambique and about half a mile from the island of St. Iago.

On the morning of the 26th we kedged in nearer the city and almost between the two islands, St. George and St. Iago. We were about five miles from the island of Mozambique. The land breezes in the morning prevented our getting up to the port, and the depth of the water between St. Iago and St. George is not sufficient to admit with ease a vessel of great draft of water like the Constitution. The usual channel is outside of St. George. In the morning two officers came on board, and shortly after left with a note to the Governor.

In the afternoon they returned with a pilot and a letter from His Excellency Brigadier General R. L. d'Abun d'Luria, Governor General of Mozambique.

MOZAMBIQUE.

On the morning of the 27th Captain Percival and myself went to the city and called upon the Governor. The general received the captain with great courtesy and expressed great desire to have the frigate nearer the city. He explained the views of the Portuguese Government towards that of the United States of America and evinced much interest in the commercial transactions of our country. It appears that whalers frequently send in boats for wood and water, but rarely visit the port. A steady and lucrative trade is carried on between Salem and New York and Mozambique. The brig Richmond, from New York, and the brig Emmerton (I think), from Salem, are the only two vessels regularly trading. The exports are ivory, gums, copal, etc., for which they receive cotton, etc., in exchange. It being made manifest to the captain that our commerce was not suffering at this port he took leave of the Governor. At 2 P. M. we weighed anchor and stood out to sea for the coast of Madagascar.

I was much pleased with my visit to the city of Mozambique; not for the beauty of its buildings, but for the spectacle it presented of former Portuguese grandeur. Portugal, at the time of its first taking possession of this island, must have been an enterprising nation. The fort (a part of which only is occupied) is capable of mounting 300 guns, and commands the harbor and coast of Africa. It was built in the year 1511. The Governor's house was built by the Jesuits, and is the handsomest in the place. Near it stands an old convent in a state of decay, and, in fact, all the buildings seem to be so, though most are inhabited. The city contains about 200 whites, 1,500 negroes, and a few Arabs, who may be seen walking the streets dressed in their native costume, apparently regardless of the wonder bestowed upon them.

What could have induced the Portuguese to make a settlement in this sickly climate I cannot conceive, unless it was the idea that they had discovered the "Philosopher's Stone" on the coast of Africa, and wanted a commanding post to overlook the scene of action. Immense quantities of slaves are said to be exported annually to Brazil from this island. The negroes are brought from the interior of Africa and sold by their own countrymen to the traders in this inhuman traffic. But the resources that Mozambique was said to possess are fast dwindling away. Its port is hard of entrance. Trade which was for-

merly confined to this island has been extended along the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the equator, and slavery particularly, one of its greatest sources of revenue, has met the disapprobation of the European powers. These causes, combined together with the port affording no fresh provisions, etc., are continually operating to render Mozambique of less importance as a city than other places along the coast. The enterprise of the Portuguese Government has flagged, and Mozambique now can only present a vivid picture of what we must suppose to have once been a powerful and well fortified port, capable of maintaining itself from aggression by land or sea. But, alas for poor Portugal, the days of its prosperity are over, and that success no longer awaits it which made it the first of nations in the time of Vasco di Gama.

On the night of the 28th of October, 1844, while in the Mozambique Channel, on our passage from Mozambique to Bembatooka, we had the pleasure of seeing a beautiful meteor. It was about half past nine o'clock in the evening. The sky was clear, but the horizon rather misty. The moon was at its full. The meteor presented the appearance of a large blue light, tinged with red. It was first observed nearly above the ship, and descended, until near the edge of the horizon it disappeared. I have seen what are called shooting stars, but this meteor did not resemble them either in shape or color. It did not appear to be very far from us, for while on the descent it lighted up the whole rigging of the ship.

On the 31st of October we saw land, and anchored at 8 o'clock in the evening until 4 o'clock the next morning. November 1st, in the afternoon, we anchored in Majunga Bay, Madagascar.

Immediately afterwards a boat put off from the shore, and we received three officers of the Queen, who brought the Governor's respects, etc.

MAJUNGA.

Majunga is situated on the northwest coast of Madagascar, and is one of the principal seaports. The Queen of the island has erected a fort on the hill in the centre of the town, and a garrison of native soldiers is placed in it. The town is mostly occupied by Malagash and Arabs, and is the most civilized place we have yet seen on the coast. The trade of Majunga is in hides, horns, etc., for which is exchanged clothes and fancy articles. Several American vessels from Salem, Mass., regularly take cargoes from here, and an agent for the owner (David Pingree) resides in the town at present. The town of Bembatooka lies farther up the bay, and is not of so much importance as

Majunga. Formerly, in King Radama's time a considerable trade was carried on with both places, principally in hides and jerked beef, but Majunga, being nearer the sea, has taken the greatest part. Bembatooka Bay takes in the whole from the sea side to the mouth of the rivers, and is very beautiful and large, but the depth of water is not sufficient for a vessel drawing more than twenty-four feet. Our anchorage off the town was in five fathoms.

The people that we have seen are far more civilized and educated than those in the southern part of the island, and pay more attention to their dress. A regular currency is established here of small pieces of silver cut with the chisel from dollars; these represent one-quarter, one-eighth, etc., as the size indicates. If one were to purchase an article for fifty cents, and he had a dollar to pay for it, the only resource is the chisel, and both buyer and seller are possessed of *real* halves. A considerable trade is carried on with the Bombay merchants or Hindoos, a party of whom we saw. They had remained a year at Majunga, and should return to the East. Sometimes they ascend the river to Tananarivo, the capital of the island, and then dispose of their goods. The American trade carried on here is lucrative and amply rewards the adventurous Yankees engaged in it. The American character is much more respected here than at St. Augustine's Bay, and the arrival of an American ship is hailed with pleasure.

On the morning of the 2d we saluted the Queen of Madagascar with a salute of nine guns, with a white flag at the fore. This salute was returned from the fort on shore with an equal number. The Malagash flag appeared to be of this appearance.

On the morning of the 5th we left Majunga Bay for the island of Nos Bey, at the mouth of Passandava Bay, about 170 miles north of Majunga. During our stay at Majunga we had many opportunities of judging of the civilization of the place. The fort on the high hill in the center of the town has a battery of nine-pounders and a garrison of native soldiers. The extent of the fort is very large, and its interior is laid out into streets, which contain huts, where the soldiers reside. The officers have uniforms, but they are as various in color as the hues of the rainbow; some had English, others American and French. No trade of any consequence is carried on with the English and French. The American market supplies the inhabitants with cottons, and I saw quite a quantity of A. & A. Lawrence & Co.'s goods piled up in a storehouse to be exchanged for hides. The Governor always receives ten per cent. on goods imported by the American agent and also ten per cent. on the value of the hides exported. The mode of trading is to give so many yards of cloth for a hide, and as

the natives do not know the value of the cottons the trade has become profitable. The trade is in the hands of Salem merchants, and when it will be noticed that a passage from the northwest coast of America cannot be performed in less than five months, while from Majunga three months is allowed for an ordinary voyage, the advantage and profits that must ensue from our intercourse with Madagascar will strike every one. I was told by the agent for David Pingree, Esq., of Salem, that American cottons were the only ones imported into Majunga. They are preferred by the natives on account of their cheapness and better quality. Different authors disagree about the month of the year when the fevers commence in this part of the island. A Mr. Abrahams, a Bombay merchant, and a person of general information, informed us that the healthy season was setting in, while Ellis, Owens and others would lead one to suppose that the sickly season was commencing. The month of November in Majunga answers to the beginning of spring in America, for here they are just preparing to plant, only waiting for the rains to set in to moisten the earth. The former gentleman accounts for sickness in Majunga by the following reasons: That the land breezes are prevalent prior to the spring of the year; these bring with them the exhalations from the lowlands, and a malaria springs up which proves fatal to the health of the natives, and he said that shortly before our arrival there had been weeks when no sea breeze had been felt. During a period of fifteen years that he had resided in Majunga he had been sick only once, and then only for a short time; he applied the old-fashioned but certain remedy of an emetic.

While we were at anchor in Majunga Bay, the regular land and sea breezes set in; the former commencing at about 4 o'clock in the morning and lasting until 10 o'clock in the forenoon, and the latter the remainder of the day and night. We observed every evening a great deal of lightning, but little thunder. A heavy shower of rain fell on the night of the 3d, but lasted only for a short time. I think I never heard the rain come down with so much force in my life. It seemed to *pour* rather than to fall in *drops*.

I come now to the most interesting circumstance of my visit to this town of Madagascar. I was shown an awful evidence that the crimes of robbery, arson, etc., are most severely punished. It appears that three natives had burned and robbed the storehouse of Mr. Vincent Marks, the agent for the American merchants. They were discovered, and were condemned to the flames, their heads to be stuck upon poles on the beach as a warning to others who might feel disposed to appropriate their neighbors' goods to their own use. One of

these skulls was yet to be seen on a pole, while the other two had fallen to the ground. It had remained up for six months; the hair was yet visible, and a part of the inside of the skull. The teeth were all sound, and the most perfect sets I have ever beheld. The scalp had not decayed, and the lower jaw was hanging by a portion of it. The two other skulls were smuggled aboard ship by some "reefers," and will probably adorn their studios at the termination of the cruise. On the whole we experienced much pleasure from our visit to Majunga.

On the evening of the 6th of November we made the land a little south of Passandava Bay, and it remained in sight until next morning.

NOS BEY.

On the afternoon of the 7th we anchored off the above island, near the town of Passandava. This island lies at the mouth of Passandava Bay. It is about twelve miles in length by four or five in breadth, and is of volcanic origin. The Constitution claims the merit of being the first American man-of-war that has ever visited Nos Bey. It is in possession of the French Government, who have erected a fortress upon it and stocked it with soldiers from the Isle de Bourbon. The isles of Mayotta, St. Mary's and Nos Bey are under the same administration. The latter island is by far the prettiest place we have visited since leaving Rio Janeiro, not so much for the beauty of its internal arrangements, but for the fertility of the soil and the appearance it presents while entering Passandava Bay. It bears a strong resemblance to the Western Islands, and differs from them only in its want of civilization. In fact, the surrounding islands of Nos Cuba, the "nine pins," etc., which lie in the bay, are fully as beautiful as any of the Canary Islands. Nos Bey was formerly in possession of the Sakalava tribe, but about five years since the French bought it; ever since that period great exertions have been made to civilize the natives, but I should judge that they were not successful. Many Arabs reside on the island, who have formed a village of their own a short distance from the main settlement. They trade with Zanzibar by means of dows, which are small vessels about the size of a coasting sloop. Many Bombay merchants live here who trade between Joanna, Bombay and Zanzibar, and the island will ultimately become of some importance. There are 15,000 people, most of whom are Sakalavas. In this island the French, as in all their foreign possessions, exercise a despotic sway, and by this means have gained the hatred of the natives. The object of France is to obtain possession of Madagascar, and, with the islands of Mayotta and Nos Beh on the west

of it and St. Mary's on the east, all of which can be well fortified, its chance of success is great. We had heard a great deal said of the fine opportunity for obtaining refreshments at Nos-beh, but unfortunately we have found the rumors false. The water is excellent and easy of obtaining, as vessels can lie within two cables' length of the beach. Springs of pure water are found in great abundance along the shore. Potatoes, yams and other vegetables necessary for a ship's crew are scarce, but whether withheld by the French or not I cannot say. Many American whalers stop at Nos-beh to refresh, but we have no regular traders. Rice is, in fact, the only article of export, and the French have entire control of the market. It is shipped to Bourbon in exchange for light wines and fancy articles.

On the morning of the 12th of November we weighed anchor and stood out to sea with the land breeze, our course being for Zanzibar.

REMARKS UPON MADAGASCAR.

In the United States little is known of the above vast and fertile island, and it is only a few years past that the Government has turned its attention to it as a source of commerce. The French and English have known it for years, and the best accounts show that Malays and Arabs had knowledge of it from time immemorial. In the year 1506 it was discovered by the navigator, Lawrence Almeyda, and it received the name of the Isle St. Lawrence. The Portuguese Government (I think) shortly afterwards sent a person to survey its interior, and the celebrated voyager, Tristan d'Acunha, to sail around it, and to observe its headlands, capes, etc. This large island, according to several authors, is the Cerne of Pliny. Its length is about 840 miles and it runs from the north northeast to south southwest. Its proximity to the coast of Africa and its extreme fertility have made it an object of desire, and several European powers have striven to conquer it by extending civilization and Christianity amongst the natives, but without success. In the days of Radama, called by some the Napoleon of Madagascar, the English obtained great ascendency, but at his death were expeled from the island. They had established schools, churches, etc., at the capital, Tananarivo, and received the protection of his majesty. Workshops were also introduced; artisans sent out from England arrived, and numbers of the native youths instructed in the different trades. Everything flourished, and many of the inhabitants were baptized in the Christian faith. Radama had evinced great wisdom and a profound respect for the talents displayed by the English. He had brought under subjection nearly all of the different

tribes and was exerting himself greatly in striving to induce his people to use those powers and capabilities which he knew they possessed. His untimely death, however, in the midst of his undertakings, in the year 1826 (I think), put a stop to the designs of the English. A party was formed against them, and they were expelled by Radama's Queen from the island. Much civilization, however, had been introduced by the missionaries, which still exists at the capital. Severe laws were made against the Christians, and many natives returned again to the worship of their own gods. One of the secretaries to the Governor of Majunga, who spoke very good English, told me he was a Christian, and had been taught by the missionaries at Tananarivo. All of his worship was done in secret, and he was actually in fear of his life. He said his brother at the capital, also a Christian, had some time previous to our arrival been discovered praying in his room. He was taken, tried for the *offence,* convicted, and sentenced to be torn in pieces. This dreadful sentence was executed. No attempts have been made since the failure of that expedition to introduce civilization in Madagascar. Within the last five years, however, the French Government have obtained possession of the islands of St. Mary's and Nos Beh, and fortified them. It is evident that France is trying all in its power to colonize the island of Madagascar. Several Frenchmen reside at the capital, and it is said have an influence upon the actions of the Queen. Whether these men were sent by the Government is not known, but one thing is certain, that the French are gradually usurping the position held by the English in the time of Radama.

Much of the interior of Madagascar remains unexplored, but that part of which we have knowledge leads to the belief that this island will ultimately become of vast importance. It is rich in various kinds of gums and dye woods; besides, it is one of the best rice growing countries in the world. Great quantities of hides are exported to the United States. The inhabitants are Pagans and Mahometans; the latter are generally found on the coast. Their complexions differ. Many are nearly white, probably descended from Arabs and Christians, while others have the features and other marks of the negro race. At Majunga and Nos Beh the people are Arabs and Sakalavas. At St. Augustine Bay we saw none but Sakalavas; this tribe is the most ferocious and cruel of any on the island, and the Queen has in vain since the death of Radama endeavored to subdue them. Their complexion is darker, their features more regular, than the Hovas. The latter tribe do not wear the hair plaited, while the Sakalavas do. Bembatooka and Majunga are under the dominion of the Queen. I

should have mentioned that the Sakalavas at Majunga are slaves, the Hovas being the original people.

Since the days of Rochon, who published his "Voyage to Madagascar" in the year 17—, and who visited the country around the coast, and therefore left a wide field for conjecture, no accurate account has been given of Madagascar, except by the English.

Ellis, a missionary, who resided at the capital during the reign of Radama, and frequently made excursions into the interior, published a "History of Madagascar," which for the customs and manners of the people may be considered as true and authentic. But the Abbé Rochon has been considered the best writer, though he did not go into detail, never having had the opportunity of the English missionaries. Having myself read the two accounts, I come to the conclusion that Rochon was the pioneer, by whose assistance Ellis formed the groundwork of his history. Rochon in his work advised all nations to interest themselves in cultivating a friendly intercourse with Madagascar, while Ellis looked upon the island as the exclusive property of the English.

Various ports on the coast have been the resorts of pirates, and it is said that the famous Captain Kidd had possession of the island of St. Mary's, and that he frequently rendezvoused at St. Augustine Bay

After a very pleasant and exceedingly short passage of six days from the island of Nos Beh, we arrived at Zanzibar on the 18th of November. We arrived off the island on the afternoon previous, and anchored off Point Tombat, and sent a letter by a dow to our consul, Mr. Waters, asking for a pilot. The next morning early we got under way and stood up for the city.

ZANZIBAR.

The island of Zanzibar is about twenty-five miles from the coast of Africa, and is about forty miles in length and ten in breadth. The eastern side is formed of coral, and reefs extend out from it at least half a mile from shore, while the western side is fertile, with a beautiful sandy beach.

The appearance of the island is low and level. As we passed down towards the city immense groves of cocoanut trees met our sight; also another kind of tree which appeared to be under cultivation. This we afterwards ascertained to be the clove tree, from which the Sultan derives an annual revenue of $100,000. The harbor of Zanzibar is extremely beautiful and large; notwithstanding we had been led to apprehend considerable danger in navigating this bay, none was found, and only that diligence was required which would be expected in the

commander of so large a ship entering a strange harbor. Thus far on the coasts of Madagascar and Africa the surveys of Captain Owens had been used, and they were found correct.

On the morning of the 19th we received visits from our vice-consul, W. C. Waters, Esq., of Salem, Mass.; one of his highness' officers, and the commanders of the French corvette Berceau and an English sixteen-gun brig.

His highness the Sultan sent a present of sheep, kids, fruit and vegetables, which was indeed very acceptable, and was an expression of the liberal feelings entertained by the donor.

This island, as well as nearly all of those north of it, is in possession of the Imaum of Muscat, who at present resides here. He is represented as being a person of much information and character.

On the 20th a party of the officers accepted an invitation to dine with the Sultan. Accordingly at the appointed time we went to the palace, and were received at the gate by the Sultan himself, accompanied by his sons and grandsons. He appeared to be about sixty years of age. His beard, which descended half way down his breast, was gray, and altogether he would be called a fine looking man. His dress was very plain, but neat, and differed little from those of the chiefs around him. He shook hands with each of the officers, and seemed pleased with the visit made to him. He then led the way into the dining room, and after our consul, Mr. Waters, had spoken a few words of congratulation to him, through the interpreter, we sat down to the feast. Our host did not eat with us, nor sit at the same table, but, with his principal officers, occupied a settee. We were waited upon by the eunuchs and other officers of his household. To attempt a description of the viands is almost useless, as the contents of no two plates were alike, and it would be an endless job. What attracted the most attention was the originality of the arrangements. Plates were piled upon plates, and the table was literally groaning with the weight of the viands. Three goats roasted whole and two sheep curried whole formed the principal items. About twelve of us were present, and there must have been rice enough for our ship's company. It was useless to count the chickens and other fowls. All kinds of fruits and pastry filled up the crevices. But the richest treat to me was the sherbet. It is made of rose water and honey, and is a most delicious drink, but when much used leaves a sickening taste in the mouth. It was as clear as the best spring water, and each person had a decanter before him. (The interpreter called it "Mohammedan grog," and I thought it a great pity that the "Christian grog" was not as harmless.) After dining and shaking hands again with his highness we

left and walked through his grounds. Immense groves of cocoanut trees are seen everywhere in the neighborhood of the palace, and the clove likewise. Never having seen either of these two useful articles growing, I was much pleased with the walk. Pineapples are also frequently met with.

The next day we moved our anchoring place nearer the city. Captain Percival made an official call upon the Sultan and was very kindly received. His highness evidently has a partiality for the Americans, owing probably in part to their unostentatious manners, and more to the fact of their not fortifying the islands in the Mozambique Channel, as the French and other nations have done.

At Zanzibar we found several Americans, agents for the Salem merchants, who carry on a lucrative trade in ivory and gum copal. Our vice-consul, Mr. William C. Waters, and Captain John F. Webb did everything in their power to render our stay as pleasant as possible. It would indeed be a gratifying circumstance could we find in every port we stop at so many friends as at Zanzibar.

On the afternoon of the 26th of November we left for the coast of Sumatra, and at sunset were obliged to anchor off the small island of Choomby, about seven miles from the city. The next morning early we weighed our kedge and stood out to sea.

REMARKS.

Zanzibar is the most civilized place we have visited since leaving Rio Janeiro. Its inhabitants are mostly Arabs, though we find great numbers of India men, Banians, Negroes, etc., who are called the floating population. The trade is carried on almost exclusively by the Banians, many of whom are the wealthiest people in the place, and have dows running from Bombay and Mozambique. The streets are very narrow and dirty, though the shops are generally kept clean. The town from the harbor presents quite an interesting appearance, as many of the old forts built by the Portuguese are still in existence. The houses are those occupied by the higher classes of Arabs and foreigners, and are mostly of stone, while the slaves and poorer inhabitants live in huts. Many of the houses, particularly those built by the Portuguese and Arabs, have much carved work about them, and are evidently the relics of a period when the arts were more cultivated than at present. One of the most interesting sights is to observe the people of the different nations represented in Zanzibar. The Arab, as owner of the soil, has not that supplicating look and downcast eye that we see in the traders at Nos Beh, but he walks

proud and erect; his turban has an extra fold in it, and he has that ornament of the real Arab, the cimeter. Next comes the Banian, with his white robe and large red turban, creeping and crawling along, his eyes now and then glancing fiercely, but not a muscle of his face moving, to tell the inward workings of his mind. He takes notice of no one and appears brooding over the downfall of his race. Yet, notwithstanding the piercing eye and I might almost say wicked expression of countenance, the Banian will harm nothing, not even a fly. His religion teaches him to spare the humblest of God's creatures, and not one mouthful of flesh has ever passed his lips. How many Christians might follow the Banian's precept of kindness to his fellow creatures, or even think of our Saviour's words, "Not a sparrow falleth to the ground without our Heavenly Father knoweth it."

The next person of interest is the Hindoo, or India man, who is likewise a trader from Bombay. This personage is just the reverse of the Banian in looks, actions and dress. He is distinguished by the white turban and slippers. He has also more of the supplication in his manner, and is generally considered among the Arabs what the Jew is among Christians. When he enters your dwelling he takes the lowest place, endeavoring to get as far from the gaze of men as possible, in this respect differing from the Arab, who thinks he is doing you an honor to sit with you.

But the person who attracts the attention of almost every one for his mild and interesting features is the Parsee, or fire-worshipper of India. I met one who was the personification of manly beauty. Without the fawning and cringing manners of the Hindoos, the Parsee possesses qualifications nearly allying him to the Christians. His life is abstemious, his manners plain and unostentatious. He does not intrude his presence upon strangers without being invited, and he is looked upon as being more entitled to confidence than any of the other natives of India. You will know him by his long robe and tall cap; in fact, he is the only one (so it is said) of the many different races who visit Zanzibar that wears the latter article of dress. His person has a certain neatness attached to it that would immediately attract the notice of even a careless man.

The negro here, as in all other slave marts, is a miserable and unfortunate being. No one pities him, and no one feels for him, excepting strangers, who have not the means of assisting him. A tear must be dropped by every one who will reflect upon the degraded condition of his fellow being and think what a curse was inflicted upon the world by slavery. Such are the people of Zanzibar now, and such they were at the time of its settlement by Europeans.

Zanzibar is undoubtedly the most profitable of the possessions of the Sultan of Muscat. It has the most foreign trade of any place on the east coast of Africa, three-fourths of which is in the hands of American merchants. When the exports of ivory and copal shall have ceased two other articles remain, namely, cloves and sugar. The former was introduced about sixteen years ago by the present Imaum, and he now receives $100,000 annually from the sale of that article. The sugar-cane grows abundantly in Zanzibar, and of a superior quality, and the two articles mentioned must eventually become a source of great wealth to the Sultan. The Imaum is a strict Mussulman, having his four wives and a large array of "lesser stars" to the number of seventy. He is a firm follower of the laws of the Koran, one of which is "blood for blood." An American residing at Zanzibar related the following fact: "A short time before the arrival of the Constitution an Arab of some distinction had been murdered on the beach. His murderer was discovered and taken before the Sultan for trial. There th brother of the deceased person claimed the murderer, as he wished to kill him with his own hand, in the same manner as his brother had died. He cited the Koran as his authority, and the Sultan decreed the prisoner to him to execute. The family of the prisoner endeavored to buy him off and offered $200 for his release. A person with the above sum in Zanzibar is considered rich, but this was no inducement to the brother, who would have died rather than forego his revenge. The captive was then taken to the beach, where the murdered man was found, and stretched upon his back, his arms and feet being held by some friends of the deceased Arab. He was stabbed by the vindictive brother three times in the heart, and his body given to his friends."

The Imaum's power over his subjects was evinced in a little fact which occurred during our stay. He had sent his officer one morning to buy fruit in the market for a present to the officers of our ship. Upon getting to market he found the best had been sold, and a poor, unlucky Arab was standing by who had just purchased it. Our friend stepped up to him, seized the fruit, and bade him begone about his business. But an Arab will not quietly bear an insult, and he endeavored to recover his lost property. "It is for the American," said our friend, "and his highness has ordered me to procure the best in the market." The disappointed Arab slunk away, while our friend walked out of the market with his spoils, upon which, thanks to his highness, we were shortly regaling.

B. F. STEVENS.

*THE OPENING OF THE WAR**

"THE Japanese Government having exhausted in vain every means of conciliation, with a view to removing from the relations between the two countries every cause for future complications, and finding that their just representations and moderate, unselfish proposals, made in the interests of a permanent peace in the extreme East, are not receiving from the Russian Government the consideration which is their due, have resolved to sever their diplomatic relations with the Russian Government, which, for the reason named, have ceased to possess value."

This communication was made to Count Lamsdorff at St. Petersburg on Friday, February 5, and was surely sufficient warning that war, if not absolutely certain, might break out at any moment. Indeed, these are the closing words of the Russian official communiqué replying to the Japenese memorandum with reference to the severance of diplomatic relations:—

"The Imperial Government, while laying upon Japan the full responsibility for any consequence of such a course of action, will await the development of events, and the moment it becomes necessary will take the most decisive measures for the protection of its interests in the Far East."

It is an old cause of complaint in both our own and foreign navies, that the interests of the navy and the influence of sea-power have been too often pushed on one side as of minor importance. One reason for this is, that the sea service very seldom has a powerful representative who can exercise a commanding influence in the councils of the State. In the Far East the Russian navy can make no such complaint; not only is Admiral Alexieff Russia's Viceroy in the Far East, but he is a man to whom most remarkable powers have been delegated, and it is absolutely certain that none can have had a freer hand than he in making the dispositions necessary for the protection of the interests of his master the Czar.

What were these dispositions? I gave last month a concise account of the relative fighting value of the rival fleets in the Yellow

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Sea; and on the assumption that the Japanese personnel would not fall short of the efficiency of their supposed well-trained opponents, I gave Japan the advantage at sea in the proportion of 5 to 4. There has been a prevailing opinion for some time past in naval circles that the personnel of the Russian Black Sea fleet is inferior to that of their Baltic ships—the Far East fleet has been looked upon as the most efficient of all the Russian squadrons—so that naval men looked forward with the greatest interest to the opening moves of the war for which the combatants had been preparing for months, and in which, on the side of the Russians at any rate, an admiral exercised full sway both afloat and ashore. What "decisive measures" would Russia take, and when should we learn their effects?

Maneuvers very commonly leave much to be desired as a picture of naval war; they are all too short, and it is extremely difficult to fairly represent all conditions of a modern naval campaign in a few days. But one phase of modern war has been pretty thoroughly rehearsed, discussed, and exercised—namely, the opening moves from the time that relations have become strained, until either a formal declaration or a definite act of war makes hostilities certain. How familiar we are with the various phases, the despatch of scouting cruisers to shadow the enemy, the endeavors to gain accurate intelligence of the force and movements of the various squadrons which he is preparing, the secret preparation of the torpedo flotilla, and the sudden dash at any fraction of the enemy's forces that may expose itself to these insidious small craft.

Every one agrees that early and continuous intelligence of the force and movements of the enemy or possible enemy is of the highest importance, and that above all things it is necessary to avoid the exposure of valuable ships to torpedo attack unless the advantage gained fairly counterbalances the risk run. It may be necessary to take up certain commanding positions notwithstanding the torpedo menace, or in pushing home a reconnaissance risks may be run in order to gain indispensable information; otherwise it is distinctly desirable to give the enemy's torpedo craft and torpedo stations a wide berth.

Let us apply these principles to the state of affairs in the Far East when, on Friday, February 5, diplomatic relations were broken off between Japan and Russia.

The disposition of the ships seems to have been as follows: The bulk of the Russian force was at Port Arthur, and included seven battleships, Tsarevitch, Retvizan, Pobieda, Peresviet, Poltava, Petro-

paulofsk, Sevastopol—good ships all of them, averaging 13,000 tons; also the armored cruiser Bayan, and the five protected cruisers, Pallada, Askold, Diana, Boyarin and Novik. The four best Russian cruisers were at Vladivostok—namely, the Gromoboi and Bogatyr (with guns protected by armor), and the Rossiya and Rurik (with protected water-lines but unprotected batteries). The three largest are 12,000 tons, and the Bogatyr 7,000. The new fast cruiser Variag of 6,500 tons was at Chemulpo, with the out-of-date sloop or gunboat Korietz.

The Japanese fleet was concentrated at Sasebo in the Straits of Korea; it consisted of the six splendid battleships, Mikasa, Asahi, Hatsuse, Shikishima, Fuji, and Yashima, 13,000 to 15,000 tons; the 10,000 tons armored cruisers Idzumo, Iwate, Asama, Tokiwa, Yakumo, Azuma, and 4,500 tons protected cruisers, Chitose, Kasagi, Takasago, Yoshino. This fleet comprised practically the whole of Japan's fighting force; and since the island Empire of the East depends absolutely on sea-power, the magnitude of the stake played by her strategists when Admiral Togo was sent to sea on February 6, with intent to carry the war into the waters of the enemy, can well be conceived. Not a single vessel of any fighting value was left in Japan. The two cruisers purchased from Italy were just leaving Singapore. Four small second-class protected cruisers, the Takachiho, Naniwa, Suma, and Akashi, under Admiral Uriu, who flew his flag in the first-named ship—an Elswick cruiser eighteen years old—were acting as a convoy to five fast transports, which seem to have started about the same time to make a dash at Chemulpo and Seoul.* There are but five other cruisers of any size on Japan's navy list; they are all over twelve years old, and not of much fighting value. Whether they remain in the Inland sea or in the neighborhood of the capital has not been divulged. At any rate there has been no manifestations of anxiety for the safety of the Japanese ports, such as too often hampers the offensive power of European and American fleets. Admirals Togo and Uriu also took with them the best part of the Japanese torpedo flotilla; and I doubt if any island kingdom has ever been left so completely without any representatives of its fleet as was Japan on Sunday, February 7. Their whole force was on that day 800 miles from Tokio, steaming steadily away towards the Gulf of Pechili, over which looks the great Russian fortress of Port Arthur, with its powerful battle fleet and swarms of torpedo craft. The little men of the Far

*Some reports state that the armored cruiser *Asama* was also with this squadron; others place her with the main fleet.

East, indeed, did a bold and resolute thing in deciding to strike single-handed at the Colossus of the North—a Power which during the last ten years has been straining every nerve to build up such a powerful navy as would make it, if not the second, at any rate the third sea-Power in the world. True that war had not actually been declared; but had the waters outside Port Arthur been patrolled by the large torpedo flotilla, numbering some thirty to forty modern craft, which are based on that port, the Japanese fleet would not have been in a very pleasant position, for they might have met this flotilla off Port Arthur on the night of February 8-9. The first shot had already been fired by the Russian gunboat Korietz at a Japenese torpedo-boat off Chemulpo in the afternoon of Monday the 8th, and though this was evidently unknown to Admiral Togo, the fact remains that some of the Russians at any rate were ready to strike. Had the Japanese come across the Russian torpedo craft on Monday night, the war would probably have begun by a discharge of Russian torpedoes, and possibly the sinking of one or more Japanese battleships.

When the news flew all over the world on the morning of Tuesday, 9th February, that three Russian ships had been struck by torpedoes, it was the general impression that the Japanese, acting on information received of the exposed position of the Russian fleet, had carefully prepared, planned, and executed the daring and successful attack with which the war practically began. Admiral Togo's dispatch rather points in the opposite direction—namely, that the attack was due to the Japanese suddenly discovering the Russians in a most exposed position, which absolutely invited torpedo attack. On Monday afternoon at least seven Japanese torpedo craft—whether boats or destroyers is not clear—were at Chemulpo, some 260 miles from Port Arthur. If the fact of the exposed position of the Russian fleet had been known, it may be considered as almost certain that these vessels would have steamed across the Yellow Sea, and there would have been a much more formidable attack, not on Monday but on Tuesday night. From Admiral Togo's brief and most modest dispatch it appears that his view of the midnight encounter was, that "the Japanese advanced squadron attacked the enemy's advanced squadron, the enemy's vessels being mostly outside the bay." No one could have conceived that the Russian battle-fleet, having a safe torpedo-proof harbor within a mile, would anchor and remain all night in an open roadstead, thus absolutely inviting torpedo attack. And that not only would the battleships be thus exposed, but the destroyers, whose main and principal function it is to safeguard the heavier ships by keeping at a distance any lurking torpedo craft, would be themselves actually

in the harbor. Thus the sheep were outside the fold, and the dogs safely ensconced within.

Under these circumstances Admiral Togo's "advance squadron" crept up to reconnoiter. At the time of writing it does not appear by any means certain what these vessels were. If, as seems likely, Admiral Togo's objective in proceeding off Port Arthur was to engage the Russian fleet, which had been cruising in the Gulf of Pechili during the previous week, he would naturally keep his fleet some distance away during the night, and send on a certain number of destroyers to reconnoiter and if possible to attack any ships that might be exposed. The Japanese destroyers, however, carry the 18-inch torpedo, and if this weapon had been used, the three ships hit would almost certainly have been sunk in a very short time unless protected by nets. The very moderate amount of damage inflicted, as shown by the fact that all the ships hit got under way and steamed some distance towards the harbor entrance, rather points to the use of the 14-inch torpedo, which is only carried by torpedo-boats and ships' picket-boats.

If the Japanese took their torpedo-boats to Port Arthur, some 550 miles from Sasebo, it would be a notable feat, but not a very likely one, as these small craft seriously hamper a fleet. Whatever the craft were, it is evident that they took the Russians by surprise. According to the lucid account of the master and seamen of the British steamer Columbia, it seems that the Russians were first arounsed by the explosion of the torpedoes which hit the ships. No mention whatever is made of the torpedo-nets being out; indeed the indications point entirely in the opposite direction. The Russians alone among the Continental nations adhere to the torpedo-net, and it would be very remarkable if its use has been neglected on this occasion; but there seems no doubt that this was so. In any case the cruiser Pallida is not fitted with nets, and as the torpedo which struck her seems to have done about the same amount of damage as those which hit the battleships Tsarevitch and Retvizan, it is almost certain that those ships do not owe their comparative immunity to the use of nets.

The officers in command of the Japanese "advance squadron" managed well in selecting the two best battleships for attack. It is of course possible that this was to some extent accidental, as Admiral Togo was not aware when he sent off his dispatch on the 10th that the battleships had been hit by torpedoes. But the fact that all the ships hit were large ones would seem to indicate that the Japanese torpedo craft directed their torpedoes with discrimination. A report from Osaka, not well substantiated, states that there were some nine or ten destroyers attacking with twenty torpedoes, but it is hard to

believe so many torpedoes missed their mark, unless indeed the destroyers or torpedo-boats arrived at considerable intervals, which allowed the nets to be swung out after the explosion of the first torpedo had warned the Russians to be on the alert. None of the attacking craft were injured, nor were they aware of what ships were hit, for Admiral Togo as late as Wednesday the 10th thought that there had been merely an encounter with the Russian "advanced squadron"—*i. e.*, the cruisers.

The Japanese main fleet must have given Port Arthur a wide berth on Monday night. They probably arranged to meet their advanced squadron at daylight on Tuesday somewhere to the eastward of Dalny, as they were sighted from that place between 9 and 10 A. M. Their design was evidently to offer battle to the Russian fleet and to cut them off from their base if they had ventured out for a cruise, as they had done the week before. In this they were disappointed; but the Russian ships which had been damaged by torpedoes being still outside the harbor, probably waiting for high water, it was in any case incumbent on the remainder to support them if fired on by the Japanese. This they did, and there occurred what Nelson would have called a "brush" or "miserable action," the Japanese trying to get at the Russian ships, and the latter reasonably enough clinging to the shelter of the forts. These latter distinctly saved the Russian fleet from destruction, and the Japanese, finding that there was no hope of getting the Russians into the open, withdrew after some 45 minutes' long-range firing. This firing was, however, very effective. In such a case the objective must be not to silence forts or battleships, but if possible to destroy some weaker ship which there is a reasonable chance of sinking with a single heavy projectile. The Russian cruisers, which, if they had been employed in scouting during the previous day and night, should have given due warning of the Japanese approach, were now pushed forward into the front part of the battle. The captain of the small cruiser Novik has been decorated for the prominent part he took. The Japanese seized the opportunity and directed their heavy guns on these ships. The best second-class cruiser at Port Arthur, the Askold, was seriously injured, and is now resting on the bottom of the basin in Port Arthur harbor, whilst the Diana and Novik were also considerably damaged. The battleship Poltava was reported to have sustained injuries on the waterline; but her vitals being protected by armor, it is probable that the damage will be easily repaired. None of the Japanese ships were seriously injured, which may be accounted for by the fact that they seem to have kept their unprotected cruisers out of range. The loss of men

on both sides was very small, and amounted to some 40 or 50 Japanese and 90 to 100 Russians.

Whilst these events were going forward at Port Arthur on Monday night and Tuesday morning, the Japanese made their raid on Chemulpo, 260 miles from Port Arthur. On Monday afternoon about 4 P. M. the Russian gunboat Koreitz, a ship of no fighting value, was proceeding down the channel that leads from Chemulpo anchorage to the sea, when she met some Japanese torpedo-boats (or destroyers?) escorting five transports. The Koreitz fired on the boats, and the latter retaliated with two torpedoes. Neither shells nor torpedoes took effect; and not only did fighting stop, but the Koreitz seems to have explained away the firing and the incident closed. This was nevertheless the opening of hostilities. Both sides claim to have been attacked, but the presumption is that the ship fired first. It was entirely contrary to the Japanese interests to sink such an unimportant ship as the Koreitz, whereas it was a reasonable thing for that ship to fire at any torpedo craft which she might suspect of attacking her. A Japanese gunboat was lying at Chemulpo, with four cruisers of different nations—British, French, Italian, and American respectively. There also lay the Variag, the fastest and best of the Russian second-class cruisers, a perfectly new vessel built in the United States, and having a speed of twenty-three knots. The transports were convoyed by four small Japanese cruisers, which were, according to some accounts, supported by the armored cruiser Asama. The Japanese at once proceeded with their task of landing the troops and stores, carrying out the work most systematically and rapidly, so that by midnight the men, numbering some 3,000, were all ashore. There is no evidence as to the attitude of the Russians; but they took no effective steps to impede the landing. Thus the night passed quietly, the Japanese gunboat having withdrawn to join her consorts, which had taken up a blockading position six miles off at the mouth of the Salee river, on which Chemulpo is situated. The next morning Admiral Uriu notified to the Russians that he was about to take warlike measures, and announced that if they did not leave the anchorage he should attack them as they lay. Captain Roudneff of the Variag decided to go out. The odds against him were heavy, but escape did not seem impossible. Each of the four Japanese cruisers, Takachicho, Naniwa, Suma, Akashi, are less than half the size and fighting power of the Variag, and some five knots slower. The gunboat Chiyoda was scarcely equal to the Koreitz. Newspaper reporters have stated that the Asama was also there; but the reports (apparently official) of the absence of casualties only mention the four small cruisers. Moreover, Alexieff's

report of sixteen Japanese ships at Port Arthur indicates that the Asama was there. The Asama being twice as powerful as the Variag, it would be natural for the former to surrender if her passage to the sea was barred by such a superior ship: this she did not do. She seems to have come boldly out to the entrance of the river (or channel), which has a navigable breadth of two to five miles according to the state of the tide. The Japanese squadron barred her way to the sea. Whether confident in her fighting powers or esteeming escape impossible, she apparently made no use of her speed, but entered into a long-range fight with the Japanese squadron. The fire of the latter was sufficiently heavy and accurate to crush the resistance of the Variag, and after some forty-five minutes, having lost forty-one killed and sixty-six wounded, but with engines and steering gear still serviceable, she turned and retreated to the anchorage. Her fire was so ineffective that the Japanese did not lose a man. For some unexplained reason Admiral Uriu does not seem to have compelled the Variag to surrender, and she was allowed to take up her anchorage once more amongst the foreign ships. Some three hours afterwards, the Variag's men having been removed by the neutral men-of-war, she was set on fire and scuttled by her crew. Whether Admiral Uriu had given some promise to consider the man-of-war anchorage at Chemulpo as neutral does not appear; but in the sinking of the Variag the Japanese lost a valuable prize, and it seems most unlikely that she can be raised, as she sank in deep water. The Koreitz took some little part in the action, but was scarcely fired at by the Japanese. She was scuttled with the Variag.

As to the material results of the fighting on the 8th and 9th, the Japanese, notwithstanding their notable successes, have not captured any ships. The Variag may be considered destroyed, and the cruiser Askold and battleship Retvizan are on the mud at Port Arthur. But the shallowness of that harbor bids fair to be the salvation of the Russian ships, and, as far as can be judged from the meagre information available, both these vessels may be serviceable in two or three months. If the Russian reports are to be believed, neither the Tsarevitch nor the Pallada were seriously injured by the torpedoes that struck them; and it is not to be supposed that either the Poltava, Diana, or Novik, which were damaged by Japanese shells on the 9th, will be unserviceable for more than three or four weeks. Of course much of this is mere surmise. No one can judge of the injuries to a ship without going on board and making a careful survey, nor can the time taken to make good her defects be estimated without a thorough knowledge of the repairing facilities available. The Russians have no

object to gain in publishing to the world the condition of their ships or the extent of their repairing facilities, and it is distinctly desirable that Japan should not know how long the disabled ships will be *hors de combat*. Thus we shall probably be in ignorance of what ships are and are not serviceable until the day arrives for them to come out again.*

But the *morale* of the Russian navy must have been severely shaken, and all history shows that this may be more difficult to repair than even the rent made by a big torpedo. Not only Admiral Alexieff but the Czar himself alludes most pointedly to the fact that the precious fortress of Port Arthur is safe. The very principle on which both Port Arthur and Vladivostock have been equipped is as harbors of refuge for sound ships that have had to run away. They bristle with guns, and are very badly provided with docks. Thus for a ship which has fought a successful battle, but has suffered severely, they do not afford facilities for getting to sea quickly. They are excellent for a beaten fleet that does not want to go to sea again; but even the most extreme admirers of the Fleet in Being would hardly consider such a fleet as that now at Port Arthur a serious bar to oversea military operations by the enemy. Unless Russia can put a check on Japan's transport and supply of troops, their fleet might as well have stayed in the Baltic.

Are there any lessons to be learnt from what has happened? Alexieff's error in leaving the Variag at Chemulpo, where the narrow waters made her speed useless, is patent enough. Again, ships which are not in harbor at night should not only be under way, but their position should be unknown to the enemy. If obliged to remain in a position where torpedo attack is probable, nets should be out. A fleet that does not know where the enemy is, and takes no steps to remedy this lack of knowledge, may expect to be surprised. The transport and landing of troops may be risky under certain circumstances, as, for example, when the command of the sea is not assured; but the risk may be worth taking. And we might add, it is obviously a mistake to detach valuable ships for the attack of commerce, when the enemy's commerce is not particularly essential to his welfare, es-

* At the moment of going to press reports are to hand of the attack on the Port Arthur ships by destroyers on Sunday the 14th. The flotilla was dispersed *en route*, and only two reached the harbor. (Perhaps something of the same kind happened on the 8th-9th.) The Japanese state that the Boyarin was hit. The Russians do not acknowledge any loss. The latter, of course, may wish to conceal their losses, but it seems more likely that the torpedoes may have missed. The courage shown by the attacking craft was most remarkable.

pecially when the ships thus detached might have been employed far better in making it difficult for the Japanese to carry troops across to Korea. If the four big cruisers at Vladivostock—the Gromboi, Rossiya, Rurik, and Bogatyr—go out a dozen times unharmed and capture or sink a tramp steamer every time, but get caught and destroyed the thirteenth time, the game will scarcely be found to have been worth the candle. With the arrival of the Italian-built cruisers Japan has now a squadron of eight armored cruisers, excellent craft for safeguarding the transport of troops and stores, though they lack speed to catch the Bogatyr, Bayan, and Askold. It is in this connection that the Variag would have been so valuable to them. The Japanese cannot increase their battleship or large cruiser force, for they cannot build at home nor buy abroad, and even small cruisers take a long time to build in Japan. Even if the Black Sea remains closed, the Russians will be able to send out two first-class battleships from the Baltic this summer, and in 1905 there will be another battleship and a ship of the Askold class to add to their Far East fleet, to say nothing of destroyers, torpedo craft, and possibly submarines. It therefore behooves Japan to push on with the war both afloat and ashore. What she needs is to capture as many ships as possible, or failing this, to destroy them—for the Port Arthur force does not appear to be incapacitated for very long. Especially it is needful to prevent the arrival of Russian reinforcements, also of material and machinery for the repair of the Port Arthur ships, which neutrals will be only too glad to deliver if it pays them well. The supersession of Admiral Starck shows that the Russians hope to do better under Makaroff. They will naturally strain every nerve to refit the ships at Port Arthur, and we may yet hear from their torpedo flotilla.

The opening moves of the war have disclosed the excellent organization and intelligence of the Japanese fleet, and the courage and skill of officers and men, whilst the Russians have started very badly. But it is a mistake to suppose that there is no redemption for the Russian navy. Japan has a hard task before her, and it cannot be expected that the blunders made in the first week of war will be continually repeated. The armies have yet to get to work, and it is on shore that the principal fighting must take place. Both ashore and afloat there is a long struggle to come. In any case many months, or even years, will elapse before we are likely to have peace again.

ACTIVE LIST.

*OUR TORPEDO-BOAT FLOTILLA.**

THE TRAINING NEEDED TO INSURE ITS EFFICIENCY.

MOTTO: *We question the utility of torpedo-boats because we don't know how to utilize them.*—W. W. KIMBALL.

BY LIEUTENANT EDWARD L. BEACH, U. S. Navy.

BY Navy Department General Order No. 49, of June 8, 1901, it is ordered that a torpedo-boat destroyer shall be commanded by a lieutenant, and that a torpedo-boat shall be commanded by a lieutenant, a lieutenant junior grade, or by an ensign. The Navy Regulations do not require that the officers ordered to torpedo-boat duty shall possess special knowledge, experience or training in such duty, indeed under the conditions that have existed for several years in the naval service such experience or training has been impossible to all but a limited few; it is well known that the need of officers for ships in commission has reduced all assignments to shore duty; one of the results of this has been that but few officers could be spared for torpedo instruction at Newport; another result is that but few of our torpedo-boats have been commissioned, and for much of the time all of them have been hauled out of water and laid up under conditions that caused great deterioration.

The great naval maneuvers of England, France, Russia, and Germany, which yearly hold place for the purpose of facing and solving the problems to be expected in actual warfare, have definitely determined that war squadrons should be, and most probably will be, composed of battleships, cruisers, and torpedo vessels. These countries have supplied themselves with the number of torpedo-boats demanded by their needs, and much intelligent practice with these weapons is exacted of officers and enlisted men.

From its great coastline and outlying colonies, so much of which is unfortified, and in war time under some circumstances would be inviting to hostile attack, the United States has great need of torpedo-boat defence.

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*Reprinted by permission from the March number of the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute.

From the fact that the navies of these countries, against whom we are preparing to defend our country in the contingency of war, are equipped with great numbers of torpedo vessels, it must be expected that countries with naval bases near to our coasts and colonies would organize to be employed against us in time of war, squadrons of which torpedo-boats would form a part; we must be prepared for such features of warfare as the employment of these weapons would impose.

As the nation has determined upon a naval policy, it devolves upon naval officers to instruct the lawmakers of the particular features in technical respects of the best types of weapons, and the best means of using them. It is in this way that the knowledge of naval experts properly influences naval legislation. It is the belief of these experts that, considering the present and not trying to discount the future as to the value of the submarine or other possible weapons, the naval sea strength, that is the battle squadrons of a great power, should, as before stated, be composed of battleships, cruisers, and torpedo-boats.

To develop great efficiency in each class for its duties, and in the officers and men who handle them, the battleships for the first line of battle, the cruisers for scouting and other duties, the torpedo craft, when, under favoring circumstances they can be dispatched against the enemy, is the purpose of the great foreign yearly maneuvers. As used in this paper, the term torpedo-boat is generally applied to either the destroyer or the torpedo-boat proper.

The United States has a glorious naval history, much of which has been of single ship actions; the effect is seen in the efforts made in our service to perfect in fighting ability the units of our squadrons; of recent years the importance of squadron drills has become better recognized with practical results. But in all our naval policy since 1898 it is apparent that our building programme has been deficient in the construction of torpedo craft, as well as in the proper utilization of those that we already have.

All our ships of whatever type, when kept continually in commission, have within reasonable time attained to the most commendable conditions of efficiency. The ships laid up even in reserve with skeleton crews on board, have invariably deteriorated. The splendid Minneapolis after a short commission was put in reserve in Philadelphia; when called into service during the Spanish war she had deteriorated so badly that her boilers had to be retubed. This lesson is repeated every time a ship is laid up. When the Columbia was commissioned for a receiving ship a board of inquiry was called upon to investigate the causes of her bad condition. The torpedo-boat, which combines great powers of speed with greatest frailty, is the most susceptible of

all craft to deterioration; after the Spanish war it was impossible to keep these boats in commission because of the need for all officers and men that could be had, for service in Chinese and Philippine waters; and so all the torpedo-boats were hauled out of the water and laid up. The effect of this upon the navy was bad; the boats when again called into service were unfit for use until extensive repairs had been made. If the torpedo flotilla is to be one of our naval weapons, the very nature of the torpedo-boat, of its powers, of the hazardous duties it is to be employed upon, require that, to be successfully used, its officers and crew must have much drill at their proper duties. As for most of the time these boats have not been in commission, this necessary training has had but little place in our service.

It is the purpose of this paper to inquire into what is needed, first, to insure that at the required moment the offensive power of the boat may be equal to its designed power; and secondly, to insure that its destructive powers may be intelligently directed.

For the writer's convenience this subject will be discussed under the following headings: (1) The conditions that have controlled our torpedo-boat flotilla. (2) Lessons concerning torpedo craft to be drawn from history and from foreign maneuvers. (3) Foreign systems of torpedo-boat training. (4) The torpedo-boat training by our navy.

PART I.

The Conditions that Have Controlled Our Torpedo-Boat Flotilla.

Since the Spanish war our torpedo-boat flotilla has been largely augmented, and now consists (built and near completion) of twenty-six sea-going torpedo-boats and twenty torpedo-boat destroyers, with a number of smaller boats. The characteristics of these boats, the extremes of speed and destructive powers combined with ever-present vulnerability to overpowering accident from within and without, are well known to all naval officers. But is not this about all that is known of them to most of those officers who never have had experience with these craft?

One cannot dwell with satisfaction upon what, until recently, has been accomplished by our torpedo-boats in peace time; and in the Spanish war they were never in a single instance put to legitimate torpedo-boat work. The Spanish war proved not their destructiveness nor their war time utility, but demonstrated their inherent weakness. During this war the tendency was not to test them, but rather to pre-

serve them. This was so because there has not existed in this country, either in its legislators or in its naval officers, a well defined, well agreed upon, torpedo-boat policy, either of building, or of exercise with those already built. Naval experts all agree that the country that places any dependence at all upon torpedo-boats needs many of them. They do not admit that the number at present possessed by the United States nearly equals the number required by considerations of sufficient torpedo-boat defence. Believing as he does that in particular cases the torpedo-boat is invaluable to the national defence, and that for these cases our present torpedo-boat flotilla is not sufficient in numbers for such citable instances, the writer would urge the necessity the navy has of demonstrating its ability to utilize for their designed purpose these destructive engines of modern warfare. Until the navy shows that these weapons may be used against us, and also that in war's contingency we might with advantage use them against an enemy, it is not probable that the national legislators will order any more torpedo-boats to be built. During the discussion upon the last Naval Appropriation Bill the need of torpedo-boats was not considered. It is submitted that in case of conflict with any of the great naval powers that have bases near to our coasts or colonies, there will be need on our part of torpedo-boats, and that the country should be educated to this need. If the boats are to be hauled out of water and laid up, the country will not appreciate this need until the war is upon us, nor will the navy be trained to handle these boats efficiently.

The history of the torpedo-boat emphasizes in all cases its extreme vulnerability; the practical study of it by foreign navies has developed much knowledge of when and how and where this weapon should be used, knowledge which but a few of our officers have had an opportunity of acquiring. It is not enough that when on hostile destructive intent the boat should be capable of reproducing her trial trip speed; the knowledge of the proper use of the boat is just as necessary; this requires the practical study of the tactical operations of the boat in section; of what has been accomplished by torpedo-boats in previous wars, and in squadron during the great foreign maneuvers; and in each case the particular tactics employed.

Used with wisdom the torpedo-boat becomes a most powerful weapon; used without practical knowledge of torpedo-boat warfare, the torpedo-boats become useless for offence, and a weakness and hindrance to their own flag, as instanced by the Spanish destroyers, Furor, Pluton, and Terror, during the Spanish-American war.

We have had torpedo-boats for ten years, during which time we have battled on the seas with an European power, and yet, during this

time, at peace and at war, until most recently our officers have never had opportunity to exercise these boats under simulated war time conditions. Individual instances may be cited where boats that have been kept continually in commission have attained to a high standard of efficiency as regards their handling and their speeds; but with the exception of the section of boats once commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Kimball, and a later section commanded by Lieutenant Chandler, there has never been in our service, either in war or in peace, a strategical or tactical use of our torpedo-boats. The experts in torpedo-boat warfare all agree in declaring that to be successful the boats must operate in section; the conditions of success for the torpedo-boat section depend upon each boat being at the top-notch of efficiency. Where our torpedo-boat flotilla has been weak is that at no one time have many of our boats been in efficient condition, and but twice have we ever possessed an efficient torpedo-boat section. As successful torpedo-boat warfare must depend upon many efficient torpedo-boat sections, though we possess over fifty of such craft, and though we now have one most efficient torpedo-boat section, our actual torpedo-boat strength measured by what will be war time necessities, is to-day really and actually so small, that it could not be of much effect in bringing a war to a successful termination. This is so because it would take months of preparation to make seven or eight efficient torpedo-boat sections out of our present uncommissioned flotilla.

Let it never be forgotten that, unless their officers and crews are experienced in torpedo-boat duties, the possession of fifty odd craft does not in itself constitute torpedo-boat strength. It may not be necessary to keep constantly all fifty boats in full commission, but that our present torpedo-boat flotilla may be a formidable weapon in case of war, it is respectfully submitted that at all times, year in and year out, there should be some boats in full commission, constantly exercised in section, required not only to develop trial trip speeds, but also regularly to practice at approved torpedo-boat section tactics; and furthermore that those boats not kept in commission should have such constant attention, and be run so frequently, that at all times, except when undergoing repairs, they would be ready to be commissioned for offensive work.

The officers and crews attached to these boats should be subject to change after each had received a stated amount of experience with them, thus providing for a healthy interest, knowledge and experience in such duty throughout all branches in the naval service.

At the close of the war with Spain the torpedo-boats were put out

of commission, hauled out of water and laid up. When again called into commission at the close of 1900 it was found that the most extensive repairs were needed by them, and months were consumed in getting the flotilla ready for service. After being commissioned, although the crew of each boat had some opportunity of learning the special characteristics of its own boat, the highest speeds were rarely if ever attempted, nor was there anything in the nature of approved tactical maneuvers carried out. The mishaps were so constant and so many that each crew was at all times occupied with the interior affairs of its own boat. Real torpedo-boat service was not attempted, and it can hardly be claimed that the commissioning of these boats was of value to the naval service except by the demonstration of needed experience and much drill by those who are to handle them; the boats were so many different units which were not brought together for proper tactical work.

The actual results showed that the great speed powers placed in the boat were not to be developed except by crews drilled into excellence; to attain this excellence requires constant practice for an extended length of time. Another result burned into the minds of all who had to do with these boats was the certain deterioration that always happens to them when not receiving constant care and attention.

At times there has been much discussion in our service of torpedoes and of torpedo-boats, and but very little discussion of the training needed by those who handle these weapons. The purpose of this paper is to examine into the conditions that have prevailed within our torpedo-boat flotilla regarding its ability to perform effectively its designed duty, to inquire if there has been a lack of needed training on the navy's part to handle these weapons efficiently.

As delivered to the navy the torpedo-boat possesses the extremes of speed, destructive power and vulnerability. Sir William Laird Clowes has said in the Naval Institute Proceedings that the designed purpose and the legitimate duty of the torpedo-boat is "To strike like a bolt from the blue in the most unexpected quarters, to be always in perfect readiness for a few hours of rough, hard work under extreme pressure." The question to be asked is whether the average condition of the boats of our service has ever been such that one might with reasonable confidence of success dispatch them in war time to do their legitimate work. To answer this question, realizing that at times some boats have been kept in commendable states of efficiency, and that the recent work of the section of boats under the command of Lieutenant Chandler has proved that with opportunity our navy

can use these boats intelligently and efficiently for their designed purposes, it must be asseverated that, with the exception of the two sections previously mentioned, our torpedo-boat flotilla has never been in condition for effective work. Although individual boats have at times when long in commission reached commendable states of efficiency, it must be remembered that this is not the final test of their destructive ability. If every unit of our flotilla were in perfect condition, the flotilla would not yet be ready for war, because the torpedo-boat must act in concert with other boats, and much drill and practice is necessary to insure that this will be properly done. As our flotilla of fifty-three boats and destroyers exists to-day, there are but seven, comprising one section, that may be said to be ready for hostile attack. Many more boats could be got ready upon short notice, but officers and crews experienced in torpedo-boat duties could not be found for them; therefore with the exception of one section of seven boats it must be stated that our torpedo-boat flotilla is not in such condition that it could be dispatched in war time on its legitimate duty with reasonable chances of success.

If one examines the history of our torpedo-boats there is at all times evidence that the cause of this is primarily the lack of training in the navy for torpedo-boat work, lack of opportunity for officers and men to learn torpedo-boat duties, and absence of useful torpedo-boat tactical maneuvers during the short periods of time torpedo-boats have been kept in commission. The chief feature of the torpedo-boat is her speed, which is of prime necessity to enable the boat to get within striking distance of her prey before being discovered and destroyed; that this speed is essential to give the torpedo-boat a chance to escape after she has discharged her torpedoes is of secondary importance; the scope of the torpedo-boat's mission does not include consideration of possibilities of escape after the purpose has been accomplished; yet if the personnel of the boat are to be allowed hope of escape this must depend upon the boat's speed. Thus the possibilities of successful attack and subsequent escape all depend absolutely upon the capability of the boat for speed. All navies realize this, and therefore our boats have been designed with this quality in mind, and before delivery to the government the contractor is required by actual trial to prove the speed of the boat he has built.

Many such trials have been made not by the contractor's own workmen, but by an expert torpedo-boat engineer, who for the past eight years has devoted all of his time to superintending such trials; he has an expert crew that accompanies him. When engaged for the trial of some particular boat he devotes himself to drilling his crew

into perfect familiarity with the boat in hand, has as many full-powered trials as he judges his crew need, and upon the appointed day he superintends the contractor's trial to meet the government requirements; these trials have usually been successful. It must be remembered that the great speed developed upon such an occasion is the speed that will be actually necessary when the boat is dispatched upon hostile mission, and that without this speed the boat will be destroyed without having a chance to discharge her torpedoes; and all experience proves that this speed will never be developed except by a torpedo-boat crew each unit of which is an expert in his own particular duties.

Naval officers may, with satisfaction, remember that, under continuous commission, we have had boats capable of developing the speed attained on the contractor's trial trips; but where boats have been commissioned after having been laid up, the history is that before being ready for service they have always needed extensive repairs; furthermore, the boats were, with rare exceptions, never long enough in commission to permit the units of their crews to become thoroughly expert in individual duties, a fact well attested by the number of accidents incident to the early steaming of the boats, due sometimes to inexperience in handling the boat, and at other times to inexperience in manipulating the engines. This is not surprising; because a naval officer has been graduated from Annapolis and has had several years of watch and other duty, it does not necessarily follow that, when first ordered to torpedo-boat duty, he is as competent to command the torpedo-boat as is the officer who has already had much experience in such duty; nor are the members of the crew as efficient at first as they will be later in the performance of their duties; this though a truism may be pertinent, for it has been seldom that the officer ordered to command has had any previous experience with these craft; the records show that when a boat remains commissioned for some time the ills and misfortunes that always attend the early commissioning of these boats grow more and more infrequent.

The navy is weak in torpedo-boat experience because our boats have been so little used. Hitherto when the boats have been put into commission for the maneuvers, before the officers and crews had had sufficient experience to become expert, the maneuvers were over, and the boats were put out of commission, hauled out and laid up; as previously stated, although the boats are worthless for legitimate torpedo-boat duty unless capable of great speeds, during these short commissions there were too many break-downs at low speeds to justify many attempts at high speeds.

The foregoing remarks apply to the older boats; the faults pointed

out are not due to lack of proper spirit on the part of anybody, but partly because of the conditions that have existed in the service where there have not been nearly enough officers and men to supply the call from battle and cruising squadrons.

The last addition of these craft to our navy, of sixteen torpedo-boats and sixteen destroyers, are of the latest type, and are possessed of the greatest powers of their class. This addition makes our torpedo-boat flotilla of respectable size and power, although no one would claim that it is as yet sufficiently so for its purpose. But in recent national legislation there has been no apparent tendency to increase the number of torpedo craft.

It is apparent that in the maneuvers soon to be executed in the Caribbean Sea, torpedo-boats will have far greater place than in any previous operations of our navy; and it is probable that the need of many more boats for such maneuvers will be actually demonstrated; this would demand that many of both the commissioned and enlisted personnel receive special training, so that when the flotilla of boats is commissioned either for peace maneuvers of for war, its work will be creditable.

PART II.

Lessons Concerning Torpedo Craft to be Drawn from History and from the Great Foreign Maneuvers.

During the American Civil War the destructive possibilities of the torpedo received terrible illustration, and since then inventors and scientists have been engaged in perfecting this weapon. To-day the Whitehead torpedo is used by all navies, and the vessels carrying these torpedoes are all built much upon the same plans and considerations. The invention of the torpedo caused the construction of the special vessel to carry it. For many years there was constant study and practice to determine the needed characteristics of the torpedo vessel, and the present form of the torpedo vessel was naturally evolved with the perfection of the torpedo itself and the development of rapid-fire ordnance. The one who studies the history of the torpedo-boat must be greatly impressed by the effect which the great foreign yearly maneuvers had upon its development in size, speed, and number required. The first idea was that the boat should be small and speedy; the great development of small calibred guns made the extreme of speed of prime necessity; without it the boat would never be able to get near enough to the enemy to discharge her torpedoes. A condition early developed by the great naval maneuvers was the need of a vessel designed for the

special purpose of destroying torpedo-boats, and thus torpedo-boat catchers of various types were built; following maneuvers proved that all of these types were unsatisfactory, yet in their short-comings was seen the needed characteristics of the boat which was to suppress the torpedo-boat; as a result the torpedo-boat destroyer was built and tried, and has proved to be the instrument needed, and to-day all navies are being provided with torpedo vessels of this class. The development of this weapon has created new problems in warfare, conditions which modern naval commanders must be familiar with, and conditions which are as yet by many officers but imperfectly understood. The foreign naval maneuvers have contributed largely to the development of torpedo vessels, and we have accepted the results of these maneuvers and are building our torpedo craft on the lines indicated by them as necessary. Until the present time we have never had any maneuvers in which the operations of torpedo craft presented any problems or conditions or had the slightest effect. In the British maneuvers of 1901 sixty destroyers and twenty torpedo-boats took part and were in constant activity. The action of these torpedo vessels presented conditions and problems the like of which has never been seen in our navy; foreign navies are prepared to use torpedo-boats in action, and they have studied the best methods of using them strategically and tactically, and of suppressing and repulsing hostile boats. As an offset to this, what have we done? Are we to go on, "hoping that when the time comes to beat an enemy we shall be ready and able to do so by the gift of God which comes to us by steady advancement through the grades of the service?" Maneuvers and torpedo-boat operations have as yet been almost impossible to our service; they will come later; but it is possible to study the foreign maneuvers and to apply some of the lessons there learned to the needs of our own service. In what follows the writer has attempted to quote what was the accepted lesson at the time of torpedo-boat operations, in war and in foreign maneuvers. The views that were expressed at the time are given; some were to be modified by subsequent teachings, some to be repeatedly accentuated. Though there are many officers familiar with the lessons that history and the great peace maneuvers have taught, torpedo-boat operations have been so limited in the past, and are to be so important to us in the future, that it is hoped that the summarizing in one paper of previous torpedo-boat teachings may be of some service. It is not claimed that the views here recorded have other weight than is naturally accorded to capable observers, but it is maintained that these views are those of experts, and that when uttered they were received as correct upon the subject of torpedo-boat operations.

It is held that the purpose of the torpedo-boat is, by operating from a base or shelter, to make hostile attacks upon the enemy's ships; and that the purpose of a destroyer is, in addition to its character as a torpedo-boat, to prevent torpedo-boat attack, to destroy and suppress torpedo-boats, to blockade torpedo-boats, to accompany squadrons to sea, and to keep up with them at high speeds in all weathers for long distances.

We have made but little use of our torpedo-boats either in war or in the few peace maneuvers we have had, but we now have a large number of such craft, and we have officers and men enthusiastic of their possibilities; as real earnest, intelligent use of them is almost new to all but a few of us, let us see how we can apply to our own circumstances the lessons that have been learned concerning them.

The real conclusive lesson will be taught only when great powers war; still the torpedoes have been used in little wars, and from these we may learn something; and the foreign maneuvers have developed much knowledge concerning torpedo-boat operations and dispositions.

THE CHILIAN REVOLUTION OF 1891.

The torpedo-boat in its present modern form was first used in hostile attack on April 23, 1891, when the Chilian government vessels, Lynch and Condell, attacked with their torpedoes the Revolutionary vessels in Caldera Bay; five torpedoes were discharged, only one of which struck its target; this one sunk the Blanca Encalada. The official report of this action said that the lessons this taught were:

"The difficulty of effectively using the Whitehead torpedo save when it is in the hands of people thoroughly familiar with it, and the untrustworthiness of the human element in torpedo warfare.—The usefulness of the Whitehead torpedo when properly employed.—To use any torpedo effectively, even in peace time, requires not only coolness and self-command, but also great carefulness, and, above all, training."

Target practice with the Whitehead torpedo as then supplied, everywhere proved the uncertainty of the direction that the torpedo would take after launching; that one out of five torpedoes discharged should hit its target was at that time to be considered good torpedo marksmanship; during our recent maneuvers the torpedo-boat section commanded by Lieutenant Chandler, running at full speed, discharged fourteen torpedoes, twelve of which struck their targets. The invention of the gyroscope has converted the torpedo from a weapon of most uncertain aim to one of gun precision. The certainty of aim

with which the torpedo can now be discharged bespeaks for it a far greater field than when, ten years ago, it was so uncertain.

THE CHINESE-JAPANESE WAR, 1894.

The great lesson to be drawn from the torpedo-boat operations of this war is the utter worthlessness in accomplishing results of the weapon when operated by untrained crews. At no one time were the boats ooerated with the best strategical or tactical considerations. At the battle of Yalu, on September 17, 1894, there were no Japanese torpedo-boats, and the Chinese boats present, if there were any, took no part in the fight. At Wei-Hai-Wei the position of the Japanese invited torpedo-boat attack, but none was made upon it. Here, on January 30, 1895, sixteen Japanese torpedo-boats attacked the Chinese fleet, but failed in accomplishing anything. Later, on February 5, these boats repeated the attack upon the Chinese fleet, then crippled and disheartened, and sunk several ships.

THE BRAZILIAN REVOLT OF 1893-94.

During this conflict torpedo-boat operations had place but once, which was at the close of the revolt. Two separate attacks were made by four government torpedo vessels upon the Aquidaban, on the nights of April 4 and April 5, 1894. On the second night one of the four torpedoes discharged struck and sunk the Aquidaban.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR OF 1898.

There were no torpedo-boat operations worthy the name in this short war. The American boats were used for everything except torpedo-boat work. Apparently the Spaniards had not the faintest conception of the proper use of their destroyers, which were at all times a positive hindrance. In action they were vanquished by a converted American yacht. The attempted attack of the Terror upon the St. Paul was made in the greatest ignorance, and of necessity ended in disaster.

Let us turn from the limited torpedo-boat operations in warfare to what has been done in the great naval maneuvers.

The tremendous possibilities of the torpedo-boat has for years appealed to naval minds, and in the evolution of the type it is interesting and instructive, from the point of view of present knowledge, to examine into the expressions of those who had to do with the weapon in its earlier days.

A French student whose views were widely read and discussed wrote in L'Année Maritime, in 1882, that:

"A condition essential to the success of these weapons is that they should be maneuvered by bold, well-disciplined crews, free from liability to panic, and composed of men resolutely determined to sacrifice their lives if necessary."

Some features of the torpedo-boat have undergone much development, but the character of the men who are to man them must always be of the nature just quoted; this is accentuated by every employment the weapon has ever had, in peace and in war.

In July, 1879, in the Revue Maritime, Lieutenant Chaubaud-Arnault, of the French Navy, presented a paper on the subject of "The Employment of Torpedoes in Boats Against Ships." One of the views presented in this paper, drawn from a study of all previous torpedo-boat operations, is:

"An attack attempted by night or day by a well-constructed torpedo-boat presents no exceptional dangers either for the boat or the crew."

This most remarkable statement, which to-day is absolutely untenable, is a forcible illustration of the great development of the torpedo-boat and of the means of repelling torpedo-boat attack. In present times attacks from torpedo-boats would never be attempted by day by experienced officers, and an attack by night by single boat would be made only as a last despairing attempt, almost hopeless of success, and entirely hopeless of returning whole from the attack except if the enemy be entirely unprepared.

In Vol. VII, No. IV, of the Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete des Seewesens, is found the report by Lieutenant Witheft, of the Russian Navy, of the results accomplished at the Russian Naval Torpedo School in 1879. Throughout the summer of 1879 twelve Russian torpedo-boats in full commission had been constantly exercised for the purpose of studying and developing the best methods of handling torpedo-boats. The following were among the conclusions reached:

"Boats must be manned by men trained to the hazardous duties expected of them."

"The torpedo and the torpedo-boat should form a single weapon, so that the attention of the officers in command may never be divided between the conducting of the boat and the handling of the weapon."

"Every division of torpedo-boats should be trained to conduct an attack without the support or co-operation of any other naval arm."

"In the Russo-Turkish war almost every attack was successful when undertaken according to a well-matured plan by a group of boats, and no attack succeeded which was made by a single boat."

"Attacks by single boats are only to be attempted as a last resource."

"The attack must be made according to a carefully considered plan."

"The attacks should be made at a signal from the officer in command, simultaneously from several points."

"In order to be able to apply all these rules effectively in war, it is necessary in time of peace to train every torpedo division to act as much as possible under the conditions which would arise in actual warfare. It is only after much practice that success can be obtained in this new method of warfare. Trials with single boats can only be regarded as preliminary to maneuvers with a whole division. The only way to insure success when a boat is for the first time attached to a division is constant practice in making attacks of a similar nature in time of peace."

In an essay by Commander Hayes, of the British Navy, published in the Journal of the United Service Institution, Vol. XXII, 1878, it is said:

"Torpedo-boats attacking a ship at anchor will probably have to oppose two lines of obstructions, and to engage other torpedo and guard boats; they would also be exposed to a severe fire from rifles, Gatlings, grape, and case, directed by the aid of the electric light; therefore torpedo-boats should attack in numbers and from different quarters."

In a speech in the British House of Commons, in 1877, Commander Lord Charles Beresford said:

"If three or four boats of great speed attacked a ship from different points of the compass, the ship was doomed to destruction. Great Britain might build enormously powerful ships, but torpedoes must be the order of the day."

In his report of 1878-79 Admiral Porter said:

"The history of torpedoes shows a large proportion of failures and the destruction or imminent risk of the boats employed."

In presenting these views of early torpedo-boat students, the writer does not offer them as possessing any peculiar sanctity nor value, except as they applied at the time they were written.

But it is interesting and instructive to know the influences upon our predecessors in torpedo-boats, and where we find certain principles, the truth, the pertinence, necessity, and value of which are constantly and increasingly accentuated, we may with profit study them and apply them to our own circumstances.

Let us follow the history of torpedo-boats in the yearly maneuvers of the great naval powers.

In the British naval maneuvers of 1885, twenty-five torpedo-boats took part. That part of the report which concerns these boats states that about half of these became disabled during the passage from their home ports to the scenes of the operations; a great action was planned in which these boats were to have a prominent part in the attack; the report of the attack says that these torpedo-boats seemed to be uncontrollable; many collisions occurred, machinery mishaps, and breakdowns of disabling nature were more than frequent, and when the order for the attack was given but few of the twenty-five boats could take part. The judges reported their opinion of these torpedo-boats to be that in their condition and as they were handled, the torpedo-boats could not have succeeded in any attack.

In 1885 Lieutenant Leroy, of the French Navy, brought a section of torpedo-boats from Brest to Toulon; in his report to the Ministry of Marine of this passage he says:

"That which is wearying on board a torpedo-boat, and is extremely trying to a sensitive, nervous system, is the continual vibration and racing of the engines with a violence which almost suggests that the engine must come to pieces. The strain is moral rather than physical, but it tells upon the whole system; after a short time, however, one grows used to it. With the engines all was satisfactory; the engineers were accustomed to torpedo-boats. They were men who had training at Brest. It is absolutely necessary that the crew of a torpedo-boat should be thoroughly accustomed to this class of vessel."—(Brassey's Annual, 1886).

In Brassey's Annual of 1887, a writer criticising the torpedo-boat work of the previous maneuvers, says:

"The introduction of the torpedo, the torpedo-boat, and the torpedo-boat catcher, calls for the creation of a special service for the efficient manning of the coast defence flotilla. A school of training for this purpose is not less necessary than a school of gunnery."

Torpedo-boats took a prominent part in the French naval maneuvers of 1886. A very prominent illustration of the character of their service is shown by the difference between the first and the last reports. We find at first that a short cruise of 27 hours so completely used up the crews of these boats that they were reported to be completely unfit for duty.

Some months later these same crews were found to be able to handle their boats for weeks at a time, in even worse weather, without exhaustion. The lesson here portrayed has been emphasized by the history of every torpedo-boat that has ever been put into service. Exhausting though torpedo-boat work is, with a few months of train-

ing the crews can accustom themselves to the physical demands upon them without overstraining themselves. In these maneuvers off Toulon, torpedo-boats at first made themselves notorious because of the number of boats that were sunk by avoidable collisions; also the machinery mishaps were so many that no boat could be depended upon to execute a signal. In an attack upon a hostile fleet that appeared off Ajaccio, of twenty torpedo-boats that were formed for attack but six were in condition for service. Later, at the same place, a fleet of thirteen boats, the slowest of which had made over a trial course a speed of twenty knots, sallied out to attack a hostile squadron, which, after seeing the fleet of boats start out, steamed away at a speed of 11½ knots; the fleet of torpedo-boats was not able to catch up to this squadron. After some months of work the troubles that had early beset these boats had mostly disappeared, and the boats were found to be capable of effective service. In the report concerning these torpedo-boat operations is found the following significant statement:

"The experience gained during two months of constant torpedo-boat work was noticeable in the increased skill and endurance shown by the crews of all the boats."

"A special class of men must be trained for service in torpedo-boats, for, with increased experience in the crew, the increased efficiency of the boat is very marked" (Brassey's Annual, 1887).

It is certain that, if our boats are to be commissioned only when war breaks out, nothing but misfortune and disaster will attend them; they will surely suppress themselves without harming the enemy; it is too much to hope that there will be any possibility of practice with them after the declaration of war. To be of any service the boats and crews must be drilled beforehand, must be ready to face the problems and conditions that war brings. All experience shows that torpedo-boats put into service without drill can never accomplish anything, while the possession of numerous well-drilled boats will prevent a possible enemy from ever attempting to sight our shores.

The French navy learned this lesson so well that, previous to their maneuvers of 1888, forty torpedo-boats with crews numbering 1,722 men were kept in commission for a year. The work done by torpedo-boats during these maneuvers was not entirely satisfactory, but it was a great improvement over what had been done previously. In the French maneuvers of 1889, the record of the torpedo-boats was marred by collisions with other boats and by machinery mishaps; it was reported that in all of such cases these troubles occurred to boats whose crews had had no torpedo-boat training, and that they were caused by inexperience. The great lesson learned by the French from these man-

euvers was the necessity of previous drill at torpedo-boat tactics; before this each section-commander had used his boats according to his own particular judgment, the best methods of handling a number of boats acting together had not received much study, and the necessity of tactics was but dimly appreciated; there being no well-developed agreed-upon system of tactics; each commander used his boats in an attack with but little knowledge of the best methods; confusion always occurred, the attacks were rarely successful, and the boats suffered terribly. The certainty of success by the German method of attack, as recently shown by Lientenant Chandler, is an illustration of what has been accomplished in the methods of using this weapon by constant study and practice with it. In 1889, there was much difference of opinion of when and how and where this weapon should be used; every year's work since then has thrown light upon this subject, and the yearly operations have worked out many torpedo-boat problems.

The following is an extract from the report to the British Admiralty of the naval maneuvers of 1888 (Brassey's Annual, 1889):

"Torpedo-boats would be of far more use to the blockaded squadrons than to the blockaders. Torpedo-boats, if not capable of keeping the sea independently under all conditions of weather, would inevitably prove a cause of embarrassment and anxiety to an admiral commanding a blockading fleet, and would be subject to endless casualties."

"The employment of torpedo-boats as an inner line of blockade is not desirable, they being calculated to cause much confusion and embarrassment to their friends; they are admirably adapted for purposes of defence; but even then without a very simple and perfect system of signals they are liable to be mistaken for enemies by their own side. This occurred once at least on each side during the 1888 maneuvers."

The following is an extract from the parliamentary report of the British maneuvers of 1890:

"The radius of action of a torpedo-boat is limited less by her coal and feed water supply than by the physical endurance of her crew, especially her commander" (Brassey's Annual, 1891).

Criticising these same maneuvers, a writer in Engineering, in 1890, said:

"We now come to the principal lesson from the naval point of view, and that is the great value for training purposes such service has to young officers whose future will be entirely cast in steam vessels. It would appear in every way desirable that a certain period in a torpedo-boat should be an essential part of a naval education. To carry this into effect a proportion of the boats should always be kept in commission at the various ports, the remainder to be kept in reserve,

and to replace periodically those which require refit or repair" (Brassey's Annual, 1891).

Writing in Le Yacht of these same maneuvers, the well-known French critic, M. Wehl, said:

"The English maneuvers have shown once more that torpedo-boats well handled are formidable weapons at a small distance from the shore."

THE BRITISH NAVAL MANEUVERS OF 1891.

These are the most important maneuvers as regards torpedo-boats that have ever taken place. The British Admiralty announced to the squadrons mobilized for the maneuvers the following tasks:

"(*a*) To ascertain the tactics which would probably be adopted by flotillas of torpedo-boats stationed at several points on one shore of a channel in order to harass or destroy an enemy's ships on the other side."

"(*b*) To ascertain the measures which should be taken to give security against the attacks of these torpedo-boats."

Discussing the results of these maneuvers the well-known naval critic, Mr. Thursfield, wrote in the Quarterly Review of April, 1892:

"The bases assigned to the torpedo-boats on this occasion were the Irish ports of St. George's Channel. Their objective was a small squadron of ironclads with cruisers and torpedo-gunboats under Captain Long, with his base at Milford Haven, and a freedom of range throughout the area accessible to the hostile torpedo-boats. Captain Long, himself a torpedo expert of great experience and capacity, resolved to make his defence an active rather than a passive one, that is, instead of entrenching himself behind such fixed and mobile defences as are available when a squadron remains at its anchorage, and waiting for torpedo-boats to attack him, he went himself to attack the torpedo-boats. The result abundantly justified the tactics employed. In no one single instance during the operations was a torpedo-boat successful in its attack on an ironclad. Of the twenty boats engaged, four were adjudged to have been captured, while seventeen separate attacks delivered by the remainder were adjudged to have resulted in the temporary disablement of the boats engaged. Besides this, two of the protecting ships attached to the torpedo-boat bases were destroyed by Captain Long, and the end of the operations left him completely master of the situation."

These 1891 maneuvers are of especial interest to the student of torpedo-boat warfare because they were, by intent and in act, a direct

duel between torpedo-boats and an attacking squadron. Of this, Mr. Thursfield wrote in Brassey's Annual, 1893:

"The object of the torpedo-boats was to harass the squadron, to impede its operations, and to destroy it if possible; while the object of the squadron was, by clearing the sea of torpedo-boats, to recover its freedom of operation, and, in the meanwhile, to take effective measures for its defence against their attack."

The striking lesson taught by these operations is that the best defence against expected torpedo-boat attack is made by assuming the offensive against them, and until in readiness for such offensive action, to keep out of the torpedo-boat's radius of action. If the torpedo-boats are not met with, the squadron should destroy if possible the bases of the torpedo-boats; this will effectively suppress the boats; if these bases are ports that cannot be destroyed, the squadron watching outside will be sure to catch some of the boats attempting to run the blockade, for the torpedo-boat must have frequent recourse to its base. All war maneuvers have proved that it is almost impossible for torpedo-boats to find an enemy's ships that are somewhere at large upon the sea, and also that a squadron can surely find the hostile torpedo-boats by watching their bases; this insures the suppression of the boats though it invites attack from them. In the maneuvers of 1890 a squadron anchored at a distance of over 100 miles from where there was known to be torpedo-boats; a night attack was made by the latter and four great battleships were destroyed; in the operations of the next year the squadron was constantly on the move, searching for the boats, well prepared for the attack which it invited; seventeen different attacks were made upon it, with the result of the destruction of all of the boats making the attacks, the squadron being entirely uninjured; the report concerning the torpedo-boat operations of these 1891 maneuvers was (Brassey's Annual, 1893):

"A torpedo-boat attack to be successful must be in the nature of a surprise. The torpedo-boat has a wider range of offensive action than was before believed. Properly handled, torpedo-boat attack may always be frustrated by torpedo-boat destroyers."

In 1890 the torpedo was most uncertain in its aim, the boats were slow compared with those of to-day, the vaguest ideas of best methods of using the boats existed, and yet, though always made in the greatest of confusion, torpedo-boat attacks sometimes were terribly destructive. Since then the torpedo has become a weapon of precision, the speeds of the boats approach thirty knots; modern warships are specially prepared to repel successfully torpedo-boat attack; all of this impera-

tively demands from our officers and men a knowledge of these new features of naval warfare.

The British naval maneuvers of 1892 continued the investigation of problems of torpedo-boat warfare. Here the particular problem was to investigate the effect of torpedo-boat menace or attack under different circumstances.

Two squadrons of the same flag were to meet and effect a juncture in narrow waters; between them was a powerful hostile squadron, accompanied by a formidable force of torpedo-boats. Criticising these operations, in Brassey's Annual for 1893, Mr. Thursfield said the operations showed that:

"The dreaded torpedo-boat can be completely neutralized by a tactical menace analogous to that which it exerts itself; its own menace is nevertheless so potent within its effective sphere of operations as to interpose impediment to the free movements of the immensely powerful squadrons which might completely frustrate the combinations and defeat the purposes of a deep-laid plan of campaign. The security of a cruising fleet at night against the attack of torpedo-boats in waters open to their operations lies in its constant movement at a speed and in directions not known to the enemy in search of it. It is certain that the menace of the torpedo-boat operates with immense effect on the cruising fleet. No one who realizes the immense importance of time in the operations of modern warfare will think it a small matter that the junction of two fleets immensely superior to the adversary opposed to them was delayed for forty-eight hours by the comparatively insignificant force of twenty-one torpedo-boats, and that this effect was produced although the torpedo-boats never succeeded in destroying a single one of their adversaries."

Torpedo-boat operations formed a part of the French maneuvers of 1892; it is reported that the great lesson taught by them was:

"The absolute inefficiency of torpedo-boats as auxiliaries to a seagoing iron-clad squadron" (Brassey's Annual, 1893).

Both the French and Russian maneuvers of 1891 consisted of attacks by hostile squadrons upon the coast defences, among the latter being many torpedo-boats. The lesson taught by these operations was the intimidating effect upon an admiral by the presence of hostile torpedo-boats. The apprehensive watching for them proved to be the most wearing strain that had ever been imposed upon the officers and crews of these ships. A few days of it used them up. If this is so in peace maneuvers, what is to be expected in war? If it be imperative that a squadron gain foothold on a hostile shore, the torpedo-boats of the latter must first be suppressed, and all experience shows

that the squadron should assume the offensive against them rather than wait for attack; these maneuvers again proved that, though the torpedo-boat under proper convoy can make long voyages, in war time it is not a sea-going instrument of naval warfare.

As these yearly maneuvers proceeded, it is seen that each year questions concerning the possibilities of torpedo-boats and the best means of repelling attacks from them formed the great problem; on the part of Great Britain we always find great squadrons opposed to each other, and great numbers of torpedo vessels present. The simulated conditions generally are those of Great Britain opposing the combined forces of France and Russia. Great Britain is more powerful in battleships and cruisers, while France and Russia possess a far greater number of torpedo-boats. Naturally the purpose of many of the foreign maneuvers has been to decide to what extent the opposing superior force of torpedo-boats counterbalances the inferiority in fighting ships. In investigating this question all sorts of problems connected with torpedo-boats have been met with, and much knowledge has been gained which we can apply to our own necessities.

Many of the French and Russian maneuvers consisted in attacks upon their coast by superior squadrons, to be opposed by inferior squadrons accompanied by great numbers of torpedo-boats.

In the British maneuvers of 1893, two powerful fleets in a narrow channel were opposed by a slightly inferior fleet, but which possessed a far greater force of torpedo-boats. The particular question laid down by the Admiralty was to ascertain to what extent this great superiority in torpedo-boats redressed the slight inferiority in fighting ships. During these operations there were fleet actions and constant torpedo-boat attack. The latter were handled by determined officers and experienced crews, ambitious to prove the decisive value of the torpedo-boat as a weapon; they properly took great chances. As a result of all of these torpedo-boat attacks, one battleship and four cruisers were sunk, but this was at a cost of five cruisers and twenty-seven torpedo-boats, in five and a half days. The results of these operations are summed up in Brassey's Annual, 1894, by Mr. Thursfield, as follows:

"Thus the continued experience of three years' maneuvers, those of 1891, 1892, and 1893, would seem to show that the sea-going torpedo-boat is an overrated weapon of defence. In 1891, the late Admiral Long showed 'that an active defence, adequately organized and skilfully disposed, must in the end completely neutralize the offensive capacity of the torpedo-boat.' This demonstration was reinforced by the maneuvers of 1892, which also showed further that the extinction

of the torpedo-boat menace follows immediately on the destruction of the shelter provided for the hostile torpedo-boats, and on the surrender of the sea-going squadron to which they are attached as auxiliaries. Lastly, the maneuvers of 1893 completed the demonstration, showing that, even in default of an active defence adequately organized and skilfully disposed, torpedo-boats are very apt to suppress themselves and to attain a very high rate of extinction in the normal course of their attacks on a powerful and vigilant sea-going adversary. The truth seems to be that a torpedo-boat ought properly to be regarded not as an independent sea-going unit of naval force, but as a peculiar and very destructive kind of projectile with a very extreme range which varies according to circumstances, but is by no means unlimited in any circumstances, and with an intelligent power of altering its direction in the course of its flight, but also with a considerable liability to be destroyed or intercepted before it attains its mark. As such its menace is tremendous, and its influence upon all strategic dispositions within its range is dominant and decisive so long as its menace is unabated. But experience, now repeatedly tested in our own and other navies under conditions as closely analogous to actual warfare as peace maneuvers can be made to afford, would seem to have shown that its strategic menace is far more formidable than its real offensive capacity, and that regarded as a projectile it is endowed with a really remarkable capacity for hitting wide of the mark, and destroying itself before it has delivered its blow, to say nothing of its very awkward habit of occasionally mistaking a friend for an enemy."

THE BRITISH NAVAL MANEUVERS OF 1894.

The following is an extract from the official report made of these maneuvers. It is found in Brassey's Annual, 1895.

"The torpedo-boat operations were upon a too restricted scale to supply much valuable instruction, but, as far as they went, they tend to confirm the view that the most effective employment of the torpedo-boat in war will be limited to sending her to attack an enemy's ship in a known position within the torpedo-boat's range of action, and that the whereabouts of the enemy must first be ascertained and communicated to the commander of the boat."

"The necessity of combining with torpedo-boats, vessels of other and larger classes to scout and discover an enemy, where exact information as to his position cannot be obtained by other means, seems to be established, and if so, it carries with it the obligation to consider a mere flotilla of torpedo-boats by themselves as a belligerent factor of distinctly imperfect efficiency."

The effect of these maneuvers was to make the British naval officer more familiar with the limitations of torpedo-boats. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that unless the torpedo-boat knows just where to find the enemy it will probably miss him. Torpedo-boat attack can be successful only in the darkness of night, and for the boat, time is a most important factor. These boats have repeatedly mistaken friends for foes with disastrous results to their own side.

THE BRITISH NAVAL MANEUVERS OF 1895.

The maneuvers of 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894, dealt mainly with strategical questions; in these years torpedo vessels were assigned most prominent parts; in some of these maneuvers the main problem proposed concerned the proper disposition and use of torpedo-boats. During these operations the need of tactical torpedo-boat exercises became more apparent each year, and as a result the maneuvers of 1895 were entirely tactical in nature. The torpedo-boat squadron was organized, and the boats comprising it carried out the following tactical maneuvers (Brassey's Annual, 1896):

(1) Ordinary cruising at various speeds with tactics, to accustom officers and men to the handling of their vessels and boats and their armaments.

(2) Spreading for scouting work and reforming.

(3) Target practice at high speeds and special targets.

(4) Torpedo practice at high speeds.

(5) Tests of capabilities of destroyers in blockading torpedo-boats.

(6) To ascertain how far the best torpedo-boats could prevent modern ships of war from using a channel with the opposite coast in the enemy's hands, and the value of destroyers as a protection to such ships.

(7) To ascertain to what extent it would be desirable to use destroyers as sea-going boats.

THE BRITISH NAVAL MANEUVERS OF 1899.

One of the objects of these maneuvers was announced to be:

"To obtain information relative to the workings of destroyers and torpedo-boats."

Twenty-eight destroyers were assigned to one of the fleets and twenty-four torpedo-boats were assigned to the opposing fleet.

The results of these maneuvers are summed up in Brassey's Annual of 1900, as follows:

"The chances of a torpedo-boat finding a single ship or even a fleet in the course of a roving search have been proved over and over again in maneuvers to be exceedingly small, and they are reduced almost to zero by the presence of a vigilant and active flotilla of destroyers within the area of search."

In these maneuvers the squadron that was the inferior persistently avoided action and its opposing squadron could not find it. It was held that during the maneuvers the torpedo craft were not strategically placed, and no great lesson concerning them was to be drawn from these operations.

THE BRITISH NAVAL MANEUVERS OF 1900.

One of the three objects of these maneuvers was announced by the Admiralty to be to obtain information relating to:

"The power which cruisers may or may not possess of hunting down and driving torpedo craft into port."

The following are extracts from a criticism of these operations, to be found in Brassey's Annual, 1901:

"The destroyers proved singularly useful as scouts for certain purposes, such as the examination of the enemy's anchorages and possible shelter places, and as fast messengers. As a menace the destroyer is exceedingly formidable, indeed against torpedo-boats its menace is little short of a positive deterrent; as a messenger and for certain purposes as a scout, it is within certain limits almost invaluable."

THE BRITISH NAVAL MANEUVERS OF 1901.

These were the first maneuvers in which many destroyers were assigned to each of the opposing squadrons. One of these squadrons was composed of twelve battleships, twenty-five cruisers, thirty-two destroyers, and ten torpedo-boats. The opposing squadron was composed of eight battleships, twenty-four cruisers, twenty-eight destroyers, and ten torpedo-boats. The number and the power of the torpedo craft engaged in these operations illustrates the increasing importance attached to this weapon in naval operations. These torpedo craft were in full and constant activity, attacking and eluding ships. Mr. Thursfield criticises these operations in Brassey's Annual, 1902, as follows:

"Of the maneuvers as a whole it may be said without hesitation that they were full of pregnant instruction and fuller still of not less significant warning. The question was asked in The Times at the close of the maneuvers, 'Have we nothing to learn about the art of scouting, about the strategic planning of a campaign, about the true relation of the destroyer to the battleship, alike in attack and in defence, in a

word about the training of the naval officer for battle?' In the handling of destroyers and other torpedo craft, again, it cannot be denied that our admirals and senior officers have a great deal to learn. They must make up their minds as to what these vessels can do and what they cannot, how they can be employed to the best advantage, whether they are to be scouts, or commerce destroyers, or torpedo craft proper. Above all they must learn to establish some rational relation between the menace they can properly exert and the injury they are likely to inflict. It is hardly too much to say that the menace of the torpedo craft opposed to him was at the bottom of all Admiral Noel's dispositions, and indirectly the cause of his discomfiture. The actual injury they inflicted upon him was the loss of a single second-class cruiser. On the other hand, it is not perhaps hazardous to conjecture that the employment by Admiral Wilson of his destroyers in the rather burlesque performance of pretending to 'stop the trade,' was the veil of a crafty tactical purpose. By keeping them behind him he prevented their attacking him by mistake, and could safely open fire on any destroyer he saw, with little or no fear of her turning out to be a friend. But this is as much as to say that the destroyer as an element of naval force has not yet been co-ordinated with other elements, a practical proof that the true relation of the destroyer to the sea-going ship has not yet been determined. There is perhaps no outstanding problem of naval organization and tactics which presses more urgently for solution than this, none of which the solution is fraught with larger or more momentous consequences."

PART III.

Torpedo-Training in Foreign Navies.

Torpedo instruction in the British Navy.

The following is learned from the publication entitled:

"Course of instruction of officers and men in the torpedo schools. By authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty."

The instruction in torpedoes and torpedo-boats in the British Navy is most elaborate. It includes seven different courses for commissioned officers, four for warrant officers, nine for artificers of various grades, four for petty-officers, and two for seamen.

These seven courses for officers are as follows: The first course is the "Special full pay torpedo course." It is for officers who have already qualified as gunnery or torpedo lieutenants. It is an advanced course for officers who have been especially selected to take it. This course of instruction lasts for sixty-five working days, twenty-five of

which are completed before the yearly maneuvers and forty after them.

The first twenty-five days is devoted to what is known as the "Whitehead Course." This is subdivided into two parts, the first part of seven days is devoted to theory, and the second part of eighteen days is devoted to practice. The mornings of these first seven days are spent in hearing lectures on the torpedo armaments of vessels in the navy, and on torpedo mechanism. The afternoons following these lectures are spent in making the various adjustments to the torpedo mechanism to prepare the torpedo for a run. After these seven days comes the practical course of eighteen days, which consists of running torpedo-boats and destroyers, exercising them in different ways, with constant torpedo target-practice at moving targets, combined with practice at such tactical maneuvers as would be used with these craft in war time.

After this Whitehead Course it is probable that many of the officers taking it command the torpedo craft that take part in each year's maneuvers.

At the conclusion of the maneuvers the second part of this "Special full pay torpedo course" takes place. This is known as the "Electricity and mining course"; it lasts for forty working days. For the first twenty-two days, each day's work commences with a lecture, which is followed by practical work for the rest of the day. The lectures of these twenty-two days are devoted to the instruments of various kinds used in torpedoes, in gunnery, and in electricity, to their use, manipulation, care, and repairs; to cables, detonators, fuzes, primers, tubes, and dynamo exploders; to explosives and defensive mining; to attacks on harbors, sweeping and countermining, and to blockade mines; to wireless and submarine telegraphy; to defence against torpedoes and torpedo-boats, booms, nets, obstructions, etc.; to dynamos, motors, and searchlights. Immediately after each lecture the officers present engage in practical work upon the subjects that were under consideration in that lecture. After these twenty-two days come eighteen days of practical work in which harbors are mined and countermined and cleared, impromptu defences against expected attack are set up, different problems incident to this subject being worked out.

This course of sixty-five days is intended to be an advanced course of instruction of the highest character in torpedoes, electricity and mining, for a few officers specially selected to take it.

The second course for commissioned officers is known as: "Special course of instruction to qualify as torpedo lieutenants." This course lasts for twenty months. The officers who after undergoing this course

pass the required examinations are said to qualify as "torpedo lieutenants." The first eight months are spent at the Greenwich Naval College, studying principally the theory of electricity and chemistry. The remaining twelve months are devoted to studies supplemented by practical work in torpedoes and torpedo-boats, electricity and wireless telegraphy, gunnery and marine surveying. It is intended that at the end of these twenty months the officers who have undergone this course shall have become expert in all torpedo adjustments, in handling the torpedoes and torpedo-boats, in the knowledge of when and how and where to use them; in electricity as applied to naval purposes, in the knowledge of explosives, and of the various subjects necessary and akin to the proper use of the torpedo. The intent and effect of this twenty months' course of instruction is to prepare young officers for their duties aboard torpedo-boats and destroyers during the maneuvers and at other times, and in charge of the torpedo equipment aboard warships so provided. The torpedo lieutenant ordered to a ship has charge of all torpedo equipment and fittings, and all electrical generators and motors and fittings, and is responsible for their condition. He carries out the various torpedo exercises ordered by the admiralty; he gives every opportunity for instruction in torpedoes and electricity to untrained men; he acts as adviser on torpedo subjects to his captain; he must keep informed of foreign and home methods of harbor defence, and have a knowledge of the mine fields of British harbors. Before action he advises the captain of how the torpedoes should be worked, and he personally fires the torpedoes.

The next course is the "Course for Senior Officers." This is held in the spring of each year, and lasts for twenty working days. The first nine days are devoted to the study and consideration of service torpedoes, to making the necessary adjustments, to launching the torpedoes from destroyers underway, and to net-cutting experiments. The following nine days are spent in hearing lectures on electricity in its different naval applications, including wireless telegraphy, in naval mining, on the defence and attack of harbors, and in practical work in connection with these subjects.

The next course is the "Lieutenants' Short Course, and Officers R. M. A." This is for officers of the Royal Navy, the Royal Marines, the Royal Naval Reserve, and the Royal Indian Marine. The course is for forty working days, in which the torpedo is studied, and the adjustments are made, and torpedo target practice is had from destroyers underway at moving targets. Harbors are mined and countermined and cleared; the naval applications of electricity are studied practically.

The next course is the "Course of Instruction for Retired Officers."

This course consists of twenty-five working days, and is the same as that for senior officers, with the addition of two extra days for running Whiteheads and three days practical mining.

The next course is the "Course for Acting Sub-lieutenants," and it consists of twenty-five working days. The instruction is divided into two parts; the first lasts for ten days, and is devoted to "general torpedo work," in which the young officer is made familiar with explosives and methods of detonating. The time is principally spent in making tests, in looking for leaks and faults of the electrical connections and in repairing them. The second part of this instruction is called the "Whitehead Course," where the young officer is made familiar with the torpedo and all of its adjustments; he is practiced at running torpedoes from destroyers, and in the management of torpedo-boats. In the latter practical instruction is given in the use of the helm, steering, leaving and coming alongside a dock, handling the boat in confined waters, picking up buoys, methods of attacking ships at anchor and underway, and making attacks in company with other boats.

The next is the "Course for All Engineer Officers," which lasts for seven weeks, five weeks of which are spent in studying and adjusting and practicing with the Whitehead torpedo, and the two weeks following are spent in studying and practicing with the electrical instruments used for naval purposes.

TORPEDO INSTRUCTION FOR WARRANT OFFICERS.

Candidates for gunners, who are already torpedo instructors, are required to go through what is called the "Special Torpedo Course for Gunner (T.)." Men who are not torpedo instructors when selected to qualify for gunner (T.) will be required to qualify for that rate, and, if considered suitable, will be allowed to go on with the Gunner's Special Torpedo Course.

This course lasts for 100 working days, the first sixty of which are spent in studying mensuration, logarithms, and trigonometry; the next forty days are spent in working with electricity, torpedoes, and signals. On completing this torpedo course candidates are required to go through a gunnery course lasting 126 days.

Candidates for gunner (G.) are required first to take the course of sixty days to qualify as seaman torpedo man, unless they have previously qualified in this course, and then they proceed with the "Special Torpedo Course," which lasts for eighty days, and which is principally devoted to practical work with torpedoes, electricity, and signals.

TORPEDO INSTRUCTION FOR ENGINE ROOM ARTIFICERS.

Men of these ratings are required to go through an eight weeks' course of practical instruction in the torpedo shops, making adjustments and repairs, followed by five weeks' practical work in the electric shop, doing such work as is incident to the naval use of electricity.

In the British Navy there is a special rate called "torpedo instructor." Men holding this rate are carefully selected by the captain of the Torpedo School, and must qualify in a prescribed course of studies and practical work that takes 167 working days, forty days of which are spent in studying arithmetic, and the remainder of the time is devoted to torpedoes, electricity, and signals.

To qualify as chief armorer the candidate is required to undergo a course in studies and practical work in torpedoes and electricity that lasts for 155 working days; before a man can be rated "armorer," he must have had special instruction for thirty days in torpedoes and electricity, and the workshop.

TORPEDO COXSWAINS.

Coxswains for torpedo-boats are selected from petty officers (1st class) who are seaman torpedo men. They are required to undergo instruction for eighty-five working days in torpedoes, management of torpedo-boats and destroyers underway, torpedo target practice at moving targets, internal organization of torpedo-boats; the care and maintenance of such batteries, circuits, and searchlights as are found in torpedo-boats, messing, accounts, etc. Of these eighty-five days, thirty are spent in the handling of destroyers under varying circumstances.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION TO QUALIFY AS LEADING TORPEDO MEN.

A certain number of seaman torpedo men are selected to undergo instruction to qualify as leading torpedo men. This course lasts for eighty-six working days, in which the following subjects are studied: Torpedoes, theory, adjustment, and use. Practical work with the electrical fittings to be found upon torpedo-boats. Signals.

COURSE FOR QUALIFYING AS SEAMAN TORPEDO MAN.

Likely men are selected to qualify as seaman torpedo men, and are required to undergo a course of instruction in torpedoes and electricity which lasts for thirty working days.

In the British Navy besides the destroyers assigned to the torpedo and gunnery stations for practicing the classes under instruction, three

flotillas, each composed of eight torpedo-boat destroyers, are kept constantly in commission; these flotillas were organized primarily for the instruction of the engineer's force, which is changed each month; the first week of instruction is spent in headquarter waters, where these crews are drilled into knowledge of their duties. Then each flotilla makes an independent sea cruise of three weeks. The purpose of this month's work is to give the men of engine room ratings instruction in their duties at firing, tending water, oiling, and in the various engineering duties incident to the work of destroyers. It should be remembered that these men are already picked because of their ability as firemen, oilers, etc.

The officer in command of the flotilla exercises his commanding officers in handling the boats under varied conditions, and in tactical drill.

COMMENT ON TORPEDO INSTRUCTION IN THE BRITISH NAVY.

In considering these different courses of torpedo instruction, one must believe that they were brought about and developed as a direct result of the extensive work with torpedo-boats during the yearly maneuvers and at other times. The use of torpedo craft has constantly emphasized their liability to accident from being operated by crews inexperienced in such vessels. In the British service likely men are selected to qualify as seaman torpedo men, and the best of these are later given extensive instruction to enable them to qualify as leading torpedo men. Those of the latter who show particular aptitude are specially selected to qualify as torpedo coxswains. It thus results that every man performing important duty aboard these torpedo-boats has received most careful instruction in those duties. The custom of the survival of the fittest holds place. The leading torpedo man is the best of a hundred seaman torpedo men. The torpedo coxswain is the best of a hundred leading torpedo men. The commissioning of great numbers of torpedo craft each year supplements to these various torpedo courses the necessary practical work with these boats, of tactical maneuvers, and the actual war use of the torpedo. The officers on this duty have all been specially trained.

The grand result is that Great Britain's torpedo-boat flotilla is efficient. But this is not all. There exists throughout the British Navy, in both enlisted and commissioned personnel, a comprehensive knowledge of torpedoes and torpedo-boats; when not in commission the boats are kept in efficient condition; when called into active duty valuable time is not lost either in making needed repairs, or in whipping the officers and crews of the boats into knowledge of their duties.

TORPEDO INSTRUCTION IN EUROPEAN CONTINENTAL NAVIES.

In all European continental navies the details of torpedo instruction are kept as secret as possible; nothing official concerning such information is published; but in different ways facts have come out which tell something about it. It may be said that the torpedo officers of these navies are given much instruction with torpedoes and electricity, and that this is followed by much practice in the handling of torpedo-boats underway, and in torpedo marksmanship at moving targets.

The following is taken from different foreign service publications; if there are any complete descriptions of the continental system of torpedo instruction, the writer with much search has been unable to find them.

TORPEDO INSTRUCTION IN THE FRENCH NAVY.

Officers desiring to have instruction in torpedoes are first required to qualify in electricity, after which for six months they are attached to the torpedo school at Toulon, where every morning they first listen to lectures and then do practical work with the torpedo mechanism, and with the electrical instruments used with torpedoes, and every afternoon is spent in running torpedo-boats with torpedo target practice at moving targets; the purpose of this six months' course is to familiarize each student officer with every adjustment required to the varied mechanism of the torpedo, and with the best methods of handling the weapon. After this course at Toulon some of these student officers take part in the constantly recurring torpedo-boat attacks, and thus receive much training in handling the boats. In the yearly maneuvers scores of torpedo-boats take part and torpedo-boat attacks always form a prominent feature of the maneuvers. It is the well-known preparation of the French for an offensive torpedo-boat warfare that has compelled Great Britain to an equal amount of work with the weapon.

Torpedo-boat men of the French Navy are specially selected for their duties. The most intelligent are picked out for special instruction in torpedoes and electricity, and in this way, as in the British service, superior classes of men are developed for this particular work.

A certain proportion of all the boats are kept in continual commission; each boat in commission is always accompanied by a number of other boats kept in reserve with skeleton crews. The boats in commission are constantly exercised, the regulations directing that they shall make two night sorties every month, and that at least once a quarter they shall undertake systematic maneuvers against a skeleton enemy; each boat in commission is required to fire a torpedo at least

three times a month, the boat being underway, and at least twice a month the boat must be travelling at a high rate of speed and the target must be moving. The boats in reserve are at all times kept in efficient condition; at least three or four times a year every boat in reserve is put in full commission and is required to perform a stated amount of regular torpedo-boat duty. When one considers the fact that France possesses several hundred torpedo-boats and destroyers, and that each of these is systematically exercised, one appreciates the great amount of practical experience in handling them that the officers and men of the French Navy receive.

TORPEDO INSTRUCTION IN THE GERMAN NAVY.

A rear-admiral is designated as "inspector of torpedoes." He has charge of all matters, technical or otherwise, connected with torpedoes; he is directly in charge of all torpedo-boats and their personnel, organizes and directs their exercises, and is responsible for their efficiency.

There are at all times in existence six "torpedo-boat divisions of the reserve," three of which have headquarters at Wilhelmshaven and three at Kiel. Each division consists of one "torpedo division boat," which is permanently commissioned as a depot-ship, and eight torpedo-boats. There are also at each of these stations two instructional torpedo-boats, which are permanently commissioned; these are used to train the personnel.

In the Autumn of each year a division of boats is commissioned at Kiel and another division at Wilhelmshaven; these are kept in constant torpedo practice until late in the year; early in the following April these divisions continue their practice and later are assigned for work in the Autumn maneuvers; besides these, other torpedo-boats are commissioned for the Autumn maneuvers, and are given three months' training beforehand; by much instruction and continual change of officers and men the German Navy may be said to be efficient at torpedo warfare; indeed the tactics of torpedo-boat attack at present practiced by most navies were originated and developed by the Germans.

TORPEDO INSTRUCTION IN THE RUSSIAN NAVY.

The Russian Naval Torpedo School is situated at Kronstadt; the number of student officers here undergoing instruction is limited to twenty-four, who are chosen from a number of officers that have undergone extensive study and practice for the purpose of entering this school; the course of study is limited to one year, which time is devoted to torpedoes and electricity. In conjunction with this Kronstadt school there is an instructional torpedo-boat flotilla in the Baltic Sea,

and an evolutionary torpedo-boat squadron in the Black Sea. The instructional torpedo-boat flotilla of the Baltic Sea is commissioned every year for three months; the time is spent in exercising the officers and men in various duties pertaining to torpedo warfare; the evolutionary squadron for training is commissioned every year in the Black Sea. It consists generally of twenty torpedo-boats, and for several months is exercised for the purpose of training officers and men.

PART IV.

THE TORPEDO-BOAT TRAINING NEEDED BY OUR NAVY.

All great naval powers possess torpedo-craft and all are prepared to use them. We have seen that in European countries much instruction is given in torpedoes and torpedo-boats to those who are to handle them. In our navy such instruction has been limited to but a few, and even to these few the time for such instruction has been much restricted. If all of our torpedo-craft were now to be commissioned for war service we would have to hope that the general excellence and zeal of our personnel would make up for the special instruction that we lack and which other services have had. But how much more formidable our torpedo-boat flotilla would be if its entire personnel were composed of officers and men all trained and experienced in their duties, and possessed of a confidence that comes from skill!

An intelligent appreciation of this weapon and of its possibilities, combined with a knowledge of when and how and where to use it, is necessary if it is to have effect in bringing war to a successful close. This requires on the part of the operators knowledge of the torpedo's mechanism, skill in making adjustments and in making repairs, and in the use of all instruments used with torpedoes and with torpedo-boats; the torpedo-boat officer should possess much experience in handling small frail craft of great vulnerability and of tremendous engine power; he should be a practical engineer, and he should have a knowledge of the best methods of torpedo-boat attack under various circumstances. The enlisted men should be picked men who have received special instruction for their particular duties.

It is not probable that our entire torpedo-boat flotilla will ever be commissioned, but in order that it might be mobilized for immediate effective service it is essential that special torpedo instruction should be possessed not only by a few, but by many throughout the service, so that to commission many boats would not be an embarrassing matter to the Navy Deparement.

Besides the ability to make destructive torpedo-boat attacks, our navy must be prepared to repel such attacks when made against us. Sincere as is our friendship with foreign powers it is still an armed friendship, and we are preparing to defend ourselves against any attack made by the navy of any foreign power; most European navies possess hundreds of torpedo-boats, and we must contemplate attack not from battleships alone, but also from these torpedo craft; officers who have had practical experience with torpedo-boats and who understand them in all respects, in their possibilities and in their limitations, are surely best qualified to repel attack from such boats.

It is apparent that our government has embarked upon a policy of yearly naval maneuvers on a scale commensurate with our necessities; torpedo-boat attack must always form a prominent part of the maneuvers; the education and training received both by the officers and crews making such attacks, and by those repelling them, will be most valuable if our torpedo-boats are handled by experts.

It seems that every possible consideration of our naval needs imperatively demands that torpedo instruction become important in our navy; it must be agreed that at present such instruction is open to but very few, and to these few it is limited in extent. With all of its capabilities for instruction, the Newport Torpedo School had but three officers receiving instruction last summer, and each of these three officers was detached and ordered to other duty before much instruction was received; this of course is caused by the scarcity of officers; but it is certain that the personnel will soon be largely increased, and if our naval officers will consider the importance of torpedo instruction a policy instituting such instruction will surely be adopted and carried out.

At the present time our navy is not entirely without torpedo instruction; a small part of it is receiving training of the highest character in torpedoes and torpedo-boats; the trouble is that this part is so very small; the instruction should be so very general, that, should it be necessary to mobilize a flotilla of torpedo-boats, it ought not to be difficult to commission them with officers and crews already experienced in torpedo-boat work. This torpedo instruction at present existing in our navy may be divided into three parts, each of which has grown up independently of the other two. The first part is the instruction given at the Naval Torpedo Station at Newport; the second part is the instruction received by the officers and men in charge of the torpedo-boats in reserve; and the third part is the instruction received by the officers and men attached to boats in regular service commission.

The first of these, at Newport, provides instruction for officers and men.

The regular course of instruction for officers is limited to 29 working days; this time is devoted to lectures and to practical work; the subjects considered are electricity, torpedoes, and torpedo-boats, and instruments and implements used with them, to explosives and to mines; this course includes the torpedo adjustments, the handling of torpedo craft, and torpedo target practice at moving targets from boats under way; this instruction has not been regular because no policy of ordering officers to undergo it has ever been adopted and then carried out; this year it has not been given because no officers have been ordered to take it. Last summer some of the officers attached to the North Atlantic Squadron received torpedo instruction at this station; this special course lasted for six weeks; the time was devoted to lectures and to practical work; the subjects under consideration were the assembling and disassembling, the installation and the adjustments of the various parts of the torpedo mechanism; to torpedo target practice from boats underway, to air compressors, electric attachments, mines, and explosives.

At the Torpedo Station there are classes of enlisted men receiving instruction; this is shown in the following, which is an extract from the Annual Report of the Naval Torpedo Station for 1902:

SEAMEN GUNNERS' CLASS.

"There are accommodations for a class of about fifty seamen gunners and nearly double this number could be graduated each year were it practicable to have that many sent here. The facilities and work required for a large class are but little greater than for a small one, particularly if a number of men or even a whole class could be sent at the same time. The total number under instruction during the last year has been thirty-three, of which number twenty have received certificates of graduation, one failed to qualify, nineteen have taken the course in diving, and ten are at present in the class. The full course embraces the following subjects, covering six months' time:

Electrical work (instruction)	2 weeks.
Electrical work (practical)	2 weeks.
Dynamo room	4 weeks.
Explosives and torpedo material	4 weeks.
Torpedoes	4 weeks.
Torpedo-boat work	1 week.
High speed engines, steam	3 weeks.
Diving (optional)	3 weeks.
Review	1 week.

Owing to the great demand in the service for graduates of this course of instruction the department has had to resort to the expediency of shortening the course to three months, and the time has been allotted in accordance therewith as follows:

Electrical instruction and practical work.....1 week.
Explosives, torpedo material and mines.....3 weeks.
Torpedoes .....4 weeks.
Running air compressors .....2 weeks.
Diving .....2 weeks.

It will be seen that the full course gives 11 weeks to electricity, dynamos and high speed engines. The new rate of electrician, with the electrical school at New York, no longer renders this extended instruction necessary for seamen gunners, and it has been limited to practical work with batteries, electric firing circuits, wiring, splicing, and testing circuits in connection with firing devices, mining, etc.

ENGINEERS' CLASS.

This class was established January 1, 1902, for the purpose of training machinists and firemen to perform the duties of their ratings on board torpedo-boats, and the course was limited to three months. The requirements of the service, however, have shown an even more urgent demand for water tenders and oilers for these boats. It is found practicable to train a second class machinist to be an oiler in three months, but only in rare cases can a new recruit be made a water tender in the same time. It is to be remembered that on a torpedo-boat even more than on a large ship, the water tender is the back-bone of the fire-room force. Not only must he be a man with a thorough knowledge of the boilers, piping and pumps, but he must have besides this the faculty of the control of men, the quality of coolness in emergency, and a keen sense of responsibility. Things happen quickly in the fire-room of a torpedo-boat and a moment's hesitation may mean a new boiler. The men to discharge the duties of this rate cannot be developed in three months, but should be carefully selected from the best firemen in the service and then given at last six months' instruction in the particular duties of their rating.

The boats used in training this class are the Morris, McKee, Dahlgren, Craven, Winslow, Stiletto, and third class boats Nos. 1 and 2. The variety of types is advantageous in that the men become acquainted with the different boilers and engines used in the Navy.

The course of instruction is given under eleven subjects for ma-

chinists and eight subjects for firemen and coal passers, as shown by the following schedule:

Engine Room.

(1) Main engines; arrangements and sizes of cylinders; valves; shafting; propellers; etc.

(2) Condensers, construction and purpose; how tubes are packed, plugged or withdrawn and replaced; how to test a condenser. Air and circulating pumps and all attachments.

(3) Auxiliaries; dynamo engine; steering engine; blower engine and compressor.

(4) Piping, leads of and purposes; situation, construction, and manipulation of all valves and their purposes. Situation of water tanks, connections and capacities.

(5) The particular duty of each part of the main engine. How pistons and valves are made steam tight.

(6) The purpose and general construction of the throttle valves, reversing gear, valve shaft, pass overs, drains, relief valves and traps.

(7) How to grind in and reseat valves; packing of glands and joints; different kinds of packing.

(8) Oil and water service. Difference in character of various oils.

(9) Bearings; construction, adustments, cooling.

(10) Indicators and counters, and indicator cards.

(11) Keeping the log; overhauling engines; adjustments.

Boiler Room.

(1) Construction and distinguishing features of the Thornycroft, Mosher, and Normand boilers.

(2) Boiler fittings.

(3) Feed pumps and their operation, derangements and remedies.

(4) Tending water.

(5) Tending fires under varying conditions of the forced draft.

(6) Care and preservation of water-tube boilers; cleaning boilers.

(7) Repairs to boilers; fitting man-hole gaskets; plugging and replacing tubes; repairing brick-work.

(8) Drainage and syphon systems.

For practical work the McKee, Stiletto, and torpedo-boats Nos. 1 and 2 go out twice a day, forenoon and afternoon, for two-hour runs and maneuvering, in charge of gunners and gunners' mates. The Winslow and Morris or Dahlgren and Craven go once a day or as often as officers can be spared to go in charge.

The machinists, upon arrival, are first assigned to the fire room of one of the small boats for a week, and then are transferred to the fire rooms of the larger boats for a week and later to the engine rooms. In a similar manner, the firemen, after three weeks in the fire room of each class of boat, are given one week in the engine room."

The contrast between the torpedo instruction given in our Navy and that in the British navy is striking; the reason that our Navy has received so little is not because it is believed that this little is sufficient, but partly because until the present our torpedo flotilla has been feeble in numbers, and also because it has been impossible to spare officers and men for extended instruction.

The second part of what may be called our torpedo-boat system consists of the boats commissioned in reserve at Norfolk and at Mare Island. At Norfolk there are ten or more boats commissioned in reserve, to which are attached three commissioned and one warrant officer, and a few enlisted men; the duties are to keep these boats in efficient condition, ready for service; to exercise the different boats occasionally at high speeds; to have torpedo target practice from boats underway; and to train the enlisted men in their duties. In connection with these duties there is much repairing and overhauling of machinery which would afford excellent instruction in engineering to young officers; though the extent of space devoted to machinery in a ship might within limits determine the number of the engineering personnel, yet it is the horse power that must measure the talent required; this is recognized in the British service, where we find that the engineer officers attached to destroyers are generally chief engineers in rank. The engine power of our new destroyers averages nearly 2,000 horse power more than that of most of the British destroyers; it approximates to the engine power of the Newark and Philadelphia, of about 4,500 tons displacement; surely engines of 8,000 horse power should be in the charge of an experienced engineer rather than in the charge of a novice; if we are to have a torpedo flotilla it is absolutely essential that young officers should be prepared for such engineering duties; the duty of the torpedo-boat is to bring the torpedo within striking distance, and this demands that the boilers and engines of the boat be in most efficient condition. The constant running of the torpedo-boats commissioned in reserve at Norfolk, with the consequent overhaul and repair of machinery, offers excellent opportunity for training intelligent young officers in the practical care and repair of machinery.

The third part of our torpedo-boat system is that of the cruising

section; this must always remain the capping stone of all torpedo-boat instruction; the section at present in commission consists of one detroyer and six boats; these are in constant activity in all ways that would tend to make these craft efficient for what might be expected of them in war service; the boats are exercised separately and in section; the exercises that are followed are designed to give the personnel of the section practice in handling the boats under various conditions, and also in handling the torpedoes. It will be agreed that torpedo-boat attack upon modern warships will not be successful unless the boats making it have had much drill in torpedo-boat tactics; as a result of such drill it is confidently believed that an attack by Lieutenant Chandler's section upon any warship would doom that warship to destruction. This section uses the German tactics; the section approaches at full speed, the boats grouped to form a wedge; when at a desired distance from the point of attack the boats disperse, fire their torpedoes, and endeavor to get away; to show how well the personnel has been trained in handling the boats it may be stated that when making these attacks the boats while traveling at full speed are held so closely together, the bow of one boat touching the quarter of the one just ahead, that a person can easily walk from the leading to the rear boats; when the signal for dispersion is made there is no collision, no confusion; and nine of every ten torpedoes discharged would destroy their targets.

From what has been done by this section it is believed that our Navy has great torpedo-boat possibilities; the great desideratum is that the entire flotilla might be mobilized, if desired, by an efficient, trained personnel; that this might be systematic, instead of desultory and uncertain, instruction should be inaugurated in our Navy, of a nature that would insure that throughout the service there would be many officers and men trained and experienced in torpedo-boat duties. It is probable that the personnel of the Navy will soon be increased, and that time for such instruction will be possible, it is suggested that something of the following nature would produce the desired results:

(1) Three months instruction for many officers and men at Newport in torpedoes and electricity.

Following this for some specially selected for torpedo-boat work:

(2) Six months duty and instruction in connection with the boats commissioned in reserve at Newport and Mare Island, where the instruction would principally be in engineering; the duty of keeping the machinery and boilers of these boats in efficient condition would of itself be instruction of the highest and most useful type, and, as all

line officers must be practical engineers, such instruction could be made most valuable to the general service.

For some of the officers and men who have had this Newport and engineering instruction:

(3) Duty for six months or longer aboard destroyers and torpedo-boats in commission, with drills and exercises modeled from those used at present by the torpedo-boat section commanded by Lieutenant Chandler.

In 1898 Lieutenant Commander Kimball said:

"If we are ever to have use for a navy of fighting ships we must have an efficient torpedo-boat service to supplement the fixed coast defences, or our fighting ships will surely be deflected from their legitimate off-shore work to the in-shore defence of our posts and coasts."

"From the extent and condition of our attackable coast, and from the fact that torpedo-boats are the only craft (bar armorclads) that can check raiding armorclads, we should lead the world instead of lagging behind it, in the development of torpedo-boat efficiency."

"We question the utility of torpedo-boats because we don't know how to utilize them."

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

AN analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the most important and valuable articles.

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. Principles and Problems of Imperial Defence.—*Mar. Rund.*, Dec.
2. The Defence of Our Naval Fortresses.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Dec.
3. The Future of Coast Defence.—*Same.*
4. The Naval Policy of Canada.—*Same.*
5. The Evolution of Modern Strategy.—*Same.*
6. The Strategy of the Paardeburg Campaign.—*Same.*
7. The Battle of Novi.—*R. du Cercle Mil.*, Dec. 5, 12.
8. Tactical Problem.—*Same*, Nov. 28, Jan. 2.
9. The French Railroads Used by the Germans in 1870-71.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.* 58.
10. The Importance of Numbers in the Attack on Fortified Positions.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.* 57.
11. The Importance of Fortified Positions in War.—*Same*, 56.
12. Machine Gun and Musketry Fire at Long Range.—*Same.*
13. Cavalry Raids.—*Int. Rev. Beih.*, 47.
14. Flanking Infantry Fire.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 9.
15. Machine Guns and the Use.—*Same*, 9, 10.
16. New Guns—New Tactics.—*Same*, 10.
17. Test of Experimental Fire Control Installation at Pensacòla, Florida.—*Jour. Arty.*, Nov., Dec.
18. Torpedoes and Submarines.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Nov. 28.

The *first* of these is an excellent review of Colonel May's recent work.

The *second* is a paper advocating the turning over of the British coast forts to the navy. The arguments in favor of this change are

very weak, as a glance at the article will show, but the remarks on necessary co-operation between army and navy are worth noticing:

"The methods we employ for the defence of our dockyards and fortified ports abroad and at home appear to present a rather curious anomaly. I refer to the system of dual control which exists at the present day.

"Portsmouth and Plymouth, to take the two most important arsenals, are fortified solely for the purpose of affording the navy opportunities for docking and repairs, and for providing our fleet in war time with points of assembly before an action, or with shelters of refuge in case of a reverse.

"In the latter case the ships, as long as the coast defences are secure, can remain under protection till they have replaced casualties, filled up with coal, or made good any defects they may have sustained.

"Thus it is not surprising that the object, for which certain places along the coast are strongly fortified, is a naval one, and a naval one only; and in this fact lies the anomaly, because the troops to whom the defences of these places are entrusted are soldiers under the War Office, who own no allegiance to the naval commander-in-chief; being, in fact, altogether outside his jurisdiction and control.

"If there were a strong chain binding the army and navy together; if the two were accustomed during peace time to work together for a common purpose, and to co-operate intelligently in all matters of vital importance to the public service; then, indeed, such a state of affairs as a joint control over our fortresses and dockyards might be intelligible. But this is not so. In its whole organization the navy is separated from the army by a wide gulf.* The Admiralty is 'run' on entirely different lines to those of the War Office. The training of the naval officer is entirely dissimilar to that which an army officer receives, and, finally, the traditions, customs, law, and interior economy of the navy have little in common with those of the army.

"I do not for a moment wish to state that all these variations and distinctions would really militate against an intelligent co-operation between the two services, if all other things were equal; but until there is a very much better understanding between the War Office and the Admiralty, whereby joint schemes are originated in peace time, and everything is done to make the two services recognize the fact that their separate duties, for the maintenance of the empire, are much more closely connected than they appear to have imagined, these small-

*This manifest absurdity is now recognised as such by very many, and consequently there is reason to hope that wiser methods may eventually prevail.—Ed. U. S. M.

er differences in training will prevent the possibility of a thorough understanding ever being brought about between the two services.

"We have strategic frontiers, protected harbors, colonies and coaling stations all over the world, and it is for their protection that our army is maintained. The problems which confront us are vast, as compared with those which occupy the minds of German statesmen, and underlying the solution of them all is the fact that our army is unable to move hand or foot without the assistance of naval transport and the protection of naval guns."

The *third* article advocates *mobile* guns of 6-inch or 7.5-inch caliber, transported on railways from point to point, for our coast forts. In view of the fact that warships have never accomplished anything worth mentioning against sea-coast forts, *modern* at the time of attack, we have no cause to fear such efforts on the part of an enemy.

The article, however, contains much matter of interest, and we give a few extracts:

"The primary rôle of our garrison artillery has always been defined as coast defence, but the term has been used by us only in a limited sense, for in the British empire it has always been associated with the seaward defences of our naval bases, which from time immemorial have been mainly fixed armaments, placed with a view to commanding the approaches to our naval harbor dockyards.

"The term 'fortress' has been vaguely used from time to time in referring to these bases; but the absence of extensive land frontiers requiring permanent defences throughout the empire, has led to a complete separation of ideas between British and Continental artillerists as to the meaning of this term, and the elaborate science that has been developed on the Continent for the general defence of fortresses has found practically no counterpart with us. The reason for this has been chiefly our assumption of complete supremacy at sea. We have, as a matter of fact, assumed that the landing of any considerable hostile force on the coast of Great Britain was almost an impossibility, and the resultant system of coast defence which we have applied to our bases at home we have applied more or less indiscriminately to those abroad.

"The sole aim both as to the armaments and as to the training of the garrison artillery, has been to secure the efficiency of our fixed seaward defences. In short, a large proportion of the artillery of our regular army has been trained solely in the management and use of guns of position about our bases, and this in face of the fact that our army requires enormous expansion in the event of a great war, and that of the fighting arms the artillery of field armies is by far the most difficult to expand.

"In the development of our system of coast defence there has always been one great outstanding feature, and that has been the want of reliable professional data; true we have always been given strategical data, which we must assume to have been correct, and the nature and extent of our armaments have been governed accordingly, but our own defences have never been tried, and reliable professional data have been, to a very large extent, wanting or lost in the experience of others.

"Any system of coast defence applicable to our bases in the future must fulfil two main conditions:—

"(1) Armored ships must be kept at bay, even though we cannot penetrate their main armor, or hope to sink them.

"(2) Operations from the landward side of our fortresses must be made as desperate as possible."

In regard to the rest of these articles under this particular heading, we have only space to remark that the *tenth* to the *sixteenth* inclusive are all valuable contributions to the study of modern tactics, and are most interesting studies. That on "Cavalry Raids," in particular, discusses what Russia will probably accomplish with her cavalry now massed on the German frontier, and illustrates the subject by the great cavalry raids in our Civil War.

The *eighteenth* article, however, deserves some special notice, since it bears on a subject of vast importance. The experiment referred to in this article is here briefly given:

"*The Belleisle Experiments.*—With the view of testing the effect of the explosion of a Whitehead torpedo against a ship's bottom, an important experiment was carried out at Portsmouth on September 4th against the Belleisle, which was moored in Portchester Creek for the purpose. As the result of the explosion the ship heeled over and sank in twenty minutes. A compartment had been built outside the port bow below the water-line, and this compartment was filled with corn-pith cellulose. At the time of the experiment there were ten feet of water under the keel of the ship. A Whitehead torpedo was lashed by divers under the compartment, and the torpedo was fired from the Vernon by means of an electric circuit. No sooner was the torpedo exploded than—as seen from a distance of less than a mile—a spray that rose to an approximate height of forty feet was sent into the air, and the ship immediately gave a heavy list to port. The force of the explosion had not only smashed the special compartment, but had blown the whole of the cellulose into the air, and, simultaneously, the concussion had so violently torn open the side of the ship that the water rushed in with considerable force. It has been determined in

the event of the cellulose's effectually plugging the breach to take the ship back to the dockyard for inspection, but so rapid was the heeling over that three tugs were employed in pushing the Belleisle towards the shore, where she sank in twenty feet of water on the mud in Bomb Ketch lake. The rapidity with which she sank is conclusive evidence of the destructive power of the torpedo, while the instantaneous discharge of the cellulose into the air disproves the theory as to its plugging capacity. The ship was floated and docked at Portsmouth on the 8th ult.

"The experiment was one of the most important that has ever been carried out with the Whitehead torpedo, as the ship had been so stiffened as to be stronger below the belt than any seagoing war-ship; but, on the other hand, by way of compensation, the torpedo was specially favored. The compartment built outside the ship was about two feet in beam, and this was filled with corn-pith cellulose; next to this compartment came the skin of the ship; between the skin of the ship and the boiler-room were six longitudinal bulkheads, and these were intersected by a traverse bulkhead extending from the boiler-room to the skin of the ship. Two of the longitudinal compartments had a beam of three feet six inches, and each was filled with coal. The Whitehead torpedo was lashed under the outer casement that was filled with corn-pith cellulose, and was electrically fired from the Vernon. If the conditions did not exactly comply with what would obtain in actual warfare, it will be seen that in the handicapping the ship was given the advantage. As a matter of fact, however, the outside casement with its cellulose was blown into the air the instant the torpedo was exploded, the bulkheads were shattered, and the decks were so blown up inwards, upwards, and downwards, that not a ton of coal could be found in the original emplacement. The work of destruction in a latitudinal line stopped at the bulkhead of the boiler-room; but the extraordinary radius of the explosion afforded some useful instruction.

"When it was found that the ship was sinking in deep water she was pushed by the tugs on to a mud bank, and then the Liverpool salvage crew were called in to salve her. Subsequent investigation showed that the hole in the side of the ship measured twelve feet by eight feet.

"The result of the trial is regarded by the Torpedo School as such a success that the ship is to be brought forward for further torpedo experiment.—*Times, Naval and Military Record, etc.*"

The article itself refers to this experiment in the following terms:

"A representative of one of the evening papers recently drew from

Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle some interesting comments *apropos* of the Belleisle experiment. The views of Admiral Fremantle are deservedly respected, and the gallant officer keeps well abreast of recent developments; but it is not always safe to rely fully upon a journalist's interpretation of technical opinions. In this case the opinions retailed to the public would appear to be accurate, and they are, at all events, interesting at a time when torpedoes and submarines bulk largely—perhaps too largely—in the popular imagination.

"The admiral is represented as saying that if the damage done to the Belleisle was as great as he had been informed it was, the power of the torpedo had been underestimated in the past. This opinion the admiral qualified by commenting upon the age of the ship and the wear and tear to which she had been subjected. For this reason, Admiral Fremantle would like to ascertain the effect of torpedo fire upon a more modern vessel, such, for example, as the Alexandra. No doubt further experiments are necessary and will be made, but we incline to question if the admiral has been quite accurately reported on this point. The power of the automobile torpedo may have been underrated in some quarters, especially in the past; but, in recent years at least, few experts have doubted the power of the modern Whitehead to inflict vital damage upon the hull of a cruiser, or even a battleship. The explosion of 200 pounds of guncotton in actual contact with a ship's bottom will, obviously, inflict great damage. The exact extent of such damage is not, perhaps, known; but it is held probably that any ship would be disabled, as one or more compartments would almost certainly be flooded. From what we know of the condition of the Prince George, after the penetration of one compartment, it may be assumed that both speed and gun-fire have been seriously crippled.

"Admiral Fremantle went on to speak of the difficulty of torpedoing any ship when steaming at high speed. It is well that the point should be 'rubbed into' the public mind, since there is a tendency to exaggerate the powers of the torpedo, and consequently of the submarine. This tendency will be noticed, at any rate by naval men, in various articles lately contributed to the magazines by writers possessed of quite superficial knowledge of the practical aspects of naval warfare. Mr. A. S. Hurd, for example, in the current *Nineteenth Century,* conveys, unconsciously perhaps, the view that naval warfare in the very near future will be decided under water. Like many others, he preaches the dominance of the submarine, and is gravely perturbed by the activity of France in the building of these virtually untried craft. The French expect to possess thirty-six submarines by the end of 1904, whilst this country has fifteen built and building.

So be it; we are not perturbed, and we are entirely confident that the Admiralty will continue to augment Captain Bacon's flotilla with all the expedition necessary. Meanwhile, we have thirty officers and 300 men under training in our submarines, and experiments to test their value are constantly in progress.

"Civilian critics may be advised to note what Admiral Fremantle had to say as to the practical difficulties in the way of torpedoing a ship in motion. The extreme range of the torpedo is but 2,000 yards; its maximum speed thirty knots. Hence it follows that very great accuracy and expert judgment is needed to strike a ship travelling, say, at eighteen knots speed. In ship and fleet actions it is questionable whether the opponents will close within torpedo range, owing to the menace of the quick-firing secondary armaments. But, even so, the skilful commander is not going to be paralyzed by the discharge of a torpedo. The track of the weapon can be detected; the ship then menaced will usually be able to evade the torpedo by prompt use of the helm, granted, of course, that the submarine boat will sometimes be able to deliver an unexpected shot. It would be foolish to ignore such possibilities. But the invisibility of the submarine is an almost vital factor in such cases. At present the speed of submarines when submerged does not exceed eight knots, whilst the surface speed is not much higher. Such craft, it is plain, will seldom succeed in getting within range of ships in motion. Their menace to vessels lying at anchor is hardly to be questioned. Increased speed, higher visual powers, and larger radius of action are the urgent needs of the submarine. These qualities may be developed soon or late; but, as matters stand, the latest type of submarine boat does not yet rank as an offensive weapon."

ARTILLERY, ARMOR AND FORTIFICATION.

1. The Medium Caliber Artillery on Battleships.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.
2. The Reintroduction of Torpedoes on the U. S. Battleships.—*Same.*
3. Machine Guns and Their Use.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 10.
4. Buffers for Long and Short Recoil.—*Same*, 9; *Int. Rev. Suppl.* 58.
5. The Artillery Material in South Africa.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.* 57.
6. Firing Against an Armored Turret.—*Same.*
7. The New Field Artillery.—*Jour. Arty.*, Nov., Dec.
8. The Panoramic Telescopic Sight (Korrodi).—*Same.*
9. Capped Shell.—*Same.*

10. Armor-piercing Projectiles and Critical Velocities.—*Same.*

11. Formulas for Velocity and Pressure in the Bore of a Gun, and Their Verification by Recent Experiments.—*Same.*

12. New Forms of Armored Forts.—*Same.*

Several of these articles are of technical interest only, but a few have some general interest.

The *first* discusses the present relations between guns and armor and advocates an increase in the caliber of the medium artillery.

The *sixth* discusses the firing on the turret of the Suffren (previously referred to in *Our Contemporaries*) and advocates ships' turrets rounded on top (like the so-called *Gruson* turrets for land forts) in order to prevent normal impact. Such turrets could be cast, and could also be lighter than cylindrical turrets, and would be much cheaper, at the same time remaining as effective as the present forms.

The *seventh* is an excellent description of our recently adopted field artillery material.

The *eighth* is a description of a new sight for field guns.

The *ninth* and *tenth* are excellent discussions of the value of capped projectiles.

The *tenth* is by the well-known authority on ballistics, Colonel James M. Ingalls, of our army.

The *twelfth* describes the new forms of forts advocated abroad for the defense of the *land* side of coast forts, or for the forts on a land frontier.

WARSHIPS.

1. The Navy of the U. S.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.

2. Armored Cruisers.—*Same.*

3. The Medium Caliber Artillery on Battleships.—*Same*, Dec., Jan.

4. The Re-introduction of Torpedoes on U. S. Battleships.—*Same*, Dec.

5. Small Cruisers.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 56.

6. The Construction of Warships by the Principal Navies.—*Same, Suppl.*, 58.

7. The Importance of Auxiliary Fleets in Naval War.—*Same.*

8. New German Warships.—*Same.*

9. The German Naval Program to 1917.—*Int. Rev.*, Dec.

10. Naval Progress in Germany.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Nov. 21.

11. The State of the French Navy.—*Same*, Dec. 12.

12. Torpedoes and Submarines.—*Same*, Nov. 28.

13. The German Battleship Zöhringen (illustration).—*Jour. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Nov.

14. The French Naval Program.—*Same.*

15. The French Naval Budget, 1904.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.; *R. du Cerc. Mil.*, Nov. 28.

16. The French Battleship St. Louis (illustration).—*Jour. Arty.*, Nov.-Dec.

17. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Mar. Rund*, Dec., Jan.; *Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Nov.; *Int. Rev.*, Dec., Jan.

Several of these articles have already been discussed under other heads (see above).

The *tenth* is an article of some interest:

"The launch of certain German warships within recent weeks, and particulars published concerning the naval progress that is being made in Germany, have attracted interest, and evoked comment in this country. It is impossible for us not to regard the rise of Germany and the expansion of her fleet without a great deal of curiosity and some concern. The Emperor has declared that the future of the Fatherland 'lies upon the water,' and last December, at the new Palace, Potsdam, he said that every day showed more plainly a sound development of the country without the co-operation of sea power to be impossible—*nicht denkbar* was the phrase he used. In the year-book of the German 'Nauticus,' a chapter upon World Politics and Sea Power expresses the ideas of those who are doing great things to extend German influence at sea. Within the last thirty years the population has increased from 41,000,000 to 58,000,000, and where four men lived there are now six, while one man out of five is dependent upon food from abroad. Germans are found extending the commerce of their country in every market and emporium of the world, and the foreign commerce of the country has increased by leaps and bounds until it has reached a volume whose magnitude a few years ago was never anticipated. 'Nauticus' expresses the feeling of Germany when he quotes the Hanseatic maxim, 'My Field is the World.' The German colonies labored under difficulties, but their time is coming, and the colonial agitators are asking for more. It is not, therefore, surprising that a great fleet should be called for and constructed. In World Politics, says 'Nauticus,' that Power has the advantage which possesses the greatest strength at sea, and he holds up the lesson of Fashoda as an inspiration and a warning to his countrymen. He tells them that imperfect preparation is dear and useless, and we hear the ring of Captain Mahan's words where he says that the fall of Bonaparte resulted from the battle of Trafalgar—he might have said from

the sea conditions that made Trafalgar possible—and that Moscow, Leipzig, and Waterloo were the logical consequences of French naval decline.

"Provision is made for two new battleships, M and N, for a large cruiser designated as Ersatz Deutschland, the small cruisers M and Ersatz Merkur, and a division of torpedo boats or destroyers. The plan of transferring the men from the old hulks to barracks on shore is in hand, and torpedo stations are being established, while improvements are going forward in the ports, including Danzig, which is to undertake a larger share of work, and is to be provided with a floating crane and a floating dock. Last year three battleships were completed, the Wettin, Wittelsbach and Zähringen; two, the Mecklenburg and Schwaben were carried far towards completion; the Braunschweig was launched; the Elsass was upon the stocks; and the battleships Hessen and Preussen laid down. During the present year the Elsass, Hessen and Preussen have been launched, as well as the armored cruiser Roon, which was begun last year. A sister cruiser, the Prinz Adalbert, has been brought forward for her trials, and the Prinz Friedrich Carl, launched last year, is making very rapid progress at Hamburg. As to the smaller cruisers of the 3,000 ton class, three, the Berlin, Bremen, and Hamburg, have been launched this year, and several of the same class took the water in 1902."

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. Our Fleets and Squadrons.—*Army and Navy Gazette,* Jan 2.
2. The Problem of National Defence.—*Natl. Serv. Jour.,* Feb.
3. Conscription.—*Same.*
4. The Fleet.—*Nav. Inst.,* Dec.
5. Naval Administration.—*Same.*
6. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, U. S.—*Mar. Rund.,* Jan.
7. Coast Defence.—*Mil. Serv. Inst.,* Mar.-Apr.
8. A Colonial Army.—*Same.*
9. Mounted Troops.—*Same.*
10. Volunteer Cavalry.—*Same.*
11. Pioneers in the Militia.—*Same.*
12. Pay of Non-commissioned Officers.—*Same.*
13. The Expansion of the Hospital Corps in War.—*Jour. Mil. Surg.,* March.
14. The Chinese Army.—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.,* Dec.-Jan.
15. The French Naval Programme, 1900-06.—*Same.*
16. The French Naval Programme for 1904.—*Mar. Rund.,* Jan.

17. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Dec.-Jan.; *Nav. Inst.*, Dec.; *Mar. Rund.*, Jan.

The *first* of these articles relates to the recent reorganization of the British Fleet, and is of interest as indicating some new principles in the composition of squadrons:

"It is interesting at the beginning of the new year to notice the changes which have been made during the last twelve months in the composition of our fleets and squadrons on home and foreign service. Twelve months ago and we were just realizing that the old coastguard squadron under the orders of the superintendent of naval reserves was to be constituted as the home fleet, now the home fleet has been established as a separate force with two flag officers in command. With very few exceptions also, the battleships constituting it are of the Royal Sovereign class, and the cruisers belong to the same date. The policy, as Lord Selborne said in his memorandum last year, of changing the composition of the home, Channel, and Mediterranean fleets, so that they shall be composed of homogeneous classes of ships, is steadily progressing, and should be complete this year. The home fleet is independent of the admiral superintendent of naval reserves and of the Channel squadron. It has its nucleus of battleships in the home squadron, consisting of the former port guardships, and has its headquarters at Portland. The rest of the fleet is made up of the battleships and cruisers which form the coastguard squadron. The destroyer flotillas, too, which at one time were separate organizations, are now placed under the orders of the admiral commanding the home fleet, and a special captain (D) has been appointed, who is responsible under the admiral of the home fleet for the general organization of the destroyers as a whole. The Channel fleet, also with two flags flying, has been re-supplied with cruisers, and will, in future, consist of six out of the eight battleships of the Majestic class, two being always under refit as reliefs. The changes in the cruiser squadron are still more apparent and important. This squadron, commanded by a flag officer, is now wholly composed of twenty-three knot armored cruisers, two of the Drake and four of the Kent or 'County' class. Thus we have two fleets and a squadron at home all improved and rendered more efficient. * * * Generally it is to be noted that there has been an accession of force to all the principal squadrons, and that as a number of armored cruisers will be ready for use shortly it is mainly in this direction that future changes may be anticipated."

The *second* and *third* articles deal with the grave problem of enlistment in the British army, and contain much of general interest for our own land:

"In a previous issue a brief account has been given of the purposes for which our system of national defence is maintained, of the character of the armies to which it is likely in any important struggle to be opposed; and lastly, a short reference was made to the composition of our army under the conditions which obtain to-day. If our armed forces are insufficient in quality and training for our imperial needs, if those needs should ever bring us into collision with any of the Continental powers, we have next to consider the cost of our army as compared with other nations and to suggest a scheme of organization suited to our empire. It may at once be stated that consideration is given to the difference in physical and political conditions which exists between Great Britain and any of the European powers; but we may with fairness inquire whether, given those conditions, we get as good value from our system and our expenditure as other countries do.

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"We find that Great Britain pays £27,588,000 for 210,600 men permanently embodied and a reserve of 438,268.

"Austria pays £16,842,000 for 400,115 men permanently embodied and a reserve of 838,701.

"France pays £28,440,000 for 610,866 men permanently embodied and a reserve of 2,752,552.

"Germany pays £32,809,927 for 600,668 men permanently embodied and a reserve of 2,623,332.

"Russia pays £36,647,089 for 1,124,037 men permanently embodied and a reserve of 1,970,571.

"It is important to remember that the reserves to the permanently embodied army in the case of the four Continental powers consist of men drawn from every class of society, representative of the best types physically, every one of whom has been trained for a definite period upon clearly defined principles, while the whole organization, with its clothing, arms and equipment, is absolutely ready for embodiment in the various units of regiment, division, army corps at a moment's notice.

"Admitting our peculiar position and the necessity of maintaining an army voluntarily recruited for service abroad, does the proposition that we are paying at far too high a rate for what we get need further demonstration?

"Even if the objection be made that foreign countries diminish annually the wage-earning capacity of their communities by permanently

embodying twice as many men as we do, we should still in respect of this only add an amount to their annual charges which would leave their military budgets at a far lower sum comparatively than our own, and we should have to place to the credit side of the account the undoubted physical and moral advantages which accrue to the youth of a nation which submits to military training."

"Burke had a passage in his essay on 'The Sublime and the Beautiful,' in which he points out the extraordinary power of some words to impress the mind, by their sound alone, with a feeling of beauty, terror, or sublimity. He was, of course, dealing with poetic diction. Something similar was, no doubt, experienced by the old lady who assured her vicar of the deep comfort she derived from the blessed word 'Mesopotamia.'

"This mysterious influence of words probably accounts partly for the fact that the British people are so easily led by phrases and frightened by words 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.' How fine a sound has the word 'voluntary!' Does not the word 'liberty' call up visions of English freemen struggling for their rights against feudal lord and tyrant king? What need, then, to inquire whether a thing is good or just or advantageous to the State provided we can attach a label to it which shall check discussion and disarm criticism?

"All those who have made serious effort to place before their fellow-countrymen the absolute justice, necessity and advantages of adopting compulsory military training as the basis of our system of national defence, have found that their difficulties vanish like smoke as soon as they have laid the bogey which stalks gaunt and forbidding—not much less horrid than the figure of war which skulks in the background of Mr. Anning Bell's design—through the mind of the average Englishman. The name of this formidable hobgoblin is 'Conscription'—*monstrum horrendum, ingens.* The word only has to be uttered with the proper accent of horror, and a pitying reference to the foreign nations supposed to be languishing under its awful sway for the mind of the average audience to be filled with visions of men torn from the bosom of their families and sent to drag out a dreary existence for years in the scorching plains of India or the fever-stricken coasts of West Africa, to return broken in health and spirit, the victims of ruthless militarism. The most remarkable thing is that not one out of a hundred who use the word have the slightest notion of what 'Conscription' is. *Omne ignotum pro—horrifico!* But this does not prevent their meeting any proposal for a moderate form of compulsory military training with a frantic flapping of danger signals, on which are displayed the words, 'Liberty of the Subject,' 'Mili-

tarism,' 'Conscription,' and—that dearest battle-cry of all opponents of reform—'un-English!'

"We will not in the present article lift up the veil and glance at some of the abuses which lie hidden under the glorious 'voluntary' system, and we must reserve to a future occasion a brief reference to our past history—the last thing taught to the English schoolboy—in order to show that, supposing, for the moment, everything 'un-English' to be bad, the principle of universal service in defence of the country is as old as the origin of the English people.

"Conscription is the compulsory enrollment, by lot, of citizens in a permanent force, with the option to the well-to-do to purchase a substitute among those who are too poor to refuse the price offered. It was a system invented by Frederick the Great and adopted by Napoleon in order to fill the ranks of their armies for purposes of aggression. It was abolished in Prussia by the two great patriots Stein and Scharnhorst, who saw the gross injustice, as well as the miserable results, of expecting one section of the population, and that the poorest, to undertake the burden of national defence for all. Most European countries, however, maintained the system until 1870.

"The sudden and complete collapse of France in the Franco-Prussian war was the death-knell of conscription. In that war a highly trained long-service army, chiefly composed of substitutes raised by conscription, met a 'nation in arms,' and went before it. The result was that one nation after another, France, Austria, and Denmark leading the way (and with good cause, as the years 1864, 1866, and 1870 can testify), abolished conscription and adopted universal service."

The *fourth* article is an able plea for a General Staff for our Navy, made by its present commander, Rear Admiral H. C. Taylor, U. S. Navy.

His concluding words are very striking:

"We may say of the fleet to-day that it has attained to a certain degree of preparedness for war, which is creditable alike to the officers and crews and to the department that directs its actions. That it can go much further without change in its general administration is to be doubted. It may advance in certain directions and retrograde in others, but further improvement in all qualities, resulting in well-balanced and fully rounded effectiveness, is unlikely without that superior direction which, under various forms and names, is found essential to all great occupations and enterprises."

(Articles *five* to *seventeen* will be considered in our next issue.)

EDITORIAL NOTES.

While there may be nothing added to the technical knowledge of ordnance by the events of the next few months, it is certain that there will be a thorough review of such ordnance information as may be current in the United States and a thorough test by the world's standards. The Secretary of the Navy has taken steps which will carry the ordnance investigation into the complete field of ordnance construction, and with the two-fold medium of an impartial board of investigation and the utilization of Admiral O'Neil's services in observation abroad, is likely to leave as one of the monuments of his administration a series of ordnance papers that will be of very great value. It has been said during the month that the American naval ordnance is lamentably behind foreign performance. This is a statement that is scarcely susceptible of proof since it must depend in the final analysis on the performance of guns in service. An attempt has been made to compare the figures of foreign gun makers with the paper performances of American guns. It is to be questioned if the high muzzle energies claimed for the foreign guns have been attained, while in the matter of successful target practice, the American guns so far have been satisfactory, barring, of course, the Iowa accidents, the reason for which is as yet to be revealed. The order reducing the powder charges of American guns is but a temporary precaution, pending the result of the investigations in progress, and it is a fair prediction that the recognized standard of the ordnance work of the American Navy a year hence will be equal if not superior to results that have been gained abroad.

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The changes in the personnel of the chiefs of two bureaus of the Navy Department this month completes with one exception the entire change of bureau heads under the present administration of the Navy Department. Rear Admiral Charles O'Neil terminated his service as chief of the Bureau of Ordnance on his retirement on March 15, and was succeeded by Rear Admiral Converse, whose place as chief of the Bureau of Equipment was taken by Captain H. N. Manney. It has been an open secret that Rear Admiral Converse's incum-

bency in the Bureau of Equipment was temporary and that he was eventually to become the chief of ordnance. Much has depended on his opinion as to whether in his experience as chief equipment officer he found that the continuance of the bureau was advisable. From the cessation of the propositions to amalgamate that bureau with others of the department, it is to be assumed that a real need and work for the Bureau of Equipment has been found to exist by the experience of one of the best officers of the Navy today. Admiral Converse's administration of the Bureau of Equipment has been marked by his usual great executive ability and clearness of handling.

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An earnest effort is being made by General Crozier, chief of ordnance of the Army, to have the number of officers on ordnance duty increased. The work of the Army has been to a great degree founded on the results of the study of the brilliant coterie of ordnance officers who are now counted among the older men of the Army. This is also true in a degree of the officers of the Navy who are recognized as ordnance experts. The activity of the past six years has been unfavorable to the education and individual research of young officers in ordnance problems and the question of the successors to the present ordnance men of the service has become a real one and one which will have to be solved by the encouragement of a portion of the younger men to "go in" for the more abstruse problems connected with artillery construction. This is proposed to be met in the Army by the increase of the number of officers detailed to ordnance duty, while in the Navy it is proposed to establish on ordnance corps. The latter expedient is of doubtful wisdom so far as it involves the distinction of certain officers from the rest of the service in terms. Opportunities of study and improvement with suitable ordnance duty can be arranged for naval officers whose taste inclines in that direction without making distinctive corps lines with the inevitable separation of interest from the general duty of the service.

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A change of front of much significance occurred during the month in the determination to continue marines on the Isthmus for the protection of the canal zone and for the sustention of the duties imposed on the United States by the Panama canal treaty. It had been intimated that the Army would take the place of the marines as soon as the treaty was signed and it was understood that orders had ac-

tually been issued to get a regiment ready for the service. Before the exchange had been made, however, it was announced that the marines would continue the occupation on the theory that marines, being based upon the ships of a naval squadron, would be in the position of temporary occupants merely, while the establishment of Army posts would give the matter the effect of being a permanent military occupation. It is hinted that this theory will be carried out in all military occupation outside of the actual possessions of the United States, and the inference is drawn that if there should be occasion for landing troops within the continental limits of Asia, marines would be selected for the purpose on the above stated theory. It is to be assumed that the change of policy was agreeable to the Marine Corps, which had to contemplate a restriction of its service as a consequence of the former policy, and which can now see a possible extension of size and duty as the result of the new policy. The preliminary work of establishing depots and camps on the Isthmus was well done by General Elliott and the work on hand at the present time is mainly in the way of substituting permanent structures for the temporary barracks now in use. Plans have been developed by which two sections of marines will alternate in the duty of occupation, one section being at Guantanamo for rest and recuperation while the other is on guard on the Isthmus. It appears at present that the Colombian opposition has practically ceased, and the chief work of the Marine Corps will be in preserving order among the thousands who will troop to the Isthmus for all sorts of purposes as soon as active work on the canal begins.

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The military legislation of the current session of Congress has advanced to the point of the conferences between the Senate and the House of Representatives at the time of writing. The legislative, executive and judicial bill which carries appropriations for the civil force has been passed. It marked a departure from legislation since 1898 by making specific appropriation for employes of the Navy Department who had been paid out of the "Increase of the Navy" appropriation. The practice of the department, under which a large proportion of the civil employes had been employed and paid from a general appropriation has been abolished and further additions to the force except through specific appropriation are not to be made. The feature of temporary and special employment from general appropriations in the

War Department is, however, continued.

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The Naval Appropriation bill, which would have been finally enacted but for the illness of the confreres on the Senate side, was more extensively debated in both houses than for several years past. The question of the increase of the Navy was taken up and a considerable opposition to further authorization of battleships and armored cruisers was voiced. The opposition did not come entirely from the Democratic side, as Representative Burton of Ohio took issue on the subject of increased naval appropriations and stated his opinion that the naval expenditures were becoming excessive. A very large amount of statistical information of more or less merit was included in the *Congressional Record* and it seems to be indicated by the course of the debate that future authorization will be more difficult to get than has been the case in other years.

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The building programme included in the Naval Appropriation bill includes one battleship of sixteen thousand tons, two armored cruisers of 14,500 tons, three scout cruisers and two colliers. Two protected cruisers were included in the original estimates instead of the second armored cruisers, but the change was made by the House committee, largely on the statement of Admiral Dewey. Not more than two of these vessels can be built by one contracting party, and there is the usual provision that the Secretary of the Navy may build the ships in the navy yards in the absence of satisfactory bids or the presence of collusion. The discretionary appropriation for the Secretary of the Navy for the purchase of submarine torpedo boats has been increased to $850,000. The total amount of the appropriations carried by the bill is $100,866,000, and the intimation is given that the appropriation for the Navy will run in the vicinity of the hundred million stage for some years.

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The question of the use of the torpedo, largely in the form of the submarine torpedo boat, was one of the chief factors of the debate. The information as to the use of the torpedo in the present war was not sufficiently in detail to sustain the allegations of the opponents of the authorization of armored ships, but a considerable element of doubt was raised which might have been turned into negative action on the building programme had the torpedo results been more conclusive. The proposition that there is nothing to take the place

of the battleship as an engine of war and that it must still be taken as the unit of naval warfare, offensive and defensive, was sustained and the danger of reliance on an exclusive torpedo defence seems to be passed. The increased appropriation for submarines indicates, however, a renewed interest in that type of defensive boat, while a new element was added after the naval appropriation had passed the Senate by the inclusion of an amendment to provide a submarine topedo boat of the Lake pattern for the use of the Army in its submarine mine work. As the result of the report of a board of Army officers who made a trial of the Lake boat and found it adapted for use in laying and repairing mines, an amendment was offered to the Fortifications bill providing for the purchase of such a boat. This brought up the question of the use of naval appliances by the Army and an unusual debate, for the Senate, resulted. It was pointed out that the logical extension of the entrance of the Army into naval affairs would bring a call for harbor defence vessels for the Army in the nature of floating batteries. The appropriation was, however, included in the bill, probably with the idea of having the matter threshed out in conference, as there is no doubt that a strong stand will be made in the House of Representatives both against the idea of the Army having a boat at all and in opposition to the type chosen.

* * *

The Service will miss for many a day the bright face and kind heart of Captain C. E. Colahan, who died last month. No better officer ever held a commission and no better man ever lived. He was brave, manly, honorable, and his career from the time he entered the Navy, to the day of his death, reflected credit on the service he loved.

* * *

Readers of THE UNITED SERVICE will recall that in the February number appeared as the frontispiece a portrait of Paymaster Harry E. Biscoe, U. S. Navy, and in the same issue a statement of his controversy with Rear Admiral Evans upon the subject of the verdict in the Nicholson court-martial. On the 7th of February the Navy Department cabled Evans to detach Biscoe from the Oregon and send him home on the Solace, as he was desired for duty in the office of the Paymaster General. To this cable Evans replied that Paymaster Biscoe was about to be tried by court-martial. The Department cabled asking upon what charges Biscoe was to be tried, and the reply came that it was for neglect of duty, false-

hood, and a shortage of twenty-six hundred dollars in ships' stores; the day this cable reached the Department a second cable was sent from Manila to New York, stating that Paymaster Biscoe was to be tried for a shortage of twenty-six hundred dollars in his accounts, and this item appeared in all the afternoon papers of the country, but thanks to the prompt action of Biscoe's friends, who knew him to be an honest man, the cablegram did not appear in the morning papers. Still, the damage was done, and the family of Mr. Biscoe received indignant telegrams from all over the country, asking what such a charge meant, and those who did not know the officer believed, of course, that he had robbed the Government. What the charge meant was that Rear Admiral Evans had the power to try any officer of his command on any charges he might be pleased to formulate, and in this case he meant to disgrace Biscoe by trying him upon charges he must have known he could not prove, even with a court the members of which were selected by the convening authority. The court met, heard the evidence, and acquitted Biscoe of every charge save that of neglect of duty.

Of the charges affecting the honor of Paymaster Biscoe even this court had to acquit him, but for the neglect of duty they reduced him fifteen numbers in his grade, a sentence which for cruelty has never been equalled in the Navy. A few months ago an officer in command of a small vessel ran down and sunk a tug in the harbor of Norfolk. A court-martial resulted, and the officer was convicted of inefficiency in the performance of important duty, and sentenced to a loss of five numbers in his grade. Only this month an officer of the medical corps was tried for scandalous conduct, unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, found guilty, and sentenced to a loss of ten numbers in his grade. But Biscoe, the soul of honor, is reduced fifteen numbers in his grade. What does the President think of the whole matter, and what will Secretary Moody do when the papers reach Washington? What the newspapers think of this officer may be gleaned from the excerpts appearing elsewhere in this issue.

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This novel proposition, with the accomplishment of the movement to promote Brigadier General Ainsworth to be major general at the head of the correspondence and records of the War Department, were the leading features of the legislation on the Army side. There are several new propositions in the Navy bill, however, and that act promises to be a notable one. The

chief fight is on the question of the location of a training station on the Great Lakes. The board which investigated the feasible sites reported in favor of a location on Lake Michigan. Conflicts were developed between the advocates of the alternative sites on that lake and between these and the Lake Erie representatives, especially those who were interested in placing the station at Put-in-Bay. The provision was objected out of the bill in the House of Representatives, but got back in the Senate, with an appropriation of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and a provision for a board to be appointed by the President to select a site, the report to be transmitted to Congress for its final action. In this form, it will probably get through conference, though it is a question if the contest on the subject of a location is more than deferred to another session of Congress.

* * *

Two hundred thousand dollars is included for the erection of barracks at League Island and the same sum for barracks at Norfolk. This appropriation is made in consequence of the report of the barracks board and was stricken out on a point of order in the House and re-inserted in the Senate. The barracks are for enlisted men and are to take the place of the receiving ships at present in use for this purpose.

Other new propositions in the bill, mainly Senate amendments, are as follows:

Civil engineers and professors of mathematics are given the pay and allowances of naval constructors, and assistant civil engineers the pay and allowances of assistant naval constructors.

* * *

Warrant machinists, not to exceed twenty, are added to the list of warrant officers of the navy.

* * *

Three thousand additional men are added to the enlisted force of the Navy.

* * *

Beginnings are made on the appropriations for the naval stations at Guantanamo and Olongapo. No serious opposition was developed to either of these projects. Three hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars is appropriated for beginning the work at the Cuban station and eight hundred and sixty-two thousand, three hundred and ninety-five dollars is appropriated for the work at Olongapo. In addition, the steel dock for Cavite which is eventully to go to Olongapo is provided for in a continuing appropriation.

month at the age of sixty-two, eight dollars per month at the age of sixty-five, ten dollars at the age of sixty-eight and twelve dollars at the age of seventy. Although a service pension to cover all supposable cases would not be in effect until 1914, this computation supposing a boy of twelve enlisting in the Army in 1864, practically all the soldiers of the Civil War will be entitled to a pension before 1910, and the increase will be more gradual than would have been the case if a service pension bill had been passed as proposed. It is now only necessary for a soldier of the Civil War on the Union side to prove his service, and he will come under the provisions of pension legislation when he has reached the age of sixty-two years.

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Interest, which is at present somewhat skeptical, is manifested in the reports which come from English sources of the operations against submarine boats with specially devised steel nets. The recent maneuvers are said to have developed the plan of sweeping the vicinity of a battleship with such nets after the style of the toilers of the sea in search of the succulent inhabitants thereof. A periscope of a submarine was entangled in the net, broken off, and the submarine, deprived of its eyes, was compelled to await the coming of a rescuing party.

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Iteration of the statement that the Mayflower is being kept for use solely as the President's yacht is somewhat irritating to the personnel of that vessel, which has had one of the most exacting series of tours of duty that has fallen to the lot of any vessel in the United States Navy. The Mayflower took an active part in the maneuvers and work of the summer, and during the fall and winter has been in constant use in the hardest kind of naval work. No vessel in the Navy is paying better for being kept in commission.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

COMMODORE PORTER AND THE FRIGATE ESSEX.

A Story of the Last War with Great Britain.

When war was declared by President James Madison in 1812 against Great Britain, David Porter was the thirteenth on the list of captains in the American Navy. He was born in Boston in 1780 and entered the Navy as midshipman in 1798 and ascended from rank to rank until he was posted as captain in July, 1812. He was known by his associates as a dashing and brave officer, and so much was he esteemed by our government that he was appointed to the command of the U. S. Frigate Essex and was sent on a cruise to the Pacific Ocean, where Great Britain had a large fleet of whalers, among which Porter did damage to so great an extent that he attracted the particular notice of the British Cabinet, which sent out its vessels of war to capture and destroy this formidable enemy. This they succeeded in doing only by hemming him in in shallow water in the neutral port of Valparaiso in Chili and forcing him to engage with two ships of war purposely sent from Great Britain. The Essex was a 32-gun frigate, her opponents carried 81 guns.

In detailing to the Navy Department the loss of the Essex, Captain Porter says on his passage from Port Praya to Fernando de Noronha he captured the English packet, Nocton, and took from her about £11,000 sterling, and sent her to America in charge of Lieutenant Finch, known afterwards in the service, as that distinguished officer, William Compton Bolton. Porter, before proceeding to the Pacific, cruised off Rio de Janeiro and continued to do the enemy much damage. The British admiral was in pursuit of the Essex and it was necessary for Captain Porter to get to sea as quickly as possible. Accordingly the Essex stretched to the southward, scouring the coast as far as Rio de la Plata. Commodore Bainbridge's instructions left it discretionary with the commander of the Essex what course to pursue, so he accordingly shaped his course for the Pacific. He rounded Cape Horn in heavy gales and arrived at Valparaiso on the 14th of March, 1813. Here he took in as many provisions as he could stow and ran down the coasts of Chili and Peru; in this track he fell in with a Peruvian corsair which had on board 24 Americans as prisoners, being the crews of whale ships which she had taken on the coast of Chili. Peru and Chili were allies of Great Britain. Porter did not stop to argue the matter but threw all the corsair's guns and ammunition overboard, liberated the Americans, and wrote a letter to the Viceroy of Peru and it was delivered to that official by the captain of this piratical craft. He then proceeded to Lima and off the port of Callao recaptured one of the whalers. He then proceeded to the Gal-

lipagos Islands, off which he cruised for six months, during which he touched but once on the coast of America for fresh water. During this cruise of six months he captured twelve British whalers carrying 302 men and bearing 107 guns. One of these ships, named the Atlantic, he furnished with an American crew and called her the Essex, Junior, equipped her with 20 guns and gave command of her to Lieut John Downes, afterwards and for many years one of the brighest and bravest of the officers of the old Navy. He afterwards circumnavigated the globe in command of the frigate Peacock. Lieut. Downes conveyed the prizes to Valparaiso and returned with news that a squadron, under command of Com. James Hillyar, consisting of the frigate Phoebe, of 36 guns, the Raccoon and Cherub, sloops of war, and a storeship, of 20 guns, had sailed to gobble up the Essex, as she was doing too much damage to be allowed further liberty. The Raccoon and Cherub had been for some time patrolling for the Essex on the coast of Brazil, but finally left to join Sir James Hillyar in the Pacific. The Essex had been at this time nearly a year or so at sea and consequently required some repairs to put her in a state to meet an enemy. Porter was a quick thinker. He with his prizes proceeded to the Washington group discovered by Capt. Ingraham, of Boston. Here he overhauled and repaired, laid in four months' provisions and sailed for the coast of Chili, December 12, 1813. On arriving at Valparaiso he found it rumored that the British squadron had been lost in rounding Cape Horn. This brave officer had completely broken up the British navigation in the Pacific; the vessels which he had captured had been laid up and dared not venture out. He entirely destroyed the British whale fishery, and it is known to be a fact that the actual injury done this branch of British trade was several millions of dollars, independent of the expenses of the vessels sent in search of the Essex by our antagonists. From the captures he made he was furnished with sails, cordage, cables, anchors, provisions, medicines, and stores of every description, and immense amounts of clothing for his sailors. Every prize proved a well-found storeship. The officers and crew of the Essex lived on the enemy and for more than a year of constant cruising Porter was not under the necessity of drawing bills on the Navy Department for any object and had been enabled besides to make considerable advances to his officers and crew on account of pay. His crew during all this time of cruising had been remarkably healthy; there was but one case of scurvy and but ten men had died. He had done all the injury that could be done British commerce in the Pacific and he still hoped to signalize his cruise before leaving that sea. Porter had the impression that the British commodore would try to meet him at Valparaiso, so he took the initiative, hoping, if they did not meet, to capture some of the enemy's merchant ships which were said to be expected from England.

Commodore Hillyar with the Phoebe and Cherub and storeship, all mounting 81 guns and carrying 500 men, together with the crew of an English letter of marque which was lying in Valparaiso harbor, were all prepared with flags bearing the motto, "God and country', British sailors' best rights; traitors offend both," intended as a reply to Porter's motto, "Free trade and sailor's rights," under the erroneous impression that the crew of the Essex were chiefly Englishmen. The force of the Essex was

46 guns and her crew was reduced by prizes to but 255 men. In reply to the British motto, Porter hoisted at his mizzen, "God, our country and liberty; tyrants offend them." These British vessels of double the force of the Essex cruised off the port of Valparaiso nearly six weeks. Porter tried his best to bring on an engagement with the Phoebe, but Commodore Hillyar seemed determined to avoid a contest on nearly equal terms, whereupon Porter determined to put to sea the first opportunity which should offer, particularly as the Tagus, of 38 guns, and two other frigates had sailed for the Pacific in pursuit of him. A rendezvous having been appointed for the Essex, Junior, under Lieut. Downes, Porter got sail on the Essex and proceeded directly to sea. The enemy were close in with the point forming the west side of Valparaiso bay, but in running out a heavy squall struck the Essex and carried away her main top mast, precipitating the men who were aloft into the sea, who were drowned. The British ships made chase and in her disabled state the Essex could not run into the common anchorage ground but ran close into a small bay about three-quarters of a mile to leeward of the battery on the east side of the harbor and let go his anchor *within pistol shot of the shore* where he intended to repair damages.

The enemy continued to approach and showed an evident intention of attacking the American regardless of the neutrality of the place where Porter was anchored.

The Phoebe got a position under the stern of the Essex and the Cherub on her starboard bow, but her position became so hot from the fire of the Essex that she ran under the stern of the American, where the English ships kept up a hot, raking fire. It will be seen at once that the British ships had broken the laws of neutral ports for which Chili should have held them accountable, but as in the case of the privateer, General Armstrong, when she was attacked by a British squadron in the port of Fayal, there was no attempt made by the governments of Chili and Portugal to recognize a neutrality by personal efforts; these governments were too weak to say their souls were their own; they were, in fact, too powerless to strike a blow against Great Britain. Had it not been for a change in the wind occurring the Essex could have escaped scot free while the British vessels were necessitated to repair damages. In this engagement one gun in particular on the Essex was manned three times, and in the course of the action fifteen men were slain at it. So great had been the carnage that Porter determined to run the Essex on shore and destroy her, and here it was that the wind shifted and caused him to surrender. Of the 255 men with whom the Essex began the engagement but 75 remained at its close. The defence of the Essex brought no disgrace upon the American Navy. The action of the British ships was a gross insult to every maritime nation in cutting out in a *neutral port* a frigate rating 32 guns with a force of over 80 guns, when the former laid at anchor within pistol shot of a battery. This proceeding on the part of our antagonist cannot be upheld; it was dishonorable.

The Essex took fire several times during the action, alarmingly so fore and aft—flames were bursting up each hatchway and at one time Com. Porter had no hopes of saving her. She was not then three-quarters of a mile from shore, and should she blow up, as the fire was gaining upon the magazine, our boats having been destroyed by the enemy's shot, I di-

rected those of our crew who could swim to jump overboard and endeavor to reach the shore, in which some were successful and some perished; but the majority stayed by the ship and turned their whole attention to extinguishing the flames. There were but 75 of the 255 men of the Essex remaining who began this battle, which lasted two hours and a half, and not only forty-five minutes, as reported by Com. Hillyar to the British government. The Essex fired 75 broadsides and upwards of 50 by the enemy. After his capture Porter entered into an agreement with Com. Hillyar to disarm his prize, the Essex, Junior, and proceed with the survivors of the Essex to the United States, and he granted a passport to secure her from recapture. To capture the Essex it cost the government of Great Britain over six millions of dollars, and yet her capture was brought about entirely by accident, and the action was a dishonor to that government. During the action our Consul General, Mr. Poinsett, called on the governor of Valparaiso and requested that the batteries might protect the Essex. The request was refused. Mr. Poinsett left the country. After the action Com. Porter and his crew were paroled and permitted to come home in the Essex, Junior, as a cartel. Off Sandy Hook they were detained twenty-four hours by the British razu Saturn in company with the frigate Narcissus. Porter objected to this detention and on July 6 left the Essex, Junior, about thirty miles outside of the Hook in a yawl with six men and landed on the 7th at Babylon, L. I., where he procured a wagon, took on board his yawl and jolly tars and reached Brooklyn about 5 P. M. The Essex had landed all her specie, amounting to two millions of dollars, at Valparaiso previous to her capture.

Com. Porter's first naval experience was as midshipman in the American frigate Constellation, one of the three ships of war, Constitution, United States and Constellation, which Congress caused to be built in 1797, in the presidency of John Adams, when the Constitution captured the French frigate L'Insurgente, of vastly superior force. In October, 1803, he was captured in the Philadelphia and remained a prisoner in Tripoli till a treaty was made. In 1822 he published an interesting account of his cruise in the Essex; in 1826 he resigned his position in the U. S. Navy and entered the service of our sister republic, Mexico, as Admiral with a salary of $25,000. Later he became U. S. Chargé d'Affaires to Turkey and died in that country in 1843. His son, David D. Porter, in our late Civil War, became the head of our Navy, succeeding Admiral Farragut. The Porters were always a fighting family. BENJ. F. STEVENS.

Complete exoneration on all the charges presented against him save that of neglect of duty is the verdict in the case of Paymaster Harry Earl Biscoe, of the battleship Oregon, recently tried by court-martial on numerous charges, including that of falsehood and shortage of supplies to the value of $2,800. He has been sentenced to a loss of fifteen numbers in grade.—*Register*, March 12.

FROM *THE COMMONER*.

American naval officers are given credit for the efficiency of the Japanese navy by Lieutenant Henry E. Rhodes, now on duty at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Lieutenant Rhodes was officially identified with the navy of Japan as early as 1868, and in an interview with a representative of the *New York Tribune*, the lieutenant

said that the Japanese navy really began with the purchase of the armor clad Stonewall Jackson (later named the Adzuma) from the United States government, in 1866, although the construction of the naval dockyard at Yokoska was commenced in 1865, under the supervision of a French engineer. This was not completed till 1879. It cost nearly $2,500,000. The Stonewall Jackson was built in France, under a contract with the Danish government, and was to be known as the Sphynx, but as this was about the time of the closing of the Schleswig-Holstein War, and there was delay in the completion of the vessel, Denmark became lukewarm in carrying out the terms of the purchase, and the boat passed into the possession of the Confederates. She put to sea soon afterward, but owing to some derangement of the steering machinery she ran into Ferrol, Spain, for repairs, in February, 1865, where were lying the American war vessels Niagara and Sacramento. The commander of the American vessels allowed the Stonewall to escape, and she went to Lisbon, and thence across the Atlantic to Havana. Here she lay until after the close of the Civil War and was then given up by Spain to the United States. Later the Stonewall was sold to Japan, and she was sent over there by the United States, under command of Captain (now rear admiral) George Brown, and delivered at Yokohama in the latter part of the spring of 1868.

At the time referred to Lieutenant Rhodes was an officer in the Asiatic Squadron, and his ship had been for months at Hiogo and Osaka, where had been the greatest activity in connection with the revolution resulting from the overthrow of the Tycoonate, in which Lieutenant Rhodes and several other officers in command of armed squads of sailors took part in defending the American legation and other American interests at Hiogo, following an assault by Prince Bozen's forces upon an assembly of foreign sailors, who were quietly observing him and his retinue pass through the town. Lieutenant Rhodes says: "Another of our officers was H. Walton Grinnell, a lieutenant in the volunteer navy, and a nephew, I believe, of Moses Grinnell. In March, 1868, Grinnell was commissioned an ensign in the regular service, but his commission did not reach him till late in May. He then declined to accept it, and asked for an honorable discharge, that he might accept an offer of the Japanese government of a commission as admiral at a salary of 42,000 itzaboos (about $14,000 United States money) a year. His request was granted, and he accepted the appointment of Japan and remained for about three years."

Continuing his interesting narrative, Lieutenant Rhodes says: "At the same time the American consul at Hiogo, a German, whose name has passed from me, was appointed chief constructor, and to me was offered the appointment of chief engineer. For specific reasons I declined the office, but did offer to accept service temporarily, and for two or three months I gave a group of young Japanese engineer aspirants such instruction as my time would permit in marine engineering, and gave demonstrations on the Stonewall, explaining to them the mechanism of the engineer's department and the operation of boilers, engines, etc., on a warship, and the use of tools. I cannot claim to have done very much in this small way toward creating the navy of Japan, but Grinnell and the Hiogo ex-consul gave most valuable services. They deserve the most credit for their work in Japan and in other countries, taking with them

a number of bright young Japanese to study construction, armament and navigation and the general operation of a warship. It may be said, therefore, that the Japanese navy had its beginning in 1866; and under American instructors, and they have gone on steadily increasing their armored fleet, in addition to building up an unarmored fleet, all armed with the best rifled guns. The first armored ship constructed for Japan was built on the Thames and was launched in 1877, about six years before our new navy was begun. She was the Foo-So, and had a displacement of 3,718 tons. About the same time contracts were made in England for the two composite armor-belted corvettes, the Kon-Go and the Hi-Yei. Then in 1885 the Naniwa and the Takachiho, built by the Armstrongs in England, were launched. They were protected cruisers of 3,700 tons displacement and eighteen knots speed, and were conspicuous in the Japan-China War."

According to this American naval officer, Japan is now seventh in the list of naval power, with six battleships, three coast defense vessels, eight armored cruisers, fifteen protected cruisers and eleven small cruisers and gunboats, with a total tonnage of 237,899 tons. In addition there are ninety-three torpedo boat destroyers and torpedo boats. The battleship Mikasa, completed in 1902, is the largest battleship in commission in the world, having a displacement of 15,200 tons, and a speed of eighteen and one-half knots. Japan's dockyards are credited with equipments equal to any in the world for construction and repairs. In 1902 Japan's Diet passed a bill providing for the establishment of a steel foundry at the Kura arsenal for the manufacture of armor plate. Lieutenant Rhodes concludes: "We are inclined often to speak of the rapid advance of modern Japan, but the development of the military and naval forces of the Empire has hardly been appreciated by foreigners. Aspiring to play an important part in the politics of Eastern Asia, she has spared no effort and shrunk from no sacrifice to place herself in the matter of armed equipment on a level with her possible competitors. The Japanese are born sailors, and a country with so extensive and vulnerable a seaboard could in no case afford to neglect its maritime commerce. The administration of her naval department has been the subject of acrimonious party conflict at times, but there has been no disagreement on the broad imperial policy of a largely increased naval outlay. A shipbuilding program was agreed on a few months ago to begin this year the construction of four battleships of 15,000 tons each, two armored cruisers, of 9,900 tons each, four second-class 5,000 ton cruisers, fifteen torpedo boat destroyers and fifty torpedo boats."

We have not by any means heard the last of the case of Paymaster Harry E. Biscoe, U. S. Navy, the result of whose court-martial has already been announced in telegraphic information from Manila. The friends of the officer in this country are determined that the department shall review the case, official information of which has not yet reached Washington. Enough, however, is known to justify the expectation that Paymaster Biscoe will, as soon as possible, make an appeal to the Navy Department and ask for a consideration of the circumstances which led to the charges against him. These charges in the first instance were so serious as to have threatened that officer's dismissal from the Navy, but the court amended the accusation so that the sentence resolved itself into a reduc-

tion of numbers and to the finding that Paymaster Biscoe was guilty only of neglect of duty. Those who know the officer believe that such a finding must have been somewhat technical, and in view of the "feeling" which must have existed between the commander in chief of the Asiatic fleet and the naval paymaster, it is suggested the case against the latter may have reached an acute stage on that account. It is too early to give more information on the subject than is to be found in the promise of those naturally prejudiced in Paymaster Biscoe's favor, but it seems to be a settled thing that the Navy Department will have to take up the case in the light of the additional facts to come from the Asiatic station.—*Army and Navy Register*, March 1.

The verdict in the case of Paymaster Harry E. Biscoe, of the battleship Oregon, recently tried by court-martial on several charges, including shortage of supplies to the value of $2,800, has been received in Washington from Manila. The court exonerated him of all the charges made against him, save that of neglect of duty, and sentenced him to a loss of fifteen numbers in grade. It is stated that the court-martial will not interfere with the Department's recent order assigning him to duty in Washington.—*New York Post*, March 19.

AT SIX O'CLOCK.

S. W. Gillilan,

In *Baltimore American*.

On the street at six o'clock when the people homeward flock
There is something fascinating for the lover of his kind;
There is every sort of face in that anxious homeward race
That the wisest physiognomist could e'er expect to find.
There's the face that's filled with joy like a child with latest toy;
There's the face that's all preoccupied with business or care;
There's the face that bears its pain with a smile that's all too plain;
There's the face that has the hallowed look that pictured angels wear.

There are faces crafty, hard; there are lovely faces marred
With a look of hate and cunning that the Father never gave;
There are faces filled with woe, in this human torrent's flow;
There are faces with the harried look of hireling or of slave;
There are faces gentle, sweet, that are blessed ones to meet;
There are faces harsh, repellant with their settled smile of scorn;
There are faces that impart stories of a broken heart—
Faces sad that shone with pleasure when they started forth at morn.

Oh, the faces on the street that at six o'clock you meet,
As they hurry from the places where they toil from morn to night—
Is there one amid the throng you could cheer with smile or song?
Is there one whose heart is heavy while your love could make it light?
Some will hurry home to weep till they lose their cares in sleep.
Some will carry home the sunshine that the waiting loved ones need.
'Tis the open book of life with its tale of love and strife,
Written large and clear and simple so that he who runs may read.

EXONERATION FOR BISCOE.

PAYMASTER OF OREGON CLEARED OF ALL CHARGES SAVE NEGLECT OF DUTY.

CHARACTER UNSTAINED AS RESULT OF COURT-MARTIAL ORDERED BY ADMIRAL EVANS—PAPERS TO BE REVIEWED.

Complete exoneration on all the charges presented against him, save that of neglect of duty, is the verdict in the case of Paymaster Harry Earl Biscoe, of the battleship Oregon, recently tried by court-martial on numerous charges, including that of falsehood and shortage of supplies to the value of $2,800. He has been sentenced to a loss of fifteen numbers in grade, which in the case of a line office would amount to 150 numbers.

The case of Paymaster Biscoe, who was one of the best known officers in the pay corps, has attracted widespread attention, not only because of the excellent reputation of that officer, but also in view of the singular coincidence that it was he who entered a vigorous protest with the Secretary of the Navy last year against the castigation of Admiral Evans, of the court, in the case of Assistant Paymaster Rishworth Nicholson, of which Paymaster Biscoe was a member, for what the admiral regarded as an inadequate sentence. After long consideration the Secretary of the Navy decided not to uphold the protest of Paymaster Biscoe, but he refused to indorse the severe language used by Admiral Evans in his arraignment of the court. Friends of Admiral Evans on the Asiatic station and at home were indignant at the protest of Paymaster Biscoe.

Nothing was known of the charges against Paymaster Biscoe until a few weeks ago, when an order was sent from the Navy Department to Admiral Evans detaching Paymaster Biscoe from the Asiatic station and assigning him to duty in Washington in the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. Admiral Evans' reply to the order was a brief cablegram saying that Paymaster Biscoe had been ordered before a court-martial on numerous charges.

It is authoritatively announced that the verdict in Paymaster Biscoe's case, which completely exonerates him on all charges affecting his character, will not interfere with the Department's order assigning him to Washington.

In view of the singular circumstances surrounding the case of Paymaster Biscoe, it has been decided that the papers in the case, when received here, shall receive the most rigid review, both at the hands of the judge advocate general and probably the Secretary himself. It was said at the Navy Department that only the brief news of the verdict had been received.

Paymaster Biscoe's father is a resident of this city. The officials will inform him of the verdict to-day.—*Washington Post.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

A Trooper's Narrative of Service in the Anthracite Coal Strike, 1902. Stewart Culin, Private, Second Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 1903. Pp. 91.

This neat little volume contains an entertaining account of the experiences of the National Guardsmen in the coal strike of 1902, written as a souvenir of this particularly difficult and trying service.

The *Second Troop* dates back to 1780, and has a very interesting his-

tory, having been in the service of the United States in that early year (1780), again in 1794, on the breaking out of the Whiskey Insurrection, in 1798, in the Fries Rebellion, and in the War of 1812, finally in 1898, during the war with Spain. It formed the escort of Washington in 1789, in 1794 and in 1798, was reviewed by him in the last-mentioned year, and formed part of his funeral pageant in 1799. It was also the escort of Adams and Wayne on several occasions, of Lafayette in 1824, and of Presidents Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison (1841), and Tyler.

The narrative is a very readable one, and contains some pleasant descriptions of scenes and incidents, as well as of the inhabitants of the country.

The Troop served at Shenandoah and at Wilkes-Barre, and the author's notes on the country and its people are interesting and instructive.

J. P. W.

Strategy. Colonel Arthur L. Wagner, Assistant Adjutant-General, U. S. Army. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co. Pp. 55.

This small volume contains a lecture delivered by Colonel Wagner, one of our most prominent military authorities, to the Officers of the Regular Army and of the National Guard, assembled at the maneuvers at Fort Riley, Kansas, and at West Point, Kentucky, last fall.

Colonel Wagner's works on Tactics and Strategy are too well known to need any comment here; they are the official text books of the army.

His essay deals very broadly with the subject, and lays particular stress on the importance of supplies of food and ammunition, bases of supply, good lines of communication, and finally the influence of railroads and the telegraph on strategic operations.

Strategic principles and combinations are very briefly considered.

The essay is intended to give a clear idea of the meaning of *strategy*, and should serve its purpose very well.

J. P. W.

Militaer - Taschen - Lexikon. Karl Friedrich Kurz (Redacteur der "Reichswehr"). Wien: *Reichswehr.* 1903. Pp. 307.

A handy little military dictionary of modern military terms, compact and clear, containing in small compass a very large amount of information.

It has no illustrations and relates, of course, mainly to the Austrian army, but it contains much of value to all nations. Good military dictionaries are so rare that every addition to this field of literature is acceptable.

J. P. W.

America in the China Relief Expedition. Brigadier-General A. S. Daggett, U. S. Army. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company. 1903. Pp. 267.

This work is an excellent account of the brilliant part taken by United States troops in that memorable campaign in the summer of 1900, for the relief of the beleaguered legations in Peking, China, in which the author himself took so prominent a part.

It is well illustrated with excellent maps and good photographs, and constitutes an authoritative record of the events, based on the official reports, made interesting by descriptions of scenes and incidents from personal observation and experience.

The book is well written, in clear and incisive language, and is not only a full account of the campaign so far as the United States troops are concerned, but constitutes in addition a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

J. P. W.

COMMANDER CHARLES E. COLAHAN.

Commander Charles E. Colahan, U. S. N., who died at Lambertville, N. J., after a long illness, was born in Pennsylvania, and entered the Naval Academy July 21, 1865, and was graduated June 4, 1869. He served in various parts of the world, and reached the grade of commander in July, 1900. His total sea service was nineteen years and six months. The funeral took place from the Naval Academy chapel, Annapolis, Md., on March 14, the interment being in the Naval cemetery. The services in the chapel were conducted by Chaplain Henry H. Clark, U. S. N. All of the officers and civilian professors attached to the Naval Academy were also in attendance, and marched in a body to the cemetery. A number of friends of the deceased commander of Annapolis attended the services at the chapel. The funeral escort from the chapel to the cemetery consisted of the brigade of midshipmen under command of Lieutenant Commander W. F. Fullam, U. S. N., headed by the Naval Academy band and a body of seamen. The pallbearers were as follows: Honorary, Commander Charles J. Badger, U.S.N., Commander William F. Halsey, U. S. N., Lieutenant Commander W. C. P. Muir, U. S. N., Professors Philip R. Alger and Nathaniel M. Terry, U. S. N., and Lieutenant W. H. G. Bullard, U. S. N.

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THE HONORABLE THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

HALF a generation ago the English-speaking world laughed heartily when its attention was called, via H. M. S. Pinafore, to the odd fact that the First Lord of the British Admiralty might be a gentleman learned mainly in the law, whose uttermost sea experience had been a trip across the channel. In the United States, while we smiled at and with the Britons, there was an uneasy feeling that the United States was rather in the same boat and that in the line of successive Secretaries of the Navy there were few who could have qualified as able seamen.

For a quick judgment, one would say that an office which includes the direction of a distinct profession such as that of sea-going with the direction of military details as an added complication, should be confided to a man of high technical qualifications. But in the one hundred and six years of the history of the Navy Department of the United States, as during the several centuries in which the Admiralty of the British Navy has been in commission, non-professional, civilian control has been in effect.

The Navy Department came into the composition of the executive branch of the government as an off-shoot from the original "war office" which contemplated administering both branches of the military service of the nation. There was no question at the first as to the civilian or military control of the military departments. The Revolutionary soldier so dominated the political situation that it was only a matter of picking from the available military politicians the man for the

head of the war department, while they sought as the holder of the new portfolio somebody who knew about building, equipping and provisioning ships, rather than a master of seamanship and naval war.

It has been due to the character of the government of the United States and to the political duties of a Secretary of the Navy as a member of the administration that the ultra-civilian character of the secretariat has been maintained, and it is worth while considering, in view of the increasing importance of the Navy, whether a Secretary of the Navy is logically a civilian and whether the civilian character of the office is sustained on merit as well as by the idiosyncrasy which this government shares with England of making the advisors of the political chief the administrators of the public business.

The statute under which the Secretary of the Navy holds office is as follows:

"(Sec. 415, Revised Statutes.) There shall be at the seat of Government an Executive Department, to be known as the Department of the Navy, and a Secretary of the Navy, who shall be the head thereof."

Under the powers of the President and in furtherance of the Presidential office of commander in chief of the armed forces afloat, this legislation constitutes a single-headed administration of the Navy which might well be by a military official, administering the affairs of the Department under the direction of the President acting as a military chief. It is to be seen how, if this statute had remained unmodified, a strictly military organization might be maintained with the successive steps of responsibility and of control. Under this provision and but for the need of the President for a political and general administrational adviser, the senior officer of the Navy might be the Secretary; or he might be the directive officer under a political Secretary, with an administration of the department by the subordinate officers in the respective grades of the military organization established for the Navy.

But by legislation dating as far back as August 31, 1842, the provision is made that:

"(Sec. 419, Revised Statutes.) The business of the Department of the Navy shall be distributed in such manner as the Secretary of the Navy shall judge to be expedient and proper among the following Bureaus:"

Various changes have been made in the titles and duties of the bureaus as originally established, the most important of which was the change of the duty of recruiting from the Bureau of Equipment to the Bureau of Navigation, and the Bureaus stand to-day as follows:

A Bureau of Yards and Docks.
A Bureau of Equipment.
A Bureau of Navigation.
A Bureau of Ordnance.
A Bureau of Construction and Repair.
A Bureau of Steam Engineering.
A Bureau of Supplies and Accounts.
A Bureau of Medicine and Surgery.

In addition, there is the Marine Corps, an independently administered organization having its own line and staff administrations.

The chiefs of the several bureaus are appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Brigadier General Commandant of the Marine Corps is similarly appointed and confirmed, and there is an assistant secretary appointed from civil life by the President and confirmed by the Senate. As the essence of the military idea of administration is direct responsibility of the subordinate to his immediate superior, and of that superior for the acts of the subordinate under his direction, the establishment of ten semi-independent organizations whose responsibility goes one step higher than their immediate superior destroys at once the possibility of regarding the Secretary of the Navy as a military official in any sense. As a matter of fact, to be a Secretary of the Navy is not to be a military or administrative official, but it is to occupy a judicial position.

The proposition is worth examining at length. Time with us, as with the "effete monarchies" of the old world, has built up a structure of conventionalities and precedents. Such a structure, which may be termed crystallized experience, is not to be lightly derided. The iconoclast of the first few months of experience with such a system rapidly grows to toleration and adherence. Each one who has to do with it adds something, changes something, perhaps, but is forced into the recognition of the fact that details fall into chaos without regularity of system. Red tape at length comes to bind many a man with the scissors.

A Secretary of the Navy finds that while theoretically he is a man of wide powers in administration, practically it depends upon the good humor of his bureau chiefs. The statute says that the business of the Department "shall be distributed," and the nomenclature of the bureaus gives a general intimation of the nature of the distribution. It is a matter of construction of the law whether the Secretary has a right to retain any portion of the business of the Department. As a matter of practice no business capable of segregation is retained and

the administrative affairs of the Department may be said to be transacted by the mutual advice and consent of the Secretary and the heads of bureaus. The Secretary has the right and prerogative to initiate business, to direct its conduct and to modify the policy of any particular bureau, but if he does so against the views, advice and consent of the bureau chief he is assuming a responsibility which he will feel is justifiably assumed only in extreme cases.

The Bureau of Yards and Docks, in charge of the public works at the various navy yards and stations; the Bureau of Equipment, which supplies many articles of the outfit of the vessels of the navy and has jurisdiction over the electrical appliances and supply of coal; the Bureau of Ordnance, which has charge of and supervision over the building of guns and armor and the manufacture of explosives; the Bureau of Construction and Repair, which has supervision over ships being constructed by contract or at the yards, and over the repairs of hulls and fittings, and the Bureau of Steam Engineering, having jurisdiction over all steam appliances aboard ship, have within themselves organizations for the administration of many industrial groups which are placed, the group of each bureau independent of the group of each other bureau, wherever the activities of the Navy Department respectively confided to their charge are going on. Of the immense amount of correspondence, of executive and directive work involved in this administration, the Secretary's office sees nothing. Certain communications from one bureau to another, to the Department itself, to outsiders through the Department are sent via the office of the Secretary as through a clearing house, but the call on the Secretary's office for active participation is almost wholly in the matter of decisions—what the Bureau may or may not do; as to which of two conflicting bureaus is to be upheld by the decision of the Department. The initiative in the great mass of the details, their administration, and the practical power of veto in a report in disapproval on a given proposition are vested in these great bureaus which are building, fitting out and maintaining the ships of the Navy. The tenor of the course of business which comes for the consideration of the Secretary's office is that of moot questions, since all ordinary and routine matters have been regulated by the mass of orders and precedents which have accumulated into a body of law, a sort of administrative code, the precedents being the decisions on former cases, the orders being based upon situations developed by former decisions.

The work that is being done by these bureaus is essentially civilian in its nature, being nothing more or less than manufacturing and presenting identical problems with other civilian industrial operations.

To decide questions relating to industrial operations on the weight of the evidence presented and in accordance with precedent and regulation together with a consideration for the common welfare is a self-evident civilianism, and the comparison with the judicial function is not too fanciful.

Thus there develops a civilian side to the Navy Department consisting of five bureaus, constituting under the secretarial functions that are delegated to the Assistant Secretary six of the administrational divisions of semi-independence of the direction of the Secretary. The head of each bureau is, by virtue of his position, the ultimate technical authority in his particular domain, and though the Secretary, himself, should be a technician, his qualifications in this respect would only be in addition to the other testimony on which he would pass in making decisions, and would not place him more definitely in the position of a direct administrative entity. He has control, it is true, of the bureaus in the respect that he is final authority in the preparation of estimates for appropriations sent to Congress, but he is not the court of last resort in the decision as to the amount of money supplied to the bureaus, since he may be overruled by the committee reporting the appropriation bill or by the action of Congress itself.

The remaining four divisions of the Navy Department—the Bureau of Navigation, the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery and the Marine Corps—constitute the military side of the Department. The three last named are, in effect, divisions of the military control expressed in the constitution of the Bureau of Navigation. This bureau has the administration of the ships in commission and of the commissioned and enlisted personnel. Having jurisdiction by the fact of the inclusion of the personnel of the Pay, Medical and Marine Corps in the personnel of ships in commission, it directs those corps in an essential respect and has a control over them which may be described as a suzerainty. For all practical purposes, as regards the relations of the Secretary to the divisions of the Department, these four are one, since the action of the other three must follow and accommodate itself to the needs of the active Navy as administered by the Bureau of Navigation.

The line of cleavage between the civilian and military bureaus of the Navy is distinctly marked, so much so that military officers detailed for duty with the bureaus engaged in civilian pursuits rapidly lose touch with the military side and become, for the period in which they are so detailed, civilians in method and largely civilians in feeling. This is true because the interests, aims and viewpoints of the civilian and military bureaus, or, rather, of the civilian bureaus and the mili-

tary division, are exactly opposed. The civilian bureaus are charged with the duty of keeping their expenditures within certain limits and of making the most of men and means granted to them. The sums have been allotted upon the basis of estimates which contemplate certain performances upon a certain allowance of cost per performance. The military side naturally and rightly considers only the most facile execution of certain duties which are imposed upon it, and for the execution of those duties desires the greatest possible provision of the matériel which it is the duty of the civilian bureaus to furnish.

Between the two, and adjusting the desires of the military side by the possibilities of performance of the civilian side, stands the Secretary in a nice and delicate position which can only be termed a judicial one. For the purpose of carrying out the policy of the national administration he is so much an executive as lies in the transmission and enforcement of orders based on national policies. For the departmental details he is an arbiter and adjuster, and whether he might be by profession a military man, a technician, or a layman and civilian, he must assume the impartial and judicial view or take the serious risk of running to extremes and of promoting chaos.

The Secretary of the Navy performs the following duties:

He must act as an adviser to the President, not alone on matters affecting the Navy but on general matters of administration, and to a greater or less extent on matters of party politics.

He must transmit to his Department such orders of the national administration as may be general, or special to the navy.

He shall (Sec. 417, Rev. Stats.) execute such orders as he shall receive from the President relative to the procurement of naval stores and materials, and the construction, armament, equipment and employment of vessels of war, as well as other matters connected with the naval establishment.

He must report to Congress the appropriations, expenditures and balances for each year with the estimates for necessary expenditures for the coming year. Also the amount paid for wages and stores, the amount of stores on hand, the sales of vessels and materials, the amounts expended from the various appropriations for civilian employment other than specifically appropriated for, together with such other reports, suggestions and opinions as may be called for by the houses of Congress, their committees or members.

He is responsible for the contracts made by the Department, their integrity and execution; for the efficiency of the vessels of the Navy, their preparedness for war, the preparation of equipment and provisions for emergencies; for the training of the personnel and, in the

even of hostilities, for the successful outcome of the contest. He has such direction of the clerical force of the Department as is compatible with the laws and regulations relating to the civil service.

He is charged, under the direction of the President, with co-operation with the State Department in diplomatic undertakings abroad, and is responsible for the success of the undertakings of commanding officers of vessels of the Navy in diplomatic lines, either by themselves or in conjunction with the officials of the State Department at foreign ports.

By him, or under his direction, there must be a constant prevision of events. He must comprehend at an early date the necessity of bases of naval operations at points which seem at the time but little connected with possible naval activities. He must urge the natural conservatism of sea-going service forward to the adoption of new devices and new means for safety at sea and for efficiency in warfare, and he must restrain the enthusiastic and fad-ridden from involving the navy in ultra-experimentalism.

Within the limits of naval affairs he has enough power to enable him to utilize the nearest approach to omniscience he can achieve and then be conscious that if he could know more he could do more.

There are provided for his assistance an Assistant Secretary, a chief clerk, a judge advocate general and a chief of the Bureau of Navigation. This should not be regarded as an arrangement in the order of their importance of the last three named. In their usefulness to the Secretary there is no standard of comparison, for each serves in a distinct line. They have a common attribute in that neither can relieve the Secretary of the duty of decision. They serve to prepare the materials for decisions, but neither is able to assume the responsibility, which is finally and solely that of the Secretary and must be assumed by him on such evidence and considerations as he can secure.

The Assistant Secretary divides with the Secretary the responsibility of decisions. Not only on those occasions when he acts as Secretary in the absence of the head of the department, but in the daily routine, he assumes a very considerable portion of the responsibility of decision. He is, in fact, a part of the secretariat and is to be included in the general term of the Secretary of the Navy.

Through the chief clerk the Secretary controls the bureaus in the matters of appropriation and finance, secures obedience to departmental regulations and regulates the civilian personnel. Through the judge advocate general, he administers the discipline of the personnel of the Navy itself, while the judge advocate general is the responsible

law officer whose opinions receive their final weight by the approval of the Secretary.

Through the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation the Secretary directs the movements of ships and the disposition of the personnel of the Navy. Because there is no other provision, the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation acts as the adviser of the Secretary on general military propositions, a service that has grown up because of its connection with the assigned function of the Bureau of Navigation in the administration of men and ships. To deal with certain questions which require more study than could be given by an officer charged with the administration of a bureau, there have been various devices in effect in the Navy Department in different epochs. As the result of the experience with the "Board of Strategy" in the Spanish-American War, Secretary Long constituted the "General Board," which sustains a portion of the duties of a military adviser, or rather carries the duties of a military adviser further than one man could carry them. The results of the investigations or of the concerted opinions of the General Board are conveyed to the Secretary either through the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation as spokesman, or by means of the written opinion of the board. It is largely a voluntary and co-operative arrangement on both sides and touches a phase of the secretariat difficult to be covered by legislation. It is the material for decision, rather than decisions themselves, that can be furnished by the General Board. The civilian side of the Department, which must be considered by the Secretary, prevents adherence to conclusions created by the military side solely, and it has not been found in experience that the military and civilian sides in conference are able to come to speedy and satisfactory conclusions without the influence of some deciding power or court of appeal; this, too, with entire candor and conscientiousness on both sides. The General Board as at present constituted furnishes advice and information only. The Chief of the Bureau of Navigation has the duties of the administration of his bureau, and in this aspect has the inevitable viewpoint of an administrative officer, to get the most he can and to make the most of what he can get. This is not the view in which he is one of the assistants of the Secretary; in the latter capacity, he is of value in proportion as he can comprehend the whole military situation of the Navy. It is fortunate that the limits and influence of the Bureau of Navigation include, as has been before stated, the whole of the military division of the Navy Department, so that this, which has been called the extra-legal function of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, is exercised with a minimum of friction and a maximum of efficiency in furnishing the material from which the

Secretary of the Navy may prepare his findings as to sound military policy and upon the questions growing out of the relations between the civilian and military divisions.

Subject to the action of the President in cases of sentence of death or dismissal, the Secretary of the Navy is the court of last resort in matters of discipline, and has, in this respect, a function which is not exceeded in importance by any of the duties with which he is charged. In fact, there is no duty so important as this one, which is personally exercised only at intervals. The well-being of nearly forty thousand men depends to a degree not generally understood upon the proper working of the court-martial system of the Navy. Should it become tainted, justly under suspicion of serving the ends of individuals, the resulting injury to the whole fabric of the Navy is incalculable. From the execution of a barbarous code in the navies of comparatively modern times, naval discipline has come to a comparatively simple and elastic system, which has its weakness in the fact that it requires constant supervision and its strength in the fact that this supervision is constant and that remedies can be instantly applied. Besides the limited disciplinary powers of the captain of a ship in the Navy, two sorts of means of punishment are provided. The summary court for the trial of smaller offences has a maximum sentence provided of thirty days' imprisonment and loss of pay of not to exceed three months. All sentences which involve loss of pay must be transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy for approval. The general court-martial has power to impose sentence to the extent of any punishment provided in the articles for the government of the Navy, but its sentence must be reviewed by the convening authority. The latter may be the President, the Secretary of the Navy or the commander in chief of a fleet or squadron not in home waters. There are certain limitations in the powers of the Secretary of the Navy over the results of courts-martial which check direct action, but the comments of the Secretary expressing the civilian sentiment and point of view are of greater importance when applied as general principles to the conduct of the peculiarly constituted courts of military administration than direct responsible action itself.

It is this influence on the general course of court-martial procedure which it is the delicate and difficult function of the Secretary of the Navy to exert. Without this influence and external point of view as a check and restriction, there is grave danger in any disciplinary system not conducted by a stated judiciary, and this is especially true when control is held over subsidiary organizations such as that of line over staff corps.

It is not to be understood that it is intended to convey the implication that the importance or power of the Secretary of the Navy is lessened because administrative matters do not flow exclusively from and to him. On the contrary, his powers are wide and his importance is of the very first rank, just as the judiciary constitutes the crown and apex of the governmental system of the United States, and there is no influence so potent in the determination of the efficiency of the Navy. Whatever may seem novel in this outline of his real position is not due to his having other than his just place in the organization of the Navy Department. From the character and tenure of the office, the Secretary of the Navy can have no other proper place than to bring to the consideration of naval problems an impartial and unbiased mind capable of receiving and judicially weighing impressions brought to him from so many and from so often conflicting sources. The Secretary of the Navy not only does, in fact, serve in a judicial capacity, but he should so serve, and his highest usefulness is exercised in passing upon and adjusting the conclusions arrived at by a dozen different responsibilities, namely, the ten organizations previously referred to, the President and the Congress. All of these are working from their viewpoints for the best administration of the Navy. It is the duty of the Secretary of the Navy to seek to draw from the total of these results such parts of each as, in his judgment, will bring about the efficiency of the naval provision for which in the finality, he, and he alone, is responsible.

H. C. Gauss.

*PORT ARTHUR—ITS STRATEGIC VALUE.**

I ASSUME in writing this account of Port Arthur that its early history is already known to "the man in the street." However, it may be as well to cite briefly the more important dates which are associated with the fortress in recent times. Prior to the war between China and Japan, Port Arthur was in the undisputed possession of China. On November 21, 1894, it was captured by the Japanese troops, and under the terms of the treaty of peace drawn up between China and Japan and signed at Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895, the fortress, together with the Liao-tung Peninsula, and the islands appertaining thereto, was ceded to Japan. Unfortunately for the interests of the island kingdom, a few months later Japan, owing to the united action of Russia, France, and Germany, was compelled to retrocede, under a convention signed at Pekin on November 8, 1895, all territory occupied by her under the power of the original agreement with China. By the end of the year Japan had evacuated the zone under occupation by her. Russia now found her opportunity, and less than three years after withdrawal of the last Japanese soldier, by the terms of a lease arranged with China, she established herself in the fortress, proceeding immediately to that more extensive occupation of the hinterland which has since distinguished her position in Manchuria.

The position of the Liao-tung Peninsula, too, is equally well known. It is separated from Korea by the Bay of Korea, and from the Chinese mainland by the Gulf of Liao-tung. It runs in a southwesterly direction from the mainland of Manchuria, and it is continued by a group of islands which stretch out towards another peninsula projecting from the mainland of China in a northeasterly direction and containing on its northeastern extremity the station of Wei-hai-wei. Liao-tung is indented by several bays, two of which, Kin-chau Bay and Hand Bay, an inlet of Ta-lien Bay, nearly meet, making an isthmus less than two miles wide. Below this neck the Peninsula widens again, bearing the Chinese sobriquet of Kan-tun—the Regent's Sword. Lu-shun-kou—Port Arthur—and Dalny, in Ta-lien Bay, are on the east shore. The roadstead of Port Arthur is

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exposed to southeasterly winds, and is an inferior anchorage to Talien-wan.

Strategically, the position which Port Arthur enjoys is of great importance, since it commands, so far as a land-fortress can, the Gulfs of Pe-chi-li and Liao-tung, and the Bay of Korea. On the other hand, the land communications are very defective and from the Bay of Kin-chau, in the Liao-tung Gulf, or from an adjacent inlet in the Bay of Korea, it would be a matter of supreme simplicity to hold the railway under such a fire that its further employment would be out of the question.

The harbor of Port Arthur is a circular bay two miles long from east to west, and a mile from north to south. It is surrounded by high hills. Its sole entrance on the south side is through a narrow channel guarded at the southwestern end by a couple of dangerous reefs and protected against bad weather by a projection of rocky land, known as the Tiger's Tail, running diagonally across its northern extremity. Within the headlands of the harbor, and conforming to the indentation of the coast, there are several bays, shallow and unprofitable, but which, when dredging operations have been undertaken, will add to the small area of deep water which the harbor at present possesses. The width of the entrance in its broadest part, that is, from Pinnacle Rock on the west shore to the opposite point across the water, is but little more than three hundred yards, while the deep water channel, a three to five fathom passage, is not more than five hundred feet wide. Within the heads it widens out a little, and between the extremity of the Tiger's Tail and the entrance to the east port there is a width of rather more than four hundred yards, the lack of space making it exceedingly difficult for any vessel over 300 feet in length to enter or leave the harbor. At low water, steamers, which lie up to within sixty feet of the wharf at high tide, rest upon mud in a little more than a fathom of water. As a rule vessels, if larger in size than a small coaster, anchor off the entrance, unloading and recharging from junks or tenders.

The naval basin, or East Port, faces the entrance to the harbor proper. It is here that warships lie when they manage to enter: even now, however, there are berths but for three battleships in addition to smaller craft. This basin was excavated by the Chinese under the supervision of the French, as, also, is the case with the dry dock placed on the northern side. The depth is between five and three and a half fathoms; the surface space is equal to the total available steamer anchorage elsewhere. At its western end there is the torpedo

dock, while all around this part of the harbor there are the repairing shops of the station, and the various premises concerned in the business of a dockyard.

Additional accommodation has been secured close within the Tiger's Tail, where the mud has been dredged away sufficiently to allow destroyers to lie right alongside the slips which have been placed at this point. In general, destroyers on the station are always moored here. In relation to the requirements of the squadron, Port Arthur does not contain sufficient accommodation. At the time of the Chinese occupation, the dry dock measured 385 feet in length, 34 feet in depth, and 80 feet broad; the dry dock, however, has been repaired and enlarged by the Russians. It is now 452 feet over all, 370 feet over blocks, 32 feet deep, and 90 feet in width at the entrance. These figures are of value at this moment, for they show that the damaged battleships, even with their increased draught, may still enter for repairs. An 80-ton sheer-legs is in position on the west side of the basin. Three docks, each 700 feet long, were in course of construction, but work upon these new docks was not sufficiently far advanced when war began to render them of any service at the present juncture.

In this direction it is important to remember that while the principal officers of the dockyard were Russian, there were many foreigners employed in responsible posts, particularly in the engineering and construction departments. Again, too, a very large number of skilled laborers and dock hands were Chinese, Japanese, and, in some cases, Korean. In this respect the Russians are quite indifferent to questions of nationality. So long as the work is turned out efficiently and the men are faithful to their service, it is immaterial to the Russian authorities whether their employees be natives or foreigners—English, French, American, or Japanese. Two important officials in Port Arthur are Chinese. One, Mr. Tai, the contractor to the fortress, controlled at a very moderate estimate the services of some 10,000 Chinese coolies; the other, Admiral Ho, has held important administrative posts in Port Arthur ever since the day of its construction. He was originally a naval officer employed by Li Hung Chang to supervise the erection of the fortifications; he then passed into the employment of the Japanese, while lately he was engaged by the Russians to lengthen the dry dock, and promoted from that post to executive control in the construction of the torpedo boats. Both these men, Tai and Ho, have rendered faithful service to the Russians, and neither of them have cause to complain of the generous treatment they have received. Similarly with all grades of foreigners in Russian employ-

ment, once suspicion has been overcome the widest latitude within the limits of discretion is tolerated.

Tactically speaking, Port Arthur is very difficult to take. The fortifications which surmount every hill on the land side are semi-enclosed works of extreme strength. Very few of the forts which were in existence during the time of the Chinese are now remaining. Since the Russian Government entered into possession, the work of extending the perimeter of the defences, as well as strengthening the fortifications, has been a continuous labor. On either side of the harbor arise the gaunt cliffs of the Peninsula, their faces traversed by the chain of forts with which the Russians protect their base, their crests, broken and rugged, linked together in one long encircling line of defences. Rising from the water's edge, and breaking back gradually to the crest of the range, there are the lines of a continuous entrenchment, galleried and protected from shell-fire by the interior cast of its position.

To the east of the entrance, rising some 265 feet above sea-level, there is Hwang-chin Hill, upon the summit of which there is a battery of four 63½ ton guns. It is almost impossible to state precisely the make or calibre of these pieces, but it has been said that they are similar to those with which the Chinese forts at Taku and Shan-hai-kwan were provided. Those batteries comprised 12-in. and 10-in. Krupp, on fortress mountings. A little lower than the crest, and on the same face, there are two batteries of quick-firing guns, for the most part 5.5-in. and 75mm. Canet. From this point the Hwang-chin fortifications extend for a distance of forty versts along the coast, in a northern direction, until the line is joined by a circle of batteries along the hill-tops surrounding the town, to the second long line of defences, starting south around the Peninsula, from the Man-tow Hill. At the opposite side of the entrance there is the Wei-yuan Fort, which, again, is united with a series of entrenched positions, composing the Man-tse-ying Fort. The strength of this position is very carefully masked, but the original emplacements—the small quick-firing batteries which support the heavier guns of position composing the work—date back to the time of the Chinese occupation of Port Arthur. The later and major positions were excavated by the Russians. The guns here include 5.9-in. pieces, which belonged to the Chinese, and 7-in., 10-in., and 11-in. breechloaders, Oboukoff pattern, mounted either *en barbette,* on disappearing carriages, which are not without resemblance to the Moncrieff type, or on overbank fire carriages of the Poutiloff standard. The general scheme of the land defences extends to Dalny,

about two hours by rail from Port Arthur, which the Russians will make no attempt to defend.

So far as attack from the sea goes, while Port Arthur and Dalny may be destroyed, it is incredible to think that the fortress can be reduced by bombardment alone. The position is one of great natural strength, heavily manned, with forts placed in position on all exposed points. With a little care it is quite possible to detect some eighteen or twenty hill-batteries in addition to the hill forts, each of which is in communication with the central station in Port Arthur. There are four sea batteries, varying from 6 to 18 guns each, and the number of batteries on Golden Hill, which is the determining key to the main position, is eight, composed of 60 guns. These guns are 10-in. or 11-in. Poutiloff, supplemented with batteries of Canet quick-firers, and mounted near the Marconi mast. In the main the sea-batteries of Port Arthur are more or less invisible. In some instances the positions to the south of the harbor entrance at once strike the practiced eye, as the soil of which their superior slopes are composed is of a darker, redder hue than the surrounding ground, which is of a pale, yellow-ochre tinge. However, the batteries on Golden Hill are completely masked. Invisibility has been studied here, and their profiles are low or else carefully covered with grass. It is quite evident, moreover, that the guns do not fire through embrasures, while they have the additional advantage of being placed high above the level of the sea. By this means they command a wider field of fire, and they can also bring a plunging fire to bear on a ship's deck, themselves safe from direct, as opposed to high-angle, fire.

These advantages do not mean, however, that Port Arthur is safe from attack, or that it would suffer little from bombardment. While the defences themselves would not show material damage, the interior parts of the harbor and the town would probably be ruined by high-angle fire from attacking warships. A fire of this description, flighting the cliffs, would burst with great effect in the rear of the position. By this means the dockyard, the torpedo basin, the coal yards, the old and the new town, the collection of barracks, and the vast deposit of stores which has been accumulated in the fortress, would be in great danger.

These details, with mention of the battery in position on the extremity of the Tiger's Tail, composed of seven 5.5 quick-firing Canet, and placed ten feet above the sea-level, in an open work, conclude the description of the forts. There is, however, the mine field to be mentioned, and the key to this is situated in these forts at the mouth of the harbor. The position of these guns is at once located when entering

Port Arthur from the sea. They occupy an exceedingly exposed position, but they are intended to serve more as a defence to the staff operating the mine field than to figure as a serious element in the general plan of the defences.

In addition to its requirements as a naval fortress, Port Arthur possesses extensive accommodation for troops, a small parade ground, which also does duty as a racecourse, a rifle range, and an artillery practice ground, torpedo station, and training reservation—these latter situated for the moment in one of the bays of the West Port. There is also a flash-light station, and some admirable schools of instruction—torpedo, gunnery, and telegraphy. Lately attention has been given to the improvement of the old town, and considerable work has been spent upon the reconstruction of the old Chinese quarter.

It is by no means certain that Port Arthur is of material advantage to the position in which the Russian forces are placed in Manchuria. In fact, very little reflection is necessary to find reasons with which to endorse the view so recently expressed by General Kuropatkin, that Russia should retire to the shores of Lake Baikal, and reorganize there her military affairs. The position of Port Arthur is too well known to call for elaborate description, but the extreme isolation of its position constitutes at once the gravest menace and the greatest weakness of the strategic situation in Manchuria. Now that war has begun between the forces of Russia and Japan, it would simplify the position of Russia, and endow her arms with their sole prospect of success if she could bring herself to evacuate her position in the Liao-tung Peninsula, and fall back in successive stages upon the pivot of her interior lines, Harbin. By this means Russia might find time to collect the vast stores, the men and materials, that are necessary before she can attempt to face the difficulties of a campaign in Manchuria.

Unfortunately too much reliance has been placed already upon the railway, but the railway with the fortress at its extremity are as cardinal sins in her declaration of faith. If she wishes to retrieve the fortunes of war, if she wishes to efface the unpleasant impression that has been produced by the series of disasters at Port Arthur, the time has gone when resort might have been had to half-measures. A radical recasting of her plan of campaign is necessary to her if she wishes to retain here position east of Baikal. If she would but do this, there is still hope for her, and in the months which would elapse before she could take the field again, there should be ample time in which to move her supplies and men to the northern areas of the field of war.

The task before her then would be, comparatively speaking, a simple one, and the importance of the result which it would achieve would be manifested in the disappearance of the panic which is consuming her officials. By such means alone can she hope to remove the present congestion of her lines of communication, and at the same time to avert disaster in the field. At this moment it is impossible for her to take the field with any chance of success against the superior efficiency and greater numbers of her opponents. Unless, therefore, she consoles herself with reflections of a brighter future by taking the steps now which are necessary to secure it, it is difficult to believe that Russia, in her war with Japan, is not face to face with the most disastrous phase in her history. To promote these ends the task before her is not altogether an impossible one, and it is unnecessary that she should retire precipitately from the Liao-tung Peninsula to save her position. The slow retirement before the forces of Japan, fighting no important engagement, and giving way gradually, would gain for her that period of time which is so essential to her salvation. The forces at present concentrated across the Liao and Yalu Rivers could join with the garrison of Port Arthur in making Liao-yang the pivot of their line. For the moment Mukden would become the immediate base to the zone of operations, the troops falling back upon Mukden so soon as the supplies from Port Arthur had passed through. In its turn Mukden could serve the same purpose as Liao-yang, until the line had been cleared between Mukden and Harbin. The Russian forces have operated in Manchuria before without the assistance of the railway, and it would be no obstacle to the success of their movements for them to carry sufficient supplies in the field to maintain their mobility. In these circumstances the railway would be destroyed, and Port Arthur dismantled, so far as it was possible to do so, but unless these precautions are taken, Russia, by her position in Manchuria, is confronted with a situation with which she cannot hope to contend.

The present position in Manchuria should make it appear sufficiently obvious that a movement of this description is necessary. At the present time, ignoring the official returns of the Russian staff, who estimate their forces in Manchuria at between 400,000 and 450,000, there cannot be more than 250,000 men available. These men are not by any means mobilized for active service, but they include all effectives who, one way or another, are at this moment at the disposal of the military authorities. It will be of interest to remember the strength of this force, and then to place it side by side with the work of safeguarding a line of railway which is nearly 6,000 miles in length,

the half of which is liable to attack at any point. What is the result? Surely Russia is confronted with the alternative of saving her line at the expense of her force in the field, or of concentrating upon a given section of the line and releasing a corresponding force to operate in the field. An impartial consideration reveals, at least to my mind, the fact that we should expect the concentration of the Russian forces upon the pivot of their interior line, and look to see the evacuation of what may be broadly considered the exterior front of the Russian position. Under such a policy the Russian authorities would be able to develop a plan of campaign in virtue of which the troops gradually moving forward, their line of communications properly safeguarded, might hope to retrieve some of the many misfortunes which have now fallen to their arms. I venture to think that this scheme will prove to be one upon which Russia will endeavor to conduct her campaign. Indeed, I do not think that Russia can find conveniently any other way by which to cope with the forces of Japan. We may expect to see, therefore, not so much the invasion of Korea by the Russian forces as the eventual withdrawal to an interior defensive position of those bodies of troops which are now located along the Yalu and Liao Rivers, and on the Liao-tung Peninsula.

If the lines of the forthcoming campaign on land should resemble in any way those which I have sketched here, the superior position which would be then held by the Japanese force does not reveal any cause for gratification. Indeed, the first victory of Japan on land would be the real beginning of her trouble. The concentration of the Japanese troops in Korea is a work of comparative simplicity, but the advance of the Japanese troops into Manchuria is quite another question. For the reason that a military force, extended from Lake Baikal to Harbin, from Harbin south to Port Arthur, cannot expect to maintain unimpaired the advantage of position, so will it be with Japan when she, advancing from the Liao and Yalu Rivers, along parallel but very attenuated lines of communications, attempts to make any impression upon the interior lines of Russia's defensive position. It is not perhaps unnatural that the extremities of such a line of communications many thousand miles in length, and passing through an enemy's country, should be subject not only to attack, but should become so straitened in their circumstances as to be a perpetual embarrassment. Of course, if Japan delays appreciably, the position of Russia will show some slight improvement, but, however great the importance of delay may be to her, the position and the interests of Port Arthur do not bear materially upon the developments of the campaign.

She can afford to neglect it altogether and leave it to its fate, or she may withdraw from it and destroy it before it falls into the hands of the Japanese. Whatever be the ultimate choice, her action, so far as it enables Russia to dissociate herself from Port Arthur, is sound. At one time there was ground to believe that the stores and the strength of the garrison were sufficient to enable the Russians to sustain a protracted investment. Now, however, by reason of later information, there is very little doubt that the resources of Port Arthur are considerably reduced, and that neither the strength of the garrison nor the reserves of supplies are in any degree sufficient. Russia therefore cannot in any way advance the interests of her campaign nor improve upon the lines of her position by seeking to maintain Port Arthur intact. Moreover, its fall would not carry with it any material dislocation of the plans of the campaign, while it can hardly be denied that except for some little loss of prestige, its complete abandonment would be a great relief to the general disposition of the Russian forces.

ANGUS HAMILTON, F. R. G. S.

A CRUISE ON THE CONSTITUTION.

"LATHAM'S ISLAND."

On the morning of the 28th of November, we came within sight of the above island, and anchored at 10 A. M. within two miles of it. A boat was sent ashore for the purpose of ascertaining if guano could be obtained. From the ship, with a glass, millions of birds could be seen, some flying and some at rest, evidently not pleased, however, with their visitors. The boat returned bearing several bags of guano and a few strange birds, some of whom resembled the eider duck. Those who went in the boat described the island as entirely covered with guano to the depth of a foot or more. It is about a quarter of a mile in length and is rocky at the eastern side, and sandy at the west. Its foundation is coral. The birds did not relish the intruders, and several of the men were wounded in the hand by them. They appeared crazy when a gun was fired, and evidently had not been visited for years. None, however, were shot, as it was easy to catch them with the hand. This island is in Lat. 6.54 S., Long. 39.59 E. It is thirty-six miles from Zanzibar and forty-four from Monfea Isle. It was discovered in the year 1758 by the East India Company ship Latham, and is only ten feet above the level of the sea. In the present state of things a fortune might be made from it by taking the guano for agricultural purposes. At twelve we weighed the kedge and kept on our course.

December 6.—Lat. 8° .06′ S. Long. 47° .27′ E. We are now about ten days from Zanzibar. The weather is beautiful, and I am sitting at the cabin port, writing letters home to my friends. The thermometer is 82° in the shade and I suppose in Boston 20° below 0. To-day may be considered one of the pleasantest we have passed, and "Old Ironsides" moves along with good speed as usual. If old Mr. Humphries were to see her now he would hardly know her. She is painted lead color, with a bright red streak, and "Old Andrew" at the prow is in fancy colors. Altogether, I think "Old Ironsides" and Joseph's coat would have been two great curiosities. The following sketch of a day will give some idea of the usual routine, on board of a man-of-war. At daylight the spar and gun decks are scrubbed and washed and dry at 7 o'clock. At that time all the hammocks are stowed and hammock clothes drawn neatly over. At 8 the boys are

mustered and examined by the first lieutenant, and when punishment is to be administered, all hands are called to witness it. After this painful operation is over, all hands go to breakfast, and at 9 o'clock the decks are again cleaned up for quarters. At that time the drum and fife give notice that each one must be at his station. Some particular division is then ordered to exercise at the great guns; the drum and fife then play the retreat and the other divisions disperse; about once in a week or two, general quarters take place, when all the guns are exercised at once, and all the evolutions are performed that are used upon a ship's going into action. Boarders are called to board, and then to repel boarders. The pikemen really "stick at nothing" over the waist of the ship, and cutlasses are used alarmingly; and the imaginary enemies are driven away, and all return to their stations. After performing other feats of valor, the guns are secured, the pikes, cutlasses, etc., are put in their places and thus ends a general quarters on board a man-of-war.

At ten the carpenters are at work on the larboard side of the gun-deck, and the armorer in the waist. In fact all are doing something. The watch below are mending clothes, making hats, etc., while the marines are scouring up the small arms to give them a good appearance at the cabin door. In this manner, the forenoon passes off. The idlers are reading, and the gun-deck is quite a library. At 12 M. an observation is taken by the master and midshipmen. The latitude is reported to the captain, and the ship's company then get their dinner. The master having ascertained the longitude by chronometer marks the course upon the chart, and at one the decks are again cleared up. At two and three o'clock the officers dine and the afternoon passes off with reading, working, etc., until four o'clock. At six the crew are then inspected at quarters and the work for the day may be said to be completed.

In the evening the officers write, read and play chess and backgammon, while the sailors are spinning long yarns, dancing, singing, etc. Time in this way at sea passes off quickly and the monotony of the "doldrums" or calms is enlivened by the capture of a shark or a dolphin. Sunday, however, is one of the most interesting days at sea. All work is suspended, and the decks have an extra scrub and the brass railings an extra polish. If it happens to be the first of the month, the "articles of war" are read by the captain, in a clear and impressive manner, while the sailors surround the capstan. Afterwards divine service is performed, the crew mustered and the day passes off quietly, a day of rest.

December 18.—Within a few days past the officers of the different

divisions have been engaged in finding out as near as possible the proportion the foreigners bear on board ship to the native born Americans, and the result is as follows: 200 Americans, 8 Canadians, 1 West Indian, 35 English, 34 Irish, 12 Scotch, 6 French, 16 Germans, 11 Dutch, 4 Hamburg, 1 Bremen, 2 Prussians, 4 Russians, 3 Norwegians, 14 Swedes, 6 Danes, 5 Welsh, 1 Mahonese, 2 Portugal, 2 Italian, 1 Australian, 1 Peruvian, 1 Swiss, 5 Chinese; making 175 foreigners. This result does not include the officers or marines. Allowing 32 officers and 20 marines, for Americans, and 20 marines for foreigners, the result would then be 252 Americans, 195 foreigners, being ten less than the actual number of persons on board. We have now been 120 days within the tropics, and over 60 upon the African and Madagascar coasts, and during this time have not lost a man. The greatest number upon the list has been 43, and no dangerous cases. Fevers and diarrhoea predominate, but are the effects of imprudence, such as sleeping upon wet decks, eating large quantities of fruit, partly unripe. I do not think another case could be found where a ship of the size of the Constitution, with 457 souls on board, has cruised so long and in such climates, with the above happy result. There is certainly no village in the most healthy parts of the world containing the same number of individuals as this ship, where a death has not occurred in the space of seven months.

December 19.—We had been told in Zanzibar, and also ascertained from books, that after passing the northern extreme of Madagascar we should find a fair, or westerly wind to Sumatra. After beating about the north of Madagascar for some days until December 10, we experienced the northwest monsoon, being in Lat. 7° S., Long. 49° E. It is a curious fact that this monsoon, by some called the "line," and by others the "little" monsoon, extends from the equator to 10 or 12° S., while from the equator north, clear into the Bay of Bengal, the northeast monsoon prevails at the same time, viz.: from November to May. (It has been said, but I cannot vouch for the truth of the circumstance, that in some parts of the Indian Ocean a vessel may be going six or eight miles an hour and pass at a short distance another vessel becalmed, and far from land.) Some days past we have experienced, near the Chagos and Seychelle Archipelago, a current setting easterly of 1¾ knots per hour, helping us on our course. One day we made by dead reckoning 198 miles, and found a current of 42 miles, making our course good 240 miles. A pretty good day's work.

Ever since leaving Rio Janeiro, the ship has been painted white or lead color with a red streak, in place of black with a white streak. This idea originated with the captain, and every one on board can

bear testimony to its efficacy; the ship is cooler, both inside and out, and a degree of comfort pervades the gun and berth decks, very acceptable to the sick. During the hottest days the thermometer being upwards of 100° in the sun, it is almost impossible to bear one's hand upon the black hammock clothes, while the side of the ship is perfectly cool. Again in the hottest weather when, in a ship painted black, the pitch will be issuing from the seams in the bends, we are troubled with no such complaint. It has always been a favorite idea, *theoretically,* that white would refract the rays of the sun to a greater degree than a black or dark color; *practically,* it has proved so in the case of this ship, and Captain Percival deserves the praise of *all concerned in real improvements* for successfully introducing the above plan. When such theories are put in practice by men like Dr. Franklin, they generally find champions, though in this instance the opposite is observed.

A fact is related of Dr. Franklin, something like the following: "That he placed in his garden three pieces of cloth over the snow, one being the color of black, the other blue, and the other white. After waiting a reasonable time he took them up and found the snow melted under the black cloth; that under the blue was partially so, while that under the white cloth was just as he left it."

In addition to this circumstance, it is a well known fact that the Swiss peasants are in the habit of placing black cloth all over the newly sown fields, for the purpose of getting early crops, for they know that the color attracts the sun and gives a growth to the seeds which otherwise they would not have.

OUR FIRST BURIAL AT SEA, DECEMBER 20, 1844.

On the morning of December 20, while on our passage from Zanzibar to Sumatra, a seaman by the name of Wester departed this life. He was found dead on the berth deck, near the sick bay, when he had been heard to moan. He had been upon the list only four days with a fever, and it is supposed by the surgeon that his lungs were decayed, as he was upon deck the day previous and was improving in his health.

This is our first death; and as death is not a welcome visitor on shore, his presence was severely felt in the Indian Ocean. A burial at any time is a solemn ceremony, and it was doubly so on board of our ship. We had been for so long a time spared, that we had almost cherished a hope the "ruthless destroyer" would have passed us by.

The ceremony of reading the burial service was performed by Lieutenant Paine, in an impressive manner, before the officers and crew, and the solemnity of the occasion gave rise to many serious

thoughts. There is something particularly melancholy in the boatswain's cry of "All hands bury the dead." The gathering of the crew to the gangway desirous of paying the last respect to their departed shipmate, and the sight of the body with the American Jack upon it, tend for a while at least to calm the spirit, and induce reflections which, but for the occasion, would not have been. When the splash of the body in the water was heard, a sensation was created in the bosom of every one—but I will not dwell upon the scene, as the effect of such a ceremony cannot be described.

December 22.—This afternoon Christian Fisher, an old bandsman and a German by birth, departed this life. Upon examination of the body, it was ascertained that he had suffered a great deal in former years, as his stomach was much decayed. He was buried towards evening. His son has attended him during his sickness most faithfully, and deserves the greatest praise. His conduct towards his father during his last illness has been noticed by all on board.

December 23.—Two days since the cabin (forward) was made into a hospital for the sick. Cots were hung up and four men brought in. They are here more comfortable and less crowded than in the sick bay or gun-deck. Captain Percival has shown towards the sick a kindly feeling, and a desire to make their condition as pleasant as possible, which would do any one a credit. On board ship very frequently the sick, from the nature of their situations, are excluded from receiving the attention necessary, particularly when the list is large. Therefore these little acts of kindness evinced by Captain Percival, such as giving up the forward cabin, etc., cheer the minds of the sick and make them more contented with their situations than they would otherwise be, and surely kindness and benevolence should receive the praise of all.

December 25.—This evening a comet is visible in the southwest, being nearly on the edge of the horizon.

December 30.—To-day John Peters (sea) died of dysentery, and was buried in the afternoon. He was a German, and like the two who died before him, was of intemperate habits.

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1845.

This day at sunrise, the high land of Sumatra is seen, but we are headed off by light and head winds and there is no prospect of our anchoring in Soosoo harbor to-day.

January 2.—Sumatra is distinctly seen, and the land appears very high. In the afternoon, being about ten miles from shore, a proa came near us, but seeing that our ship was a fighting one, they en-

deavored to keep away. We hoisted the colors, and under them the white flag of peace; but they would not come on board. A blank cartridge was then fired across the bows of the proa, which did not have the desired effect of bringing her to. A thirty-two pound shot was then thrown across her bows, when all her sails were lowered instantly. A boat was then sent to her, and brought off her captain and mate. They stopped on board all night, the proa being towed astern.

SUMATRA. "QUALLAH BATTOO."

On the 3rd of January, we anchored off the above celebrated town. We found an American ship, the Caroline Augusta of Salem, in this harbor. Captain Winn came on board and very kindly pointed us an excellent anchoring ground.

"Po Adam," the Malay who saved the lives of the captain and crew of the Friendship, also came on board. A description of him can be found in the "Voyage of the Potomac," written some ten years since. His appearance is not very prepossessing, and though he undoubtedly did the Americans much benefit, yet he is Malay all over. We have discovered him in several lies, and his word is not to be taken.

January 4.—The Rajah of the town, with his "tagrag and bobtail," called on the captain. Quite a party congregated in the cabin. The captain then explained to the Malays the object of his visit to the coast of Sumatra, giving them to understand that America had plenty of "big ships" to defend their commerce from the attacks of pirates. After much talk the chiefs said they wished for peace and to trade with the Americans. No dependence can be placed in their word. Our commerce in this part of the world, which is always increasing, requires the protection of our ships of war, particularly on this coast, where the Malays will cut off vessels and massacre the crews. I did not go ashore at Quallah Battoo, in consequence of my health, which had been suffering a few days previous to our arrival from an attack of diarrhoea. The captain also has been severely ill with the gout in his feet and right hand, and my presence was necessary on board.

January 6.—This morning early we weighed anchor and stood out to sea, having secured the services of Po Adam as pilot. Though it would not answer to trust him, yet his information about headlands, etc., would be well worth the amount paid him. In consequence of his connection with the Potomac affair, he has been robbed of all his money ($20,000), his fort destroyed, and he is no longer considered a Rajah. It was therefore a charity to give him employment. Our

Government should reward him in some way for his services, but like all republican forms of government, there are plenty of people at home to secure the "loaves and fishes," who are attached to it, and therefore the poor Malay is not thought of.

Midshipman Lucius M. Mason, of Virginia, died this morning. His disease at first was dysentery, which at last terminated in an inflammation of the brain. He was much beloved by his messmates, and the shock produced by his death much affected them. His parents and friends have the satisfaction of knowing that everything was done for him in his last moments that could be and that his sufferings were much alleviated by the attentions and efforts of every one. During the time of his sickness his messmates watched with him, and exerted themselves with a zeal worthy of them.

Mr. Mason in his intercourse with all was perfectly honorable. A short time before his death he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and left directions with regard to his family, etc.

In the afternoon at 4 o'clock Midshipman Mason was buried with the appropriate ceremonies due to an officer of his rank. The body was borne from the quarter deck to the gangway by four petty officers and two seamen who had tended him during his illness. His messmates followed the corpse, while the other officers stood uncovered as they passed. The band played a dead march, the colors were half-masted (as they had been during the day), and the occasion was indeed one of solemnity. The coat, sword and cap of the deceased were placed upon the body, the burial service was read and the body of our deceased friend was committed to the deep. The awful splash was heard, and the shock went to the heart of every one.

The guard then fired two volleys, and the crowd dispersed, to think over the affair, as I trust many did, with thoughts directed heavenward.

January 7.—This morning we went to Annalaboo, but did not anchor. Had no communication with the shore, as no American vessels were in port.

January 8.—We anchored in the port called Wylah, where we found an American ship, the Rome, Captain Brown of Salem, taking in a cargo of pepper. At this place we landed Po Adam, that he might inform the Rajahs of the places he passed through of the object of our visit. At night we weighed anchor and stood out to sea on our way to Singapore. As I shall have many better opportunities of observing the Malays, I shall not attempt to give a description of those we saw in Sumatra.

January 27.—Since leaving Sumatra, we have experienced head

winds and currents, and were in the Bay of Bengal, within sight of the Nicobar Islands, over two days. At last by beating we gained the Straits of Malacca, intending to stop at the Prince of Wales Island or, as called by the Malays, Pulo Penang. But in consequence of head winds and other causes we passed it on the 24th instant. During the last three or four days we have passed several vessels bound up and down the straits. One of them, a bark which hoisted English colors, we boarded, and found not a single white man on board. She was manned entirely by Malays, and was from Singapore, bound to Penang and Madras. At night we anchor, and remain so generally until morning, making but about twenty or thirty miles during the twenty-four hours. The weather has been very pleasant, and we are in hopes by February 1st to anchor in Singapore Roads. The coast of Malacca is visible this morning, and I had my first view of the mainland of Asia.

On the evening of the 28th of January we anchored off the town of Malacca, and the next morning sent a boat in to get fresh provisions, etc., for the sick. I called it a town, but it is one of the principal English cities of the East, having nearly 70,000 inhabitants. At nine we left for Singapore. On the evening of the 29th, Peter Wolfe, petty officer, died in the forward cabin of dysentery, after a long and painful illness of two months. On the morning of the 30th he was buried with the usual ceremonies.

SINGAPORE.

On the morning of Sunday, February 2, 1845, after a long and disagreeable passage through the Straits of Malacca, we anchored in the harbor of Singapore. Here we found H. B. M. ships Cambrian and Wolverine, besides two or three steamers and a variety of merchant vessels of every description, from the Malay proa to the company ships of 1,400 tons. The little bay presented a scene of activity which we have not witnessed since leaving Brazil. We were visited by our consul, Mr. Balestier, who kindly invited the captain to reside at his mansion during our stay. The next day Commodore Chads, the commander of her Majesty's naval forces at this place, came on board. He was first lieutenant of the Java when she was captured by this ship, and in consequence of the death of Captain Lambert was obliged to surrender her. (Thus have I seen the man, Adrian Peterson, who shot Captain L., and the person who surrendered the Java.) Singapore harbor is entirely surrounded by islands, and the scenery around it is very beautiful indeed.

On visiting the shore, I was very agreeably surprised to find it

a place of so much importance. The number of Chinese is computed at 60,000 exclusive of the floating population. There are but about 300 English, while the remainder of the inhabitants is composed of Malays and people from different parts of Asia. It is said that from eight to ten thousand people arrive in Singapore monthly, mostly Chinese. The streets in Singapore are arranged on the English plan, and are extremely neat. I mean those apart from the business portion of the city where the English reside. The bazars of the Chinese are kept clean and in good order, and the variety of fancy articles to be met with therein is astonishing. There are two hotels here, both of which appear to be excellent houses. Thus far I am well pleased with my view of Singapore.

February 25.—Having had an excellent opportunity of seeing Singapore and its vicinity, I shall give my ideas upon it without fear or trembling. A few days after our arrival the captain not having recovered from an attack of the gout, took up his residence on shore with the consul, whom we all found exceedingly courteous and hospitable. Mrs. Balestier we found to be a real Yankee woman, exceedingly glad to render us every kindness in her power. She is a daughter of the late Paul Revere, of Boston, whose memory is cherished by his countrymen. Mr. Balestier's mansion and plantation are about three miles from the business part of the city. To reach them we pass through excellent roads, beautifully laid out and ornamented by shrubbery of various kinds. Around his mansion the consul has planted a hedgerow of pineapples. This may seem strange, but it is nevertheless true. The most beautiful fruit of this description can be had for but one cent each.

Here, too, we obtained the delicious mangosteen so highly extolled by all East India travelers. This fruit is shaped like an orange and is about as large. The inside resembles a kind of jelly or grape and dissolves in the mouth. It seems that enough cannot be had.

I also had an opportunity of seeing a Malay juggler, who performed his feats very adroitly, one of the most astonishing of which was "swallowing a sword," which he did without any trouble. This feat, though very disgusting, was to me an interesting one. I had heard so much in praise of the Malay juggling that I could have witnessed anything in the shape of a trick. The other feats, such as hiding the balls, etc., etc., were performed upon the bare ground, and were more cleverly done than any I have witnessed. The performer begged for a shilling, which I gave him, and thought myself not over-generous.

Another treat to me was a visit to the opium shops. The time at which I went was not a favorable one, being in the afternoon, but I saw enough to give me a very good idea of an opium smoker. The interior of the shop was very plain. On a long counter lay several Chinese, with each a pipe and lamp, who, upon our entering, had hardly strength enough to raise their heads. It seemed as if the fumes of the drug were fast stupefying them,—all their thoughts appeared to be upon the pleasure they were deriving, and they would occasionally greet us with a smile, the most idiotic you can imagine. I left disgusted with my visit, though I certainly had obtained some information from it.

I had the pleasure of seeing an orang-outang at the London Hotel. It certainly had the appearance, in the face, of an extremely ugly person, but not in form. This specimen was from Borneo—was six months old and about three feet high. Its crying resembled a child's, though much louder and harsher. It was truly pitiable to hear its moans when a pineapple was taken from it. It rolled over and over, tore its hair, bit the chain, etc., etc., and anger was truly portrayed.

I never expect or wish to see an animal so near the human race in appearance again.

I could go on and relate a number of incidents in this way, but I think it is time and paper wasted.

While at anchor in Singapore harbor, we lost two men (Charles Springer and Stephen Hoyt) whom we buried on shore. The Episcopalian clergyman, Mr. White, preformed the burial service on both occasions in a most impressive manner. I was on shore the afternoon the first man was buried, and followed the body to the grave. The view from the graveyard is a beautiful one. The whole city is seen, stretching some miles away;—the peculiar houses of the English residents, and the Malay huts, with their nicely thatched roofs—together with the cocoanut trees, form a most beautiful picture, equal to anything I have yet noticed.

After leaving the graveyard, I stopped to gather a few nutmegs from the trees, so as to carry with me to America an evidence of my observation.

It is a strange circumstance that within two miles of Singapore is an island so sickly that it is with difficulty even Malays can be found to attend upon the signals. The marshes are said to produce sickness. Our naturalist, Dr. Reinhardt, visited it and examined carefully into the causes, of which the above is the principal one. Singapore is said to be "the healthy port" of India, and one reason of it is, that the lower classes bathe so frequently. On ascending the river,

plenty of men, women and children (who live in boats on each side) are seen performing their ablutions.

The 22d of February, being the anniversary of Washington's birthday, a salute was fired at meridian, and in the evening, as usual on such occasions, rockets were sent off, and blue lights burned. The old ship looked beautifully, and her appearance attracted a crowd of spectators on shore, drawn thither by the novelty of the scene.

On the 10th of March, our stores being all on board, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor and stood out to sea by the China passage.

March 12.—We are now fairly within the China Sea, on our way to Borneo.

March 17.—This morning the coast of Borneo is visible.

March 18.—In the afternoon we anchored off the mouth of the river Sambas, about four miles from shore. A China junk is at anchor in under the land, the only vessel besides ours within sight.

ISLAND OF BORNEO.

We were just a week from Singapore to the above island, and had to make the passage against a head wind. We passed within a few miles of the Tambelan group and saw St. Julian, Camel's Hump and Saddle Island. Our sick list is to-day reduced to twenty-seven persons, though it was thirty-six when we left Singapore. The only anxiety on my mind is that of the captain's sickness. Should his gout become worse, and he be taken away, I shall lose the best friend I have met with. God grant he may be restored to his family and friends, to look back upon his exertions in these seas as an evidence of the service rendered to his country.

On the 19th instant an expedition consisting of twenty-three men, three marines and seven officers in two boats set out under command of Lieutenant Chaplin, with written orders from Captain Percival to visit Sambas River and go as far up as the town of Sambas, which was supposed to be in possession of the Dutch, but whether belonging to the Government or a private company could not be ascertained. On the 21st, at sundown, the boats returned, having been absent over two days, and all well on board. They found the town of Sambas situated about forty miles up the river of the same name. It contains about 10,000 inhabitants, principally Malays and Chinese, who carry on an extensive trade in "gold dust," which they exchange for cloths, etc. The district, containing about 26,000 square miles, is under the government of Holland, and the principal business is carried on by Chinese, of whom there are 50,000. Since 1817 the Dutch have kept up an establishment here, as well as at Pontiana and other places

on the coast. They found very little trouble in subduing the Malays, but much more in getting the Chinese under their control. The latter class it is supposed have had possession of part of the island for seventy-five years. They are generally miners, and are very oppressive to those who work under them. The Diaks, a noble race, from all accounts, inhabit the interior of the whole island and are the tillers of the soil.

Mr. Baumgardt, the Governor of Sambas, received the expedition very kindly and gave every information in his power to the officer in command. He stated the country for miles around to be one great marsh, which at high tides is overflowed—that the Chinese are the traders of the place, and that all of our cotton fabrics, etc., come through them. That about 25,000 dollars worth of washed gold dust is annually taken from Sambas, and that a kind of wood called Izer is brought from the interior and taken to China and then made into fancy work, etc. This wood is extremely hard, and it is supposed will last one hundred years. The fort in the town is made of it, and has been standing for thirty years, and no rot has appeared. It is a singular fact that no white man has ever seen this kind of wood growing. It is brought by the Diaks to the Chinese, and by them sold to the traders. Nothing of the interior is known, no European having penetrated more than sixty or seventy miles from the coast.

Mr. Baumgardt supposes from the immense quantities of gold in possession of the natives, that it abounds in every part of the island in great abundance.

We have had a small trade with Sambas, but it is now ceased, being wholly in the hands of the Dutch. The governor appeared desirous of having it again revived, and said a demand would arise for our cottons. The only two articles excluded are salt and gunpowder, which are monopolized by the Government. The only tax is one rupee (about forty cents) per ton, on foreign vessels, and a half on Dutch vessels. No danger need be apprehended at Sambas from the natives, who are completely under the control of the Dutch, though at many places on the coast, particularly at Borneo proper, the Malays are extremely treacherous, and have massacred several parties of traders.

Much valuable information was obtained by Captain Percival, by which the Government will have knowledge hereafter of those regions, as the Constitution is believed to be the first American man-of-war that has ever visited Borneo.

I forgot to mention above that Dr. Reinhardt, our naturalist, who accompanied the expedition, penetrated into the woods and discov-

ered many flowers and plants, thus increasing his store of botanical knowledge.

While the expedition was away, the third cutter was sent on shore with a party of officers, who visited a Chinese town at the mouth of the river. It was similar to that part of Singapore occupied by the Chinese. They found our cottons there, and much preferred to the English. Gold dust is the only tender, and is said to be worth $320 the pound. The officers returned much pleased with their visit.

On the morning of the 22d we got under way and stood to the northward. Sick list reduced to twenty-six persons.

March 28.—The weather continues pleasant. We have not done much during the last six days, however, being driven back by head winds and currents. Some days we do not make twenty miles. The sick list is reduced to eighteen persons, very encouraging.

April 2.—The weather continues pleasant. At night we generally anchor, to avoid any dangers that might present themselves. To-day while in a calm, I observed several sharks playing around the ship. One would not have found much mercy among them, if so unfortunate as to have fallen overboard. The sick list is to-day reduced to seventeen persons.

BORNEO CITY.

On the afternoon of April 6, we anchored off the mouth of Borneo River, after a passage of more than fifteen days from Sambas. At anchor we found the English brig Ariel, from Singapore, about to return to that port with a cargo. Our anchoring place was about half way between Pulo Labooan and Pulo Mooarro. The country around is much more fertile and cultivated than at Sambas. Every night we have had a heavy rain accompanied with the sharpest lightning I ever witnessed and distant thunder. The days are very pleasant, though excessively warm.

On the morning of April 8 an expedition set out from the ship under command of Lieutenant Chaplin. It ascended the River Borneo to the City of Borneo, where it arrived about meridian. It was unsuccessful and returned the next morning early. The chief object of the expedition was to ascertain about coal and if possible to make an arrangement with the Sultan for a purchase of a right to work it, etc.

On account of the short stay of Lieutenant Chaplin nothing of any importance was obtained either in the way of intelligence or food. He was kindly received, but the natives would not sell anything, and it was with difficulty they could buy a few chickens. Several cannon of brass or composition were lying in the grass, and one small one

of an octagonal shape attracted great attention. Half way between the town and anchoring place a fort is situated upon an island having several heavy pieces of ordnance. Had the Malays been in the least treacherous, they could have scattered our little band like chaff before the wind. These cannon are said to have been made in the island. The creeses of the Malays were very superb, but they asked a very high price for them, ten dollars.

On the morning of the 10th we got under way and stood to northward. At eight an expedition was sent to the island Laboan, with the naturalist, Dr. Reinhardt, to endeavor to ascertain as much as possible about the plants, etc., etc.

April 28.—While on our passage to Cochin China this evening the ship was struck by a very severe squall, which, fortunately, was of short duration. I awoke and found myself in the middle of my stateroom, the ship being nearly on her beam ends. At half-past 11 P. M., while in the act of furling the fore topgallant sail, John Thompson, second (sea), fell from the yard and was drowned. A boat was lowered and the life buoy cut away, but his body could not be found. He was a good man and did his duty well. At twelve (midnight) the wind blowing exceedingly fresh, we filled away on our course.

May 7.—To-day we are in sight of Cape Touron (Cochin China), but as the wind is ahead we have but little hopes of anchoring in the bay.

May 10.—This afternoon we anchored in Touron Bay, having been four days within twenty miles of it. Just one month since we left Borneo.

BENJ. F. STEVENS.

To be Continued.

BATTLE-FLAGS

On Memorial Day.

Oh glorious banners! within whose shade
The shrine of Liberty was made
And hallowed by libations poured
As hero-spirits Heavenward soared,
All hail to you!

Methinks each torn and tattered strand,
Now borne aloft by loyal hand,
A sermon to the world could preach
And patriotic reverence teach,
Hats off to you!

You are the patriarchs of your kind,
Too feeble now to brave the wind;
Surrounded by descendants, most
Of whom can claim as proudest boast
Likeness to you.

With that time-worn and faithful band,
Deplete in numbers, but still "Grand,"
That bear your faded colors, proud
That they one day shall be their shroud,
Still true to you!

There march vast legions in the sky
Of spirit-warriors, who could die
For Country's sake, nor deem it loss,
Their hopes were fixed upon The Cross,
Their eyes on you!

The lustre of their deeds sublime
Shall make you sacred for all time,
And while the great memorial bell
Sounds loud to them a parting knell,
I kneel to you.

Lisette Stivers Naegele.

THE ADVENT OF THE IRONCLADS.

PERHAPS among all the exploits of the war for the Union there is none more remarkable than the battle of the ironclads in Hampton Roads, March 9, 1862—remarkable for its dramatic completeness and curious coincidences, as well as for the supreme importance of its results, both immediate and ultimate. It marked the close of the wooden epoch in naval warfare and the opening of the iron with a distinctness as startling as it was momentous. But great changes are often sudden, and the beak of the Virginia as she cut the Cumberland to the water's edge, the shot of the Monitor as they battered in the iron sides of her adversary, swept into the past at one blow those old "wooden walls" hallowed by the memory of so many heroic achievements. The conflict of that March day taught the nations that the old régime was ended, that the proud navies on which they relied were powerless before this new creation, and at a single stroke the greatest of revolutions in naval science was accomplished.

The immediate effect of the conflict upon the North was scarcely less striking. The success of the Merrimac in destroying the government fleet upon the first day had carried terror to the very heart of the North. The previous disasters to her arms had awakened fury, but this new and totally unexpected danger awakened fear. On land she had had to endure Bull Run, Ball's Bluff—a succession of humiliations, and was she now to be driven from the sea? Were those fine vessels whose superiority over the enemy had been undoubted, which had showed their prowess at Fort Hatteras, at Hilton Head—were these impotent against this strange and terrible engine of destruction? The night of March 8 was one of harrowing anxiety and alarm. The Merrimac, which had never before been heard of by the people, weighed on their hearts like a nightmare—some strange and frightful dream. The morrow came, and with it the news of another unknown and strange sea-monster, that by a coincidence almost miraculous had appeared on the stage at the very nick of time, and after a combat, which to the wondering public seemed like the invention of a too fertile imagination, had conquered and driven off the enemy, and had again established the naval supremacy of the North. The tables were turned again, and from that time forward the South had never another chance of coping with the North upon the sea.

Not the least remarkable feature in this remarkable battle is the great variety of vessels and of armament brought into use at once; and at least three distinct periods of naval architecture were here thrown into close conjunction. As the Comte de Paris in his great work* says, "Never were so many new inventions exposed at once to the practical ordeal of battle. Wooden vessels of every class, together with ironclads, some with batteries, others with turrets, were all put on trial at the same time. It was the first time that, besides such vessels, screw-propellers—which had, however, been in existence for nearly twenty years—had been seen to figure in a naval combat." And in addition the shore batteries and land forces on both sides brought to the fray both artillery and small arms.

At the outbreak of the war, although the navy of the country remained with the government, and but few of its vessels fell into rebellious hands, it was at once seen that the work to be done immeasurably exceeded its capacities, and practically on each side the necessity existed of creating a navy. The advantages lay with the national government, for while the exigencies of the case imposed upon the North the task of offensive action over a wide seaboard, and upon the South the much easier work of defense, yet the facilities for building and acquiring new vessels were much greater with the former, as well as the advantage in strength at the outset. On both sides it was seen by a few sagacious minds that armored vessels were to play a new part. The idea, however, was not a new one. As far back as 1854, Ericsson, a Swede by birth, but a naturalized citizen of the United States, had submitted to the French government, then engaged in the Crimean War, plans for an ironclad with revolving turrets, and in 1861 both France and England possesed armored war vessels, the Gloire and the Warrior. But these had never borne the test of combat, and their usefulness was still a debated problem. Some efforts to protect vessels by iron armor had been made quite early in the War of the Rebellion on both sides; and in October of 1861, Hollins with the Manassas—a river steamboat transformed into an iron-plated ram—almost played the same part at the mouths of the Mississippi that Buchanan afterwards did with the Merrimac in Hampton Roads.

The national government had early turned its attention to the subject, and on August 3, 1861, Congress appropriated a million and a half of dollars to build armored vessels, proposals being immediately solicited, and a board of naval officers, at the head of which was Com-

*"History of the Civil War in America." American edition, vol. i.

modore Joseph Smith, whose son, in command of the Congress, was shortly to meet his death at the hands of the first ironclad on the opposing side, was appointed to examine the plans that might be submitted within a period limited to twenty-five days. Seventeen plans were laid before this board, and three reported favorably, among them that of Mr. Ericsson, for the turreted vessel with two guns of heavy calibre, the general construction of which has since become familiar. That Mr. Ericsson's scheme met with the enthusiastic approval of the naval authorities is shown by the test which Secretary Welles relates was designed for her on completion, and this was no less a task than to "proceed to Norfolk, place herself opposite the drydock, and with her heavy guns destroy both the dock and the Merrimac, which was then in process of secret construction, and of which little was known."* The contract for Ericsson's vessel was made early in October of 1861. She was to cost two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, to attain a speed of eight knots an hour, and to be completed within one hundred days, haste being necessary on account of the hostile ironclad, some knowledge of which had come to the ears of the government at Washington. But delays occurred, and it was forty days beyond the contracted time—not until March 3—that she was delivered as finished. Amid the stirring events then transpiring she had attracted but little general attention, and was unknown to the public at large until her famous fight placed her name in the mouth of the whole North.

In the mean time, the Southern authorities, with the more limited means at their disposal, had been energetically pushing on to completion the structure that was soon to spread dismay throughout the camps of their adversaries. On the abandonment of the Norfolk navy yard by the national government at the outbreak of war, the steam frigate Merrimac, in process of construction, was set on fire, partially burned, and sunk. She was raised by the Confederates, and in June of 1861 measures were initiated for her conversion into an ironclad ram, under the name of the Virginia. A roof at an inclination of about thirty-six degrees, composed of four inches of iron plating, four inches of oak, and twenty inches of pine, was placed upon her, running about three-fifths of her length, some one hundred and sixty feet, with an inch iron plating† over the hull, three feet below the roof. Forward the armor extended but a few inches below the water line, in-

*"The First Ironclad Monitor," by Hon. Gideon Welles, ex-Secretary of the Navy, in the *Philadelphia Weekly Times.*

†"It had been intended that this plating should be three inches thick."—*"Narrative" of Catesby Ap R. Jones in the "Southern Historical Society Papers."*

stead of two feet, as intended. Her engines were defective in construction, although they "performed very well during the fight, but afterwards failed several times—once whilst under fire."* She was armed with a wedge-shaped, cast iron, submerged prow, weighing fifteen hundred pounds,† and an excellent battery of ten heavy guns—two 7-inch rifles, bow and stern pivots; two 6.4-inch rifles, one in each broadside; and six 9-inch Dahlgren guns. This battery had been carefully selected by her executive and ordnance officer, Lieutenant Jones, under whose command she was to fight her memorable battle. Although incomplete in some minor particulars, it was finally determined to test her capacities for destruction upon the fleet of wooden vessels then lying in Hampton Roads, the time chosen being the night of March 6, on the afternoon of which day the Monitor left New York. At the last moment, however, the pilots declined to take the responsibility of maneuvering the vessel in the dark, with her draft of twenty-two feet, among the shallows of the bay; and the attack was postponed, fortunately for the country, until Saturday, March 8.

In the bright sunshine of that spring morning there lay on the smooth waters of Hampton Roads a fine fleet of men-of-war. Rumors of the Virginia had from time to time reached them, and in proud consciousness of strength they expectantly awaited her advent. A score of vessels, with three hundred guns,§ what danger was to be feared? But it is a mighty arm that can stay the arm of progress. The fleet consisted of the steam frigates Roanoke, of forty guns, and Minnesota, of forty-eight guns, twin sisters of the Merrimac (now the Virginia); the old sailing ships Congress and St. Lawrence, each of fifty guns, light in calibre; the sailing sloop-of-war Cumberland, with twenty-four of the heaviest guns in the fleet; the storeship Brandywine, of fifty guns; and a dozen small craft and tugs, mounting from one to six guns each. The Congress and the Cumberland lay at anchor close in towards the shore of Newport News, the Roanoke was twelve miles off, at Fortress Monroe, with a broken shaft, repairing her machinery, and not far away from her lay the St. Lawrence and Minnesota. The Virginia had been for some time expected, but not appearing, the fleet had been lulled into a fancied security. Captain Radford, of the Cumberland, was in attendance on a court-

*Ibid.

†It was about two feet under water, and projected two feet from the stem; it was not well fastened."—*Ibid.*

§Mr. E. P. Dorr, in an address before the Buffalo Historical Society, sums up nineteen vessels of all kinds in the vicinity, mounting two hundred and ninety-six guns.

martial aboard the Roanoke; Commander Smith, of the Congress, had been detached, leaving the vessel in charge of Lieutenant Joseph B. Smith, whose father was chairman of the Naval Board that had approved Ericsson's plans. At 11 o'clock in the forenoon the Virginia, under command of Flag-officer Buchanan, left the Norfolk Navy Yard, accompanied by the armed tugs Beaufort and Raleigh, steamed down the Elizabeth River, across the Roads, and made straight for the vessels lying off Newport News. Lieutenant Morris, commanding the Cumberland in the absence of her captain, at noon discovered the Virginia standing down the river, and, surmising at once her character, cleared for action. "At 1 P. M.," he says, "the enemy hove in sight, gradually nearing us." Two hours later the conflict began by a shell from the bow gun of the Virginia, at a distance of something less than a mile, which, it is said, killed and wounded ten men at the after pivot gun of the Cumberland, a second shell killing and wounding twelve at her forward pivot. Paying her compliments to the Congress with a discharge of grape, and as she passed giving and receiving a broadside, the Virginia headed straight for the Cumberland, whose heavy guns it was important to silence. The Union vessel had been sprung around so that her broadside of a dozen 9 and 10-inch Dahlgren guns should bear on the coming foe, but they availed her nothing. It was a dead calm and impossible to escape, and in less than fifteen minutes from the firing of the first shot the iron beak of the ram came crashing through her side below the water line, "knocking in a hole as large as the head of a hogshead, and driving the vessel back upon her anchors with great force." Both vessels were maintaining a rapid fire, in which the Congress and the consorts of the Virginia bore their part. To these latter were added, from the James River, the Patrick Henry* and Jamestown, Chesapeake Bay steamers, armed with twelve and two guns respectively, and the tug Teaser,† with one gun. The shore batteries on both sides and national troops at Newport News also joined the fray. The destruction on board of the Cumberland was enormous, and in return she could do but little. One of her shells, however, exploded in the port bow of her adversary, killing two and wounding a number. Her shot also carried away the muzzles of two guns. As she sank, she was hailed from the Virginia, "Do you surrender?" "No, sir!" was the defiant response, and the gallant vessel went down with her colors flying, fighting her guns desperately to the end, discharging the last

*The Patrick Henry had been in action before, with some gunboats of the national fleet, in December of the previous year.

†Afterwards captured in the James River, the following 4th of July.

one as its muzzle touched the water. The loss was about a third of the crew, many of whom were drowned, including the badly wounded, but none fell into the hands of the enemy. Captain Radford, leaving the Roanoke at the first alarm, had mounted a horse without saddle or bridle, guided only by a halter, and now dashed up, the picture of despair and splashed with mud from head to foot, only in time to see his vessel go down.

The Virginia next turned towards the Congress, but owing to the difficulty of handling her in shoal water, some time was lost, Buchanan being compelled to run his ship above the batteries on the James River, moving slowly, his keel being in the mud, and under a heavy fire from the shore, which he returned with interest. His report says, "We silenced several of the batteries and did much injury on shore. A large transport steamer alongside the wharf was blown up, one schooner sunk, and another captured and sent to Norfolk." The Congress, appalled at the fate of her consort, had managed to run ashore, where she was indeed safe from the prow of the ram, but completely at the mercy of her heavy guns. While the Virginia was maneuvering for position the crew of the Congress thought she was retiring from the conflict, and gave three cheers in token of victory; but their exultation was short-lived, for the ram returning, deliberately placed herself at a short distance, and where but two of the guns of the Congress could be brought to bear upon her. These were heroically served, the dead falling thick around them and being promptly replaced; but in a short time both were disabled—one dismounted and the other broken off at the muzzle. The carnage upon the defenseless ship was indescribable, the decks literally covered with blood and pieces of mangled flesh. A summons to surrender was refused, but about half-past four o'clock, Lieutenant Smith being killed by a shell, not a gun available for defense, and no hope of succor from the Minnesota, which was aground in the channel below, or from the St. Lawrence and Roanoke, which were unable to approach, Lieutenant Pendergrast, who had succeeded to the command, hauled down his colors. Buchanan sent the Beaufort to take possession of the vessel; but a brisk fire of artillery and small-arms from the shore drove her off after securing about twenty prisoners, and Buchanan, thinking the fire came from the Congress, and that she had violated her white flag, began to throw into her hot shot and incendiary shell. She was soon in flames, her crew escaping to the land, some by swimming, others in boats. The Virginia stood by her for a little while, to make sure that she was beyond recapture, and then, with the Jamestown and Patrick Henry, attacked the Minnesota, hard and fast in the channel, a mile

and a half below Newport News. The great draft of Buchanan's ship prevented her near approach, and her fire caused little damage, more being done by her companions.

Meanwhile, the Roanoke, with Captain Marston, the commander of the fleet, who arrived just in time to see the flag of the Congress go down, had, by the aid of tugs, come up the channel until the water shoaled, so that she grounded and could go no farther; so on getting afloat she again went down the bay, sending two of her tugs to the assistance of the Minnesota. The sailing frigate St. Lawrence, in tow of the steamer Cambridge, mounting five guns, had also come up and grounded, but got off again and exchanged several broadsides with the Virginia, concentrating the fire of her light guns to give greater effect. The Minnesota was too valuable a prey to be destroyed, and being fast aground could easily be secured; therefore, night coming on, the victors retired to anchorage at Sewell's Point, leaving until to-morrow the easy completion of their work so auspiciously begun. The loss of the Virginia was two killed and nineteen wounded, including among the latter the gallant Buchanan, who was struck in the thigh by a musket-ball. The loss of her consorts was much greater. The vessel itself had lost her iron prow, but was otherwise almost uninjured.

The ill-fated Congress continued to burn, illuminating the darkness with her glare, her shotted guns going off one by one through the evening as the fire reached them, until about midnight her magazine blew up with a tremendous explosion, sending the sparks high into the air.

That evening the wires flashed the fatal news, spreading consternation over the whole North. The Merrimac had destroyed half the fleet, on the morrow she would destroy the rest, and then Baltimore, New York, Boston, were in her power; the navy could do nothing: she was invulnerable. The same expectations were indulged in the South; but the fates had otherwise decreed. Indeed, the vessel was unseaworthy, and could not have gone into rough water, had there been nothing else to prevent.

At Washington the authorities were struck with panic, and the wildest apprehensions were indulged. Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, and those who knew something of the capabilities of the Monitor, relied on the arrival of that vessel to change the course of events, but others found themselves able to place little confidence in her armament of only two guns, not greatly heavier than those the Cumberland had found ineffective. Preparations were actually made, under direction of the Secretary of War, to blockade the Potomac, by sinking boats laden with earth and stone, it being forgotten that the draft of

the dreaded vessel would prevent her ascending the river. Mr. Stanton, who, according to the account of Mr. Welles, held the navy in light esteem, also telegraphed for Commodore Vanderbilt from New York, whose well-known energy and enterprise he thought might devise some protection. It was proposed to run the Virginia down with Mr. Vanderbilt's large and swift steamers, and the Cabinet meeting finally broke up with confidence somewhat restored. Mr. Welles relates, in the narrative already quoted, that on his way home he called on Commodore Smith, whose son commanded the Congress during the action, and informed him that the ship was sunk. "The Congress sunk!" exclaimed the old sailor, "then Joe is dead." And in reply to comforting assurances, simply said, "You don't know Joe as well as I do; he would not survive his ship." Among all the pathetic incidents of the heroic struggle is there anything more touching than this?

Meantime, while the momentous events in Hampton Roads had been transpiring, the Monitor was on her way to the rescue. While on the stocks she had been placed in command of Lieutenant Worden, lately returned from captivity in the South, where he had been the first prisoner of the war, having been arrested April 13, 1861, at Montgomery, Alabama, while returning from bearing dispatches to the fleet at Pensacola. After seven months he was exchanged at Norfolk, being received on board the same steamer Minnesota which he was afterwards to save from destruction. The executive officer of the Monitor, who, as in the case of the Virginia, was to come into command during the action, was Lieutenant S. Dana Greene, who for some time had interested himself in her construction, and was ordered to her at the especial request of Lieutenant Worden. The crew had been selected from volunteers from the ships of war in New York harbor, and notwithstanding it was predicted by prominent officers of the navy and merchant service that she would founder when taken to sea, more men offered than were needed. She left New York under orders for Hampton Roads on the afternoon of March 6,—the day first set for the Virginia's attack,—in tow of a small tug-boat, and accompanied by two United States steamers. The following day, in a rough sea off the capes of Delaware Bay, she met with an accident which nearly closed her career at its very outset. The sea breaking over the vessel violently, water entered the blower-pipes, causing the breakage of the blower-bands and stopping the draft of the furnace. The engine and fire rooms filled with gas, the engineers were speedily suffocated, reviving with some difficulty, and the engines stopped. Water was making more rapidly than it could be reduced, and the tug was ordered

to tow the vessel ashore; but being small, could, unaided, make little headway. Finally, however, smoother water was reached and the danger was over, to be renewed again a few hours later, when the vessel became for a time entirely unmanageable.*

About the time the Congress surrendered, Worden heard heavy firing in the direction of Fortress Monroe, and guessing at the actual condition of affairs, he prepared his ship for action, and made all haste for his destination. At nine o'clock in the evening he reached the Roanoke, and was directed by Captain Marston to go to the assistance of the stranded Minnesota, by which vessel he lay until morning. Captain Van Brunt, of the Minnesota, made strenuous efforts throughout the night to get his ship afloat, but the firing of her heavy guns the day before had driven her deeper into the mud, and daylight found her as fast as ever.

And so the night wore on and dawn broke,—the dawn of the day of rest,—that day of the week which by the irony of fate has witnessed so many passionate conflicts. The victory of the Virginia had been most brilliant. She had, almost unaided, destroyed two large ships of war with a loss of several hundred men, and had driven off the rest of the fleet. Her own loss was scarcely enough to set off her triumph. She had shown a wondering world that wooden vessels could not stand for an instant against the ironclads, and now the world looked on, curious to see her prowess against a foeman of her own class. Buchanan's wound being a severe one, the command devolved on Lieutenant Catesby Ap R. Jones, an officer in every way worthy of the responsibility. During the night his pilots had discovered by the light of the burning Congress "a strange-looking craft" steaming towards the Minnesota, and it had been surmised that the apparition was the Ericsson battery which was known to have been building at the North, but whose arrival at this juncture was totally unexpected. The entrance on the stage of this new actor necessarily changed somewhat the aspect of affairs, and warned the victors that those spoils which had seemed securely within their grasp must now be fought for, and in a different fashion from the fighting of yesterday. Nevertheless, Lieutenant Jones did not hesitate. As early as possible—about eight o'clock—his squadron moved out from Sewell's Point, accompanied at a respectful distance by a cortege of admiring spectators from Norfolk, in craft of various descriptions. These followers, elated by the triumph of the previous day, and knowing little of the defects of their own champion, and nothing as to the new enemy she was now to

*An unpublished report by Admiral Worden, kindly furnished.

encounter, not unnaturally greatly overrated her powers. They went out as on a gala excursion, to see the capture of the Minnesota and all the other ships in the bay that should not be able to run away, perhaps even the bombardment of Fortress Monroe itself; and then the invulnerable and invincible would sail for New York, and carry the war into the territory of their enemies and destruction to the great cities of the North. But, to the wonder of these deeply-interested lookers-on, a curious and indeed absurd-looking David ventures to assail their Goliath. The master of a tug-boat* having a party of spectators on board, says, "We had been off Craney Island about half an hour, in plain sight of Hampton Roads and the different craft there. We saw the Merrimac, and presently the Monitor came out and attacked her. We could not tell what the Monitor was,—nothing had ever been known of her in Norfolk, and it was all speculation what she was. The fight was watched with great interest. Soon there began to be doubts about the result. Some Confederate officers, who had been down nearer than we were, came back, and in passing told us that the unknown craft was '*a wicked thing,*' and we had better not get too near her."

As soon as Worden saw that the hostile squadron had come out he got under way, desiring the combat to take place as far from the Minnesota as possible. Jones stood down the bay towards the Rip Raps, and then turned into the channel where the Minnesota lay. The Patrick Henry and the other wooden steamers retired in the direction from whence they came as the Monitor approached. The Virginia opened the combat, Worden steadily advancing, and reserving his fire for close quarters.†

The Virginia was unprovided with solid shot, and fired shells,

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*James Byers, of the Northern tug J. B. White, caught by the outbreak of war at Norfolk, and detained there. He escaped with his boat shortly afterwards.

†Lieutenant Jones says, "The Monitor commenced firing when about a third of a mile distant," but Lieutenant Worden in the unpublished report already quoted states he approached the Virginia "on her starboard bow, on a course nearly at right angles with her line of keel, reserving my fire until near enough that every shot might take effect. I continued to so approach until within very short range, when I altered my course parallel with hers, but with bows in opposite directions, stopped the engine and commenced firing. In this way I passed slowly by her, within a few yards, delivering fire as rapidly as possible, and receiving from her a rapid fire in return,—both from her great guns and musketry, the latter aimed at the pilot-house, hoping, undoubtedly, to penetrate it through the lookout holes, and to disable the commanding officer and helmsman."

and the Monitor used cast-iron balls weighing one hundred and sixty-eight pounds, fearing the heavier wrought-iron shot in her magazine might impose too great a strain on her guns, which had never been thoroughly tested. Thus neither were fully prepared to put forth their greatest strength. Worden, with a vessel of wholly experimental construction, which had been condemned by many as impracticable, while himself entertaining great faith in her powers, was naturally anxious until the first shock of the encounter had been withstood. "It had been predicted," he says, "that heavy shot, with great initial velocity, striking the turret would so derange it as to stop its working; but finding that it had been twice struck and still revolved as freely as ever, I turned back with renewed confidence and hope, and continued the engagement at close quarters; every shot from our guns taking effect upon the huge sides of our adversary, stripping off the iron freely." Her 11-inch balls, fired at a range of a few yards, indeed inflicted terrible blows, although of the forty or more shots she fired during the engagement, none completely penetrated the Virginia's armor. Lieutenant Jones says, "The effect of a shot striking obliquely on the shield was to break all the iron, and sometimes to displace several feet of the outside course; the wooden backing would not be broken through. When a shot struck directly at right angles, the wood would also be broken through, but not displaced. Generally the shot were much scattered; in three instances two or more struck near the same place, in each case causing more of the iron to be displaced, and the wood to bulge inside. A few struck near the water-line."

And so the combat between the gladiators continues, the broad bay for the arena, and the amphitheatre of the shores on both sides lined with excited spectators. "Gun after gun was fired by the Monitor, which was returned with whole broadsides from the rebels, with no more effect, apparently, than so many pebble-stones thrown by a child."* Had Worden known the exact construction of the Virginia he might have rammed her with success, since a comparatively slight blow forward, where the edge of the shield was at length awash,—the vessel being lightened and riding higher,—would probably have opened a ruinous leak. But his only effort in this direction was to try to disable here screw by running close across her stern. Jones, finding his shot of no effect against his submerged adversary, turned upon the more vulnerable Minnesota. Captain Van Brunt at once opened upon him a terrific fire, "with all his broadside guns and

*Report of Captain Van Brunt, of the Minnesota.

10-inch pivot,—a broadside which would have blown out of water any timber-built ship in the world."* The Virginia sent a shell into the Minnesota, "tearing four rooms all into one," and setting the vessel on fire, but the flames were speedily extinguished. Another shot blew up the boiler of a tug-boat alongside. Van Brunt unavailingly "concentrated an incessant fire" upon his assailant, but the Monitor was quickly to the rescue, and getting between the combatants caused the Virginia to change position, in doing which she grounded, and was again subjected to a heavy fire. Some fifteen minutes elapsed before she again floated, and she then stood down the bay, the Monitor in full chase. Presently the Virginia turned, and with the purpose of playing the same game as the day before, ran into her pursuer. The narrowness of the channel caused her movements to be slow, and Worden giving his vessel a shear off as the blow struck, no damage was done. Shortly after this "an alarming leak" occurred in the Virginia's bow, but was soon partially stopped; and about the same time—about noon—a shell struck the pilot-house of the Monitor and fractured one of the iron billets of which it was built. Lieutenant Worden was at the lookout-hole near which the shell struck, and the explosion filled his eyes with powder, completely blinding him. The roof of the pilot-house was lifted by the shock, and Worden, believing the ship's injuries to be serious, ran her out of the fight into shoal water, where the Virginia, with her great draft, could not go. Van Brunt, watching the conflict with anxious interest, expected now nothing less than the destruction of his ship, and prepared for a desperate resistance. It seemed as if the scene of carnage of yesterday was to be re-enacted, but the Virginia had no such intention. Surprised that the Monitor should retire from the combat, prudence certainly dictated that the opportunity to escape should not be lost. Lieutenant Jones says, "After consultation, it was decided that we should proceed to the navy-yard, in order that the vessel should be brought down in the water and completed. The pilots said if we did not leave that we could not pass the bar until noon of the next day." His ship was leaking, her armor was much damaged, and in her condition a shot from the Monitor might at any moment have caused irretrievable disaster. She had been gallantly fought, and might well rest upon her laurels.

Lieutenant Greene, who succeeded to command when Lieutenant Worden was disabled, finding that his vessel was not so seriously hurt as at first thought, soon returned to renew the battle, but his adver-

*Ibid.

sary was already off the field and steaming for Norfolk. The mission of the Monitor being thus fully accomplished, Lieutenant Greene thought it his duty not to again venture the great interests under his charge upon the uncertain issues of combat, and took position alongside of the Minnesota. His failure to pursue the defeated foe has been subjected to the same criticism that censured General Meade after Gettysburg, but in neither case can condemnation be justly visited for hesitating to run the risk of irretrievable disaster to the most momentous interests when substantial advantages had already been gained. Lieutenant Worden himself says,* "The Merrimac having been thus checked in her career of destruction and driven back crippled and discomfited, the question arises, Should she have been followed in her retreat to Norfolk? That such a course would commend itself very temptingly to the gallantry of an officer and be difficult to resist is undeniable; yet I am convinced that under the condition of affairs then existing at Hampton Roads, and the great interests at stake there,—all of which were entirely dependent upon the Monitor,—good judgment and sound discretion forbade it. It must be remembered that the pilot-house of the Monitor was situated well forward in her bows, and that it was quite considerably damaged. In following in the wake of the enemy it would have been necessary, in order to fire clear of the pilot-house, to have made broad 'yaws' to starboard or port, involving in the excitement of such a chase the very serious danger of grounding in the narrow portions of the channel, and near some of the enemy's batteries, whence it would have been very difficult to extricate her, possibly involving her loss. Such a danger her commanding officer would not, in my judgment, have been justified in encountering, for her loss would have left the vital interests in all the waters of the Chesapeake at the mercy of future attacks from the Merrimac. Had there been another ironclad in reserve at that point to guard those interests, the question would have presented a different aspect, which would not only have justified him in following, but perhaps made it his imperative duty to do so."

Both sides claimed the victory, and indeed its honors seem to be evenly divided. Its fruits, however, remained with the little Ericsson battery, which had accomplished to the full all that she had set out to do, while the enemy retired, foiled in her object, leaking and much damaged. Singular to say, no one, with the exception of Lieutenant Worden, was injured on either vessel by all the tremendous cannonade that had been gone through. The Virginia received forty-one

*Unpublished report already quoted.

shots from the Monitor and more than that number from the Minnesota. The Monitor was struck twenty-one times, receiving no injury except to the pilot-house. Had her commander been able to practice his crew in the handling of her guns—which were manipulated in an entirely novel manner—the effect would have probably been somewhat different. Indeed, these guns had never been thoroughly tested, and peremptory orders were issued by the Ordnance Bureau not to exceed a charge of fifteen pounds of powder. It would have been unjustifiable to have violated these orders,—although the guns in reality could have easily stood double that charge,—since the bursting of a gun in the turret would have entailed irreparable disaster. Lieutenant Jones, in reference to the Monitor's shots, says, "The shield was never pierced, though it was evident that two shots striking in the same place would have made a large hole through everything." If, therefore, Worden had felt at liberty to double the charge, and instead of the 168-pound cast-iron balls, to use the heavier wrought-iron shot with which he was provided, it is but fair to presume that Norfolk would never again have welcomed the Virginia and her brave crew, but that they would have been swallowed by the muddy waters of the bay. On the other hand, it is difficult to see how the Virginia could have been handled more effectively against her antagonist. She had left her beak among the ribs of the Cumberland, but it would have been useless against the superior agility of the Monitor. Had she had the wrought-iron bolts with which she was afterwards provided, it is possible, indeed, that her guns might have inflicted more injury to the Monitor, but it is not likely that this would have been very serious. The incompleteness of her armor does not seem to have affected the result of the second day's combat in any way. The Southern authorities doubtless used all the facilities at their command, but their vessel was radically defective, and there can be no doubt that it was over-matched by the actual fighting capacity of the Ericsson battery.

The effect of the Monitor's victory throughout the North was immense, and the popular exultation was as great as the previous dejection. The name of the Monitor was a household word. Congress passed a joint resolution of thanks to Lieutenant Worden and his crew; the President, through Secretary Welles, returned formal thanks for the "great service" rendered; the State of New York presented Lieutenant Worden with a sword; and testimonials from other sources and in various shapes, were tendered to him. Public confidence, which had received a terrible shock, was again restored; and the only prospect of naval supremacy granted to the South during the war was summarily

extinguished. But while the people were thus elated, the authorities at Washington did not so easily recover from their fright. Secretary Welles states that he, indeed, felt full confidence in the powers of the Monitor should the Virginia again come out from Norfolk, but others were not so well satisfied, particularly Secretary Stanton, who insisted that "Commodore" Vanderbilt should be allowed to carry out the plan of running down the Virginia with his immense wooden steamers,—of great speed but of no great strength for such an encounter. Mr Vanderbilt readily undertook the task, but stipulated that the Monitor and the rest of the navy should leave the matter entirely in his hands, and avoid interference. His ships were therefore kept ready for the reappearance of the Virginia; and after waiting for about a month, the Southern vessel, having in the interim been overhauled and strengthened, made her appearance, on the 11th of April, at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, in company with her former consorts, offering gage of battle to the Monitor, then lying at anchor under the guns of Fortress Monroe. Now was the expected opportunity for Vanderbilt's swift ships; and, as stipulated, the Monitor and other vessels of the navy did not interfere, but lay quiet, with steam up, in case of emergency. But Commodore Tatnall, who commanded the Southern squadron, did not propose to go beyond Sewell's Point. His object was to so maneuver as to tempt the Monitor over into his own field, when the wooden vessels of his squadron with a sudden rush were to board the Monitor, wedge fast the turret so that it would not revolve, and throw lighted tar-balls down through the ventilators to "smoke out" the crew. Seeing that she did not move, the Jamestown was sent over as a provocative, and captured three transports—two brigs and a schooner—lying between Newport News and Hampton, almost under the guns of the national fleet. The capture could easily have been prevented, but the fleet lay quiet, hoping the Virginia would be induced to come farther out, where Vanderbilt's vessels could have their opportunity. That, however, was not her game, and all day long both sides maintained an attitude of inactive defiance, until after a few shots at long distance, late in the afternoon, Tatnall's fleet went back to Norfolk.

Another occasion was sought on the 8th of May, when a portion of the Union fleet, including the Monitor, bombarded the battery at Sewell's Point. This brought the Virginia upon the scene, but no good opportunity occurred to run her down. In fact, the scheme was impracticable; and it was probably fortunate that the ships fitted up for the purpose did not make a serious attempt. Their own destruction

instead of that of the ironclad would most likely have been the consequence.

Movements of the land forces about this time caused the evacuation of Norfolk on May 10. Commodore Tatnall endeavored by lightening his vessel to so reduce her draft that she could be taken up the James River. However, after his efforts had so raised her that the edge of her shield was out of water, and the ship unfit for action, the pilots declared themselves unable to carry her across the Jamestown Flats, and as the river-banks up to that point were in possession of the government forces, no other course was left open except to destroy the ship to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. The crew was landed, and the Virginia run ashore near Craney Island, where she was set on fire, and blew up early in the morning of May 11, a fitting and dramatic end to her short but brilliant career.

The Monitor, too, was shortly to pass from sight, and to live only in history and in the class of vessels of which she was the prototype, and to which she has given her name. On the 29th of December of the same year she left Hampton Roads for Beaufort, and on the night of the following day went down in a storm, carrying about half of her crew with her, the rest being taken off by her convoy. Her seagoing qualities were never of the best, as had been shown by her initial trip to Fortress Monroe; and it is stated that during the summer her timbers had so shrunk as to admit large quantities of water when in a heavy sea.

The courage of the brave men who fought in the Virginia and in the Monitor adds equally to the glory of their common country. timbers shad so shrunk as to admit large quantities of water when in battery, which nine out of ten officers in the navy thought would never reach its destination. There must have been something peculiarly depressing to men accustomed to the lofty sides of a wooden ship to be shut up under water in an iron box, from which in case of disaster escape would be almost impossible.

The many other "monitors" that afterwards rendered efficient service were improved in power and efficiency. They won for themselves and for their class a world-wide renown, but the first—the Monitor—and her gallant commander, who with an untried and novel vessel, in the face of discouragement, hesitated not to brave a victorious and exultant enemy, will ever fill the largest niche in the temple of their fame.

J. H. Coates.

A LETTER TO AN ARMY BRIDE.

TODAVIANON, P. I.

MY DEAR GIRL:—So you are to marry an officer in the Filipines and come over here to live? And you want my advice on ways of getting here, and means of living having arrived? It will be rather a long tedious story, let me warn you, and if you don't like stupid details, you would better not read this.

Besides, who ever takes advice? The "don'ts" are rather apt to make one "do." Probably after I tell you what not to bring and what not to do you will do the "nots" and not do the "dos."

Of course, I understand that the man in the case couldn't tell you anything practical if he tried. He likes it better than anything he has had yet, and thinks you will. However, the outlook is quite different from a woman's point of view. The younger officers, from serving under a captain in a good sized garrison in the States, come over here and have independent commands, with a great deal of responsibility. The right sort (which of course he is) naturally likes it and does not notice the lack of comforts. But a woman leaves behind a good establishment, congenial surroundings, almost necessary luxuries, to plant herself in a Filipino village, with no added responsibility except that of keeping cheerful under adverse circumstances; in fact, her dignity is less, for she has to depend so much more on her husband's judgment, which of course the right sort doesn't relish. But I am anticipating. You are sure you want to hear the guide book story that follows? If you don't stop right here, for I am about to launch forth on the high seas.

Arriving at San Francisco (that sounds like Bædeker, doesn't it?) try to get the passenger list and meet some of the people going on your transport. If possible select your own roommate, for a journey of a month can be made almost unbearable by an uncongenial person in the stateroom. What remains agreeable at the end is surely "a survival of the fittest." The officials are considerate in the matter of staterooms, which are assigned according to official rank of the officer most concerned.

I am taking it for granted you will sail on a transport. Although the liners are somewhat faster, there is little advantage otherwise. In

the matter of service one has prompter attention and a more elaborate table on the mail steamer, but in many other ways the transport is preferable. You have more the freedom of the ship; you soon know your fellow passengers with whom you have something in common, and the life becomes that of a floating summer hotel; for after Honolulu it is all summer time.

The first night out it is apt to be rough and, alas, the first dinner is a solemn affair, with only a few people scattered about the salon.

The best advice I can offer for seasickness is, "Grin and bear it." It can't last forever, and you won't die, so, although life may look ghastly green for some hours or even days, the sunshine must return at Honolulu. By all means leave the ship there and either stay at the Hawaiian Hotel in the city or at Waikiki Beach, a few miles beyond. Both are charming and such a relief from the cramped life on shipboard. There are delightful drives about well worth taking, and very fine surf bathing. Whether or no it is the eight days of sky and sea which make the firm earth so grateful, Honolulu certainly seems like a garden spot of the world. You will return to the ship with a new lease of life and can think of the end of the journey, which at first seemed a little mythical, as a fact quite to be accomplished.

Thirty days at sea! Think of it! A whole month gone out of your life. How much you might have accomplished in that time, only you wouldn't, you know. It is like lost money, you keep spending it over and over until there is no limit to what might have been bought with the paltry sum.

On shipboard there is all the leisure in the world, so much it is an "embarres de richesse." Reading is the easiest way out of it, and you ought to take a very liberal supply of literature. Many women sew, and some of the energetic ones even take hand machines and improve the lingering hours by making shirt waists. There are always cards, and occasionally dancing. Unfortunately there is usually an "Anvil Chorus" or a "Knocker's Club" that you will do well to avoid. I know of no place where you should bridle your tongue so carefully as on shipboard. Don't tell all you know or think about yourself or any one else. This is not advice, but a command.

Think of the clothes you will need on a journey of this length. All underpinnings should be in dozens, for there is no laundry aboard the transport. The first few days out of San Francisco it is cold, and you will need winter clothing. It grows gradually warmer until after Honolulu, when the thinnest summer apparel is required.

You will be allowed access to your trunks in the hold often enough for convenience, and can pack away your winter things, which you

will not need again till the homeward journey. Let me say right here the best way to preserve woolen or silk clothing is to have a trunk lined with tin immediately on arrival in Manila, and all heavy clothing can be kept packed indefinitely without danger from moisture. Otherwise during the rainy season these things would become covered with mildew and ruined, unless carefully watched and aired when the least ray of sun appeared.

In the matter of clothing, you will find after a short residence in the Islands that you have an emphatic dislike to anything that cannot be tubbed. Taffeta linings are a distress, for they go to pieces without the least reason except the climate does not agree with them. If you must be silk lined, it should be with the soft China kind. In the main, organdie or anything that can be washed is better. This same laundering causes many a heartache. Your dainty things are apt to be returned in pieces, for the natives beat the clothes on stones and wash in cold water. After such treatment you can't expect much of even the strongest garments. They last wonderfully well considering the vicissitudes. Cotton materials and lace are very cheap; a sewing woman can be had reasonably, so the task of replacing them is not a serious one.

If you are so fortunate as to be stationed in Manila, you will find life there most attractive; at least, women do find it so. The officers insist they would much rather be out in the "bosque," but I am inclined to think it is sometimes a pose.

The whole atmosphere is "Kiplingesque"; that ought to convey an adequate idea to your mind.

Very probably you will live in the provinces, and there is a different proposition. First off, the adjusting of your mind to the conditions at hand takes a little time, but it must be done thoroughly and at once. Orient yourself once and for all, and life will go smoothly. If you still cling to the western idea of the fitness of things, that housekeeping must be done as your mother used to do, that shower baths wont do, you must have a hot tub, that you can saunter out in the sun any time of day with impunity, and other things to match—you will make endless trouble for yourself. I have seen women break down with nervous prostration and be invalided home for no other reason than struggling against orientalism. We can't make over the race, and I doubt if we could improve things so much if we did. It is probable that during the ages they have lived here, the people have worked out some things that are best for them. Undoubtedly the cane bottom beds are more sanitary than a heavy mattress, a cold shower more invigorating than a hot tub, some dust better than worn-out nerves.

You must take things calmly, otherwise you will not last your tour out. You cannot walk about in the sun without getting fever; you cannot trust or depend upon your servants; you cannot keep house in the spotless manner you would try to do it at home; these are axioms. Well, why should you want to? Life would be awfully tiresome if we did the same things everywhere.

In furnishing a house nothing seems so appropriate as the Chinese made wicker and bamboo furniture, which is very pretty and very reasonable. I should advise bringing nothing of that sort from the States. All highly finished veneered furniture is ruined by the climate. In some instances the veneer peels off on account of the dampness. Fine linen is a care because of laundering. You can buy a cheap grade here that does very well. In fact, nice table furnishings of any sort are a great trial, and you will have to look after them all yourself. Silver will be stolen unless you are supernaturally watchful; fine china is broken in a shocking way. It is wiser to bring nothing of a household nature, but supply yourself here.

The English women have charming homes and get so much out of life. They seem to take just what is necessary and comfortable from the native mode of life and add just what is interesting and amusing from home. We are still in the embryonic stage of adjustment. I only hope we may succeed as well.

In the provinces you will get nearer the Eastern idea of life than ever you could in Manila, but even then you are far enough away. It is impossible to divine what goes on in these little brown heads; sometimes you think there is nothing there at all, and suddenly wake to find that they have been so much cleverer than you, you are quite crestfallen.

It wouldn't be a bad idea to bring a good stiff set of morals with you, for they are apt to wear out quickly in this climate, and there is nowhere over here you can replenish them. The safest way is to start well supplied.

After all is said there is an indescribable fascination about life in the far East that makes up for all dicomforts; a freedom from conventionalities, a standing more on individual merit, more unselfishness toward one's fellow man.

I have covered the ground, have I not? If you have been bored to death, remember, it is your own fault.

A Captain's Wife.

SLOWNESS IN NAVAL CONSTRUCTION.

It is now more than six years since the sad catastrophe in the harbor of Havana deprived the United States of one of its finest fighting ships. Very soon afterwards the remaining ships, with the addition of innumerable "auxiliaries" purchased and fitted out for the occasion, were engaged in fighting for the honor of the flag against a brave but utterly inefficient power; and all who looked at that contest with seeing eyes must have realized that the then navy was none too strong, either in number or in quality, for the comparatively easy task it had to perform.

Knowing the character of the American people, as a whole, one would have supposed that this realization would have produced a speedy strengthening of the naval arm of our military establishment, demanded by every practical consideration, and by the plainest dictates of common sense. And one would have supposed that the American people would not only have authorized the construction of additional ships of the needed types, but would have seen to it that such construction should be proceeded with promptly and energetically, so that each succeeding year would have given us a stronger, more modern, and better equipped fighting force at sea. So far as authorization goes, there is no fault to find; but it is surprising that so practical a people—for the word "practical" always suggests itself when Americans are spoken of—should have patiently tolerated the utter failure of actual construction to keep pace with authorization, or even with contract requirements as to time; in fact, that they should have tolerated such extended time limits in the first instance. One can only explain this upon the theory that while the country at large is fully alive to the necessity for naval construction, and demands of successive Congresses a liberal and steady provision for new ships, it has such entire confidence in those entrusted with the carrying out of the authority given, that it supposes the best is being done that can be done. Now, this is a most unfortunate and grievous error. It is not true that the best has been done, or is being done, that can be done. I say this with conviction, for I cannot believe, and I do not believe, that with American energy and resources it need take longer by far to build ships here than in any other country, except France; I cannot

and do not believe that the constructors of England and Italy are so far ahead of us in appliances, skill and industry that they can outstrip us, as they do, if we make any real effort. We have several large private shipyards; we have two government yards, where the largest ships can be built; we have all the material necessary for their construction within easy reach of all these yards, and we have abundant financial resources.

Do the people realize, that in spite of the lessons we ought have learned from the Spanish war, the actual additions to the main fighting force since that war have been seven battleships, four coast-defence monitors (Heaven save the mark!), and *not one single armored cruiser?* So that to-day we have *not one* of this important class of ships in commission. For the New York and Brooklyn, magnificent vessels as they are, can hardly be called "armored cruisers" now, so soon does a type improve beyond itself—one of the many grave reasons for prompt construction, for a United States warship finished in 1904 should be up to date in design, not of earlier design than foreign ships of the same year.

Of the seven battleships, two, the Kearsarge and Kentucky, were nearly completed at the time of the war, so that the real increase since then has been five battleships, plus the four single-turreted monitors above mentioned, which may have some value when hostile fleets are on our coasts banging away at some of our principal seaports, and will be absolutely useless or more than useless in any other way, for if the late war demonstrated clearly any one thing, it was the total unfitness of monitors for cruising or offensive work; and also it might be said, for use in the tropics at all, for, as Captain Chadwick says, "They were hells of suffering to their officers and crews."

Not only have we not one armored cruiser in commission at the present time, but we will not have for at least eighteen months to come, and this although several were authorized very soon after the war. And the other important vessels under construction are, almost without exception, far behind time, and this, too, when, as remarked above, the contract time is longer than it ought to be.

If an English firm can undertake to build a large first-class battleship (for Japan) in eighteen months, why should it take more than twice as long to build one here? If a large merchant vessel can be built on the lakes in four months, why should it take ten times as long to build a warship, even if built within contract limits?

There is a great vital difference between actual and potential naval strength in modern times. Formerly, a navy might be improvised, or nearly so; now, it cannot, even when all possible despatch is used.

Not long ago, just before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, a Russian newspaper, in discussing the Eastern situation, remarked that, while the prospective naval strength of the United States was great, its actual strength was not, and therefore European powers need concern themselves but little as yet about the wishes of this country in the East.

I do not pretend to know just where the trouble lies. I do not know whether it lies at the door of the shipbuilder, of the armor plate makers, or of the naval authorities who make and alter the designs, or somewhere else. Except by the silly armor plate controversy a few years ago, Congress has not delayed shipbuilding, so the fault is not there; but fault there is somewhere, and it is of crucial importance that its whereabouts be discovered.

The provision that all our warships and the materials used in their construction shall be of domestic manufacture is a wise one, no doubt, but everything should not be sacrificed to it; above all, it should not be traded upon; and if our contractors and manufacturers are unable or unwilling to construct more promptly, a little foreign competition would not be amiss. We are entitled to actual, not potential, naval strength; there is no excuse for our actual strength not being far greater than it is to-day, for our warships are not playthings; we have not spent millions of dollars and authorized the spending of millions more for toys; on the contrary, the country rightly believes naval strength to be of essential importance to its welfare, and if it once realizes that it is being trifled with there will be a heavy reckoning to be paid by somebody.

This article is already too long. Any one who is interested has only to look at the date of authorization, the contract time, and the present degree of completion of the heavy warships now building, to be satisfied that he has reason to be dissatisfied.

LUCIUS S. LANDRETH.

THE CHINESE.*

WHO of us who was then in existence has forgotten the excitement produced in the year 1849 by the announcement of the discovery of gold in California?

The whole country was ablaze from one end to the other, and the "gold fever" spread to the farthest extremities of the earth. Madness seemed to have taken possession of everybody; farmers sold their homesteads to raise the necessary funds to transport them to the new El Dorado, mechanics and tradesmen abandoned their legitimate callings, and even Army and Navy officers gave up their commissions and, equipped with pick and shovel, started for the mines in pursuit of wealth. Companies were formed in the Eastern States to go to California, some of them proceeding in crowded and frequently unseaworthy vessels by way of Cape Horn, and others making the long and toilsome march across the plains. Meanwhile, the news kept coming of larger "nuggets" and richer placers, and thousands of men hurried away from their families, not to see them again for years, if ever.

All these adventurers seemed to have an idea that if they could only reach California they would find "nuggets" scattered over the surface of the country, possessed of which they could return to the bosom of their families to pass the remainder of their lives in comfort. Very few anticipated the toil they must undergo to attain a tithe of their wishes; but the word "failure" was not in their vocabulary, and lawyers, clergymen, artists, and tradesmen of every class ventured all they were worth in the wild scramble for gold.

The route across the continent, explored by Fremont, was crowded with pilgrims to the shrine of Mammon, many of them footsore wanderers, who were compelled to throw away even their pickaxes, and were slowly dragging their emaciated frames towards the goal of all their hopes. Many died on the road, breathing their last without a friend to close their eyes. Wagons and carts were everywhere broken down and abandoned, and the bones of horses and oxen which had perished in the transit whitened the plains. But these grim portents seemed to dishearten no one; the vast procession still moved onward, its numbers constantly increasing, urged on by fabulous reports of new

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gold discoveries. Sometimes whole caravans would disappear, victims of the roving bands of Indians or of the emissaries of Brigham Young, who threw every obstacle in the way of his chosen retreat in the wilderness being invaded by the "Gentiles." But the swarms of travelers were as indifferent to fear as pious Mohammedans making the pilgrimage to Mecca. California was the Mecca of our modern enthusiasts, and gold was their Prophet.

Next the great merchants got the fever, and huge steamships were built, and routes opened by way of the Isthmus of Panama and Nicaragua. As fast as the steamships were built they were hurried off half equipped, some of them going around Cape Horn to meet the passengers coming from the east side.

The writer commanded the Panama, one of the first of these steamers, which had started on her voyage under the command of another captain, had broken down, and had returned to New York.

Mr. William Aspinwall offered me what I then considered a large sum to refit the ship and take her out to Panama through the Straits of Magellan, and I accepted the offer.

I had rather a select set of passengers,—only fifty in the cabin and one hundred in the steerage,—because carrying passengers on the voyage out was not so much of an object with the steamship company as was quick arrival in Panama and the connection with the steamers on the Atlantic side, where river boats, turned into ocean steamers, were waiting to be crammed with live-stock on its way to California.

My cabin passengers were not intending to dig for gold exactly. They were educated gentlemen, many of whom have made their mark in California and occupy prominent positions in the State of their adoption.

My old friend, Samuel Ward, Esq., was one of this band of pilgrims, and the instant he came on board he took charge of the ship and her captain. He regulated all the passengers and gave them their seats at the table; he superintended the *menu,* the cook succumbing to him at once; he posted the distance run each day, and I strongly suspect that he worked out my observations, although, having weak eyes, he could not himself take an altitude.

When we crossed the line Mr. Ward received Neptune on board, and plied that worthy with whisky to such an extent that he escaped the ordeal of *shaving* to which his fellow-passengers were subjected,—the *first time in his life that he was thus successful.* He piloted the ship into Rio in a thick fog; that is, he stood by my side, and whenever a fishing-boat loomed up he would assert it to be a rock, which made me more than ordinarily careful; and when at last we let go

our anchor in the same thick fog, Ward cried out, "By jingo, captain, we did that well!" Mr. Ward, though he has since become famous, never rendered himself more useful and agreeable than during that voyage. He was the life and soul of the ship and shortened the passage at least one-half, to say nothing of his carrying the vessel so safely into port.

Another of our passengers was Lieutenant G. H. Derby, U. S. A. (John Phœnix), who conducted a newspaper during the voyage, which for its cleverness deserved to have been printed in letters of gold. If ever the spirits of his fellow-passengers flagged, Derby set them to laughing. When I said to him one day, with rather too much naval sternness, "No smoking allowed on the quarter-deck, sir!" he innocently replied, "Why, Cap, I'm not smoking aloud on the quarter-deck." I smiled, for I couldn't help it.

When we anchored in Rio we found the harbor crowded with American ships, and the gold-hunters who had taken passage in them swarmed on board, endeavoring to get a passage in the Panama, cost what it might; but all the state-rooms were taken, and although I was offered four times the regular price of passage, I declined all overtures.

Most of the ships bound to California were in need of repairs, captains had violated their contracts, crews and passengers were in a state of mutiny, and the gold-seekers in desperation were making so much trouble in Rio that the American consul absconded, and the Emperor Dom Pedro began to fear that his dominions would be overrun by a set of vandals, as the ships were constantly arriving with thousands of disappointed passengers, who saw little prospect of ever reaching their destination.

Every imaginable device was resorted to by the people to stow themselves away on board the Panama, all of which were frustrated by the vigilance of the officers; and after Mr. Ward was fully satisfied that the steamer had laid in a sufficient quantity of truffles and *patés de fois gras* to supply three times the number of people we had in the cabin, we steamed out of the harbor amid the cheers and groans of over five thousand people of different nationalities, who would have given half their lives to have accompanied us. Mr. Ward piloted us safely through the Straits of Magellan; that is, he furnished me, while on deck night and day, with pea-jackets to keep off the "pelting of the pitiless storm," for the rain and hail came down without cessation during the greater part of the passage. Mr. Ward also kept me supplied with hot coffee whenever the *Willahwahs,* which prevail in that delightful region, would allow me to take it.

We made the passage of the straits in thirty-six hours, and in spite of a heavy gale of wind we soon reached Valparaiso and Callao, and made the quickest trip on record to Panama. At this place I found about seven hundred persons waiting to proceed to San Francisco in the ship, which had accommodations for three hundred, while I don't know how many thousands were waiting on the Isthmus to get to California the best way they could. The most enthusiastic of these gold-seekers were somewhat sobered down by their trip on the Chagres River, the discomforts of which no pen can portray.

Fortunately for me, another captain had come out to Panama to take my place and carry the steamer to San Francisco, and the last I saw of the unfortunate man he was sitting, the picture of despair, on the top of the paddle-box, his decks crowded with passengers, boxes, trunks, pickaxes, "cradles," and dogs.

I shall never forget my trip down the Chagres River on my way home, and the disenchanted people I met hurrying to Panama in expectation of getting immediate transportation to California. Hundreds of forlorn-looking individuals were to be seen trudging along with their packs; delicate women, with the most woe-begone, washed-out appearance, jogged along on sorry-looking mules; trunks and boxes were strewn along the roadside, broken open, and the contents scattered. Sick men and women lay under the thick shade of romantic-looking trees, the beauty of which was all lost on the multitude. All talked of gold. All one heard were the wonderful stories imported from California, and the riches in store for whoever was so fortunate as to reach El Dorado. This vanguard of the myriads who were to found a new empire in California were certainly a hard-looking set to depend upon for the advancement of civilization in a new country. Mes of the lowest and most debased characted were associated with persons of the greatest refinement; gamblers, thieves, and murderers were on an equality with the best, and I rejoiced that I had not the gold fever, but was satisfied with my condition.

I bade adieu to the motley throng without regret, and soon reached New York, and assumed command of the U. S. Mail Steamship Company's steamer Georgia. This vessel was to carry passengers and mails from New York to Aspinwall to connect with the steamers on the Pacific coast, and a new field of observation was opened up calculated to impress the memory of events on one for a lifetime.

During the three months I had been absent the aspect of California affairs had materially changed. Then our countrymen, or at least those who called themselves "Americans," were flocking to the mines; but now Europe had opened her flood-gates, and crowds of foreigners

were rushing towards California by emigrant ships as well as by the regular steam lines.

Among these foreigners were large numbers of Jews, who carried with them considerable property in merchandise and money, and, if their looks did not belie them, were a match for the shrewdest Yankee that ever came out of New England. There were many miners from Great Britain, as Australia's gold mines were then undiscovered.

People then were dreaming of a great empire to be established on the Pacific, few supposing that in a comparatively short time the Pacific Railroad would link that far-off region to the Union as closely as the older States, and I have often been struck with the wild and romantic views of intelligent passengers, who could form no more idea of the grandeur to which this republic would attain than our forefathers could when they drew up a constitution for a nation of four millions of people which was destined to increase to such gigantic proportions.

Even at that early day there were not wanting those who predicted that in a few years California would command the commerce of the East Indies, which has always brought wealth and power to the nation controlling it. At the same time it was evident that California, with her one fine harbor, could hardly become a naval power if she attempted to walk alone, but, on the contrary, could easily be deprived of her supremacy in the commerce of the East, to say nothing of having her coast blockaded and her seaboard cities destroyed.

Thoughtful men no doubt saw in the future a great tide of emigration pouring into California from the empire of China, Japan, etc., which would require all our talents and energies to control,—an emigration in which certain of our public men think they see the direst consequences in the future, forgetful of the benefits these Chinese have conferred upon California.

During the earlier outpouring of gold-hunters from the United States, Europe, and Asia, I made several voyages with large numbers of passengers, the number exceeding in some cases the limit fixed by law. As a rule the crowd was a motley one, armed to the teeth with knives and pistols, and reckoning among their number some of the most lawless of our "border ruffians." From the great numbers of "cradles" which encumbered our decks a novice might have fancied himself on board a floating asylum for foundlings, or in a bazaar ship, because the Israelites who formed part of the company on board, combining business with pleasure, held daily exhibitions of their goods, and sold them with a rapidity and at a profit which could not fail to carry joy to their mercantile souls.

Unaccustomed to the discipline of a ship and desirous of having their own way, the passengers gave a vast deal of trouble, and it sometimes seemed doubtful whether they or myself would command the vessel; but after the first few hours, and when we had become a little better acquainted with one another, no one cared to dispute my authority.

In one of these trips to the Isthmus I carried as many as seventeen hundred persons. At Havana the Ohio and the Falcon, both from New Orelans and both crowded with passengers, met me, and after a great deal of discussion among the captains, I agreed to carry them all to Chagres in my vessel, being informed that steamers were waiting at Panama to take them to California. To provide for this multitude I purchased a dozen cook stoves, and hired a number of colored gentlemen, the property of a planter on his way to El Dorado, to perform the duty of cooks. Not being able to purchase at short notice the kind of provisions necessary for my hungry horde, I seized a large quantity of flour, bacon, sugar, tea, and coffee, the property of a gentleman connected in some way with the steamship company, who was taking these stores to California with the prospect of realizing large profits thereon.

This supply of provision kept a large body of desperate men from giving serious trouble. The culinary artists were ordered to labor day and night, and to give all, men, women, and children as much as they wanted to eat and drink as long as the provisions held out; and as far as eating and drinking went I never saw a more contented set of mortals.

When the ship got to sea she fairly waddled along and rolled at the slightest provocation, so great was the weight on her decks, for we had accommodations for only about eight hundred persons below. Fortunately, the weather was warm and pleasant, but many had to remain on deck, where each man had (when it was possible) sixteen square feet chalked out for him, with his number in the middle of the reservation, where he could sit all day long if it so pleased him, and repose undisturbed at night on a luxurious mattress stuffed with cornstalks, and supplied by the liberality of the steamship company.

There were few who had not some place to sleep, either on deck, on top of the wheel-houses, or in the hold, and the only serious complaint on this score that I remember was that of an Arkansas traveler, who, when he had been three days out of port, bewailed his lack of a mattress, and said that he had been sleeping on a sea-sick organ-grinder, who, having, with his monkey, recovered from the *mal de mer,* was now too much for him.

A philosopher might have asked himself, How can this cosmopolitan assemblage ever maintain a condition of law and order unless ruled by the hand of despotic power, such as is employed by the governments of continental Europe? How can people who have been ruled by the bayonet all their lives be controlled by laws emanating directly from the people,—their social and political equals? The problem was solved when these foreign emigrants reached California.

Many persons besides philosophers are aware that a small lump of leaven will cause a large amount of bread to rise, and the native-born citizens who had been educated to obey the laws were sufficiently numerous to restrain lawlessness in those who might otherwise have set all laws at defiance.

It was a study to notice how the various classes of people would assimilate with those of their own grade or calling on board. In the after-part of the vessel might be seen a knot of lawyers disputing together, some questioning the right of the captain to maintain order among passengers, others stoutly affirming his fullest measure of authority. Truth compels me to declare that these disciples of Coke were the most lawless portion of the passengers, but their disagreeable traits were all in the line of their profession, and they doubtless hoped in the future to make out any number of good cases against the Mail Steamship Company for damages in overloading the ship with passengers. The venom was all taken out of these gentlemen, however, after I had circulated the champagne among them a few times, for I still had faith in the maxim that "the way to a man's heart is through his stomach."

Such a rush of emigrants from the centre of Europe was never before witnessed, and, although the circumstances of the case were so different, it reminds us of the irruptions of the barbarians who overran the Roman empire. The people who were coming in such numbers were so different in character from our native-born citizens, or those who, by long residence, had become like ourselves, that one might well feel anxious with regard to the future of California, and wonder if anarchy and confusion would not be her portion rather than a quiet settlement into one of the members of the great American Union. The result has demonstrated to the world that a republican form of government is the only one under which people can enjoy equal rights. That problem has long since been solved, at least for the present generation

The majority of the hordes that swept over land and sea towards California were of the Scandinavian race, in which we include the Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic races, men in whom nature has planted a love of liberty with courage to defend it,—yet who of all

men have shown the greatest respect for law, only resorting to revolution when compelled by the tyranny of their rulers; among these people in California were the refuse of Europe and America, who, thinking themselves securely in the ascendency, endeavored to make murder and all other crimes appear venal offences, if not virtues to be admired. When forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, and the laws were found inadequate to afford relief, the citizens arose in their might and decorated improvised gibbets with some of the most desperate villains who ever required the services of Jack Ketch.

California has now established her supremacy, and San Francisco is to-day the queen city of the Pacific, although a few years ago she was but an assemblage of huts and tents. Her palaces and warehouses are filled with the products of the world, and California is attached to the Union not only by law, but by those bands of iron which have crossed the continent to contribute to her prosperity. She commands the commerce of the East,—of China and Japan,—if she knows how to use her power by inducing our legislators to advocate and adopt those liberal measures which built up the mercantile marine of our great commercial rival, England, and do as England does, assist our steam lines in the Pacific until they are powerful enough to be self-supporting.

Among all the nationalities I have mentioned as voyaging in the steamer towards California, there was but one solitary Chinaman,—a dapper little Celestial, clean in person and neat in dress, smiling and bowing as he squirmed his way through the crowd of passengers. Now he is on top of the wheel-house, now at the mast-head, trying to get a glimpse at a sail reported from aloft, now he is at the wash-tub professionally occupied with his employers' clothing. In the evening the Mongolian plays checkers with the sailors, and beats them every time with the blandness of his renowned countryman, the childlike Ah Sin.

Even "draw poker," "old sledge," and other scientific games were readily learned by this wise man from the East, while in the art of balancing a boat-hook on the end of his nose he stood without a rival. On the tail of his black alpaca jacket were paper Chinese characters representing his name, "Woo Hop," while certain other hieroglyphics on his breast indicated his descent from the Chang Woo dynasty. Woo Hop was a great favorite with everybody on board, was in "everybody's mess and nobody's watch," in fact, and it was a general remark that he represented more versatility and cleverness in himself than anybody else on board.

A passenger the first day out asked me who that queer-looking half-breed was with all the obsequiousness of the negro united with the intelligence of the white man. "That, sir," said I, "is Mr. Woo Hop, of the illustrious Chang Woo dynasty, who traces his ancestry back 3,000 years B. C. He claims to be of the branch, 'Peran-Koo-She,' and, according to the belief of the best Chinese historians, is descended from Shem, the beloved of God. In that crowd of Yankees and Dutchmen he is like a drop of whisky in a bucket of water, his strength is not felt; but like the termite who leads the way for millions of his insect brethren, this Chinaman will bring all the Chinese out of Asia into California, and when a Chinaman once settles, there's no such thing as getting rid of him."

Some such remarks were made at the time in a spirit of badinage, but time and the march of events have rather justified my prophecy; and although I may be considered as resting under a delusion, I nurse my favorite theory, which, if it serves no other purpose, helps to amuse my friends, who laugh at my predictions, probably consoling themselves with the idea that *they* will not live to see them verified.

Woo Hop was not one of those servile Chinamen such as one now meets in the slums of San Francisco, and although not entitled to wear the insignia of the lowest grade of mandarins, he was sufficiently proud to sustain his claim to noble descent. When addressed as "John Chinaman" by the genial emigrants from Pike County, he would indignantly exclaim, "Me no wanchee callee me John Chinaman; me namee Woo Hop; me washee close for me piece o' man, Maser Misser Smit. In my cuntlee you all same one boblailien; me no speakee you kiar, bime by, you know. Woo Hop all samee Melican fligate." No Christian could have expressed himself in stronger terms, for, though the Chinaman's language may be obscure to the general reader, it was intended to show the contempt of a civilized being for an unmannerly outside barbarian.

The last I saw of Mr. Hop he was handling six trunks for his employers, making contracts with the Chagres boatmen, and cooking provisions for several parties prior to starting up the river. In the eight hours he remained in Chagres I will venture to say our Chinaman learned more about the country than any other passenger. His last act was to write his name on the superintendent's office, as a notice to other pilgrims from the central Flowery Kingdom who might travel that way.

For four or five years the tide of travel to California was unceasing. Europe and Asia poured forth hordes of adventurers, until the fabulous stories of gold discoveries in Australia diverted the stream

of emigrants in that direction. A better class of people now formed the majority of emigrants to California from the Eastern States. Other lines of steamers were established, and passengers were carried with greater comfort at cheaper rates. Two hundred and sixty million dollars in gold and silver had been sent East, of which I transported about eighty million dollars. Stage lines had been started across the continent, a railroad was in contemplation, in short, California was considered a fixed fact, and a bank upon which the world might draw indefinitely without exhausting its resources.

Woo Hop had arrived in California, and soon communicated to his people at home wonderful accounts of the golden land occupied by the outside barbarians, which of right belonged to the Celestial Empire, for the Chinese consider other nations so much inferior as to be really their property, and if they do not take possession it is merely from their aversion to mixing too closely with people so far beneath them. His friends could hardly be persuaded that such a land as California did really exist, for the Chinese profess to believe that the flowery nation, the greatest on earth, is surrounded by water, and the land of the barbarians is a little island unworthy of notice.

Our friend Hop was therefore looked upon as a Chinese Ananias when his first dispatches arrived at Pekin. They reached their destination so quickly that it seemed as if he had some means of telegraphing across the water in advance of the laying of a Pacific Ocean cable.

When, in 1836, some English speculator announced to the Emperor Taon Kwang the invention of the magnetic telegraph, and proposed to run wires through all parts of the empire, His Majesty at once consulted his prime minister, the celebrated Shing-Tsoo-jin-hwang-ti, who pronounced it all "bosh." He asserted that the Chinese had used such a means of communication during the reign of Tu-he-she, 2,205 B. C., and that mighty ruler, finding it to affect the virtue of the people, and to be the cause of much unnecessary communication between them, had abolished the affair as a nuisance.

Some of Woo Hop's friends, probably taking it for granted that if a tenth part of what that worthy had communicated to them was true it would pay to visit California, made their arrangements accordingly. One party, desirous of losing no time, chartered a junk for the ostensible purpose of going down the coast for a short distance, designing to seize the vessel and proceed to the new land where the outside barbarians were reaping the benefits which of right belonged to the children of the Flowery Kingdom.

Great vigilance was at that time observed over the movements of

the people, and the distinguished Te-tuk, admiral of the Imperial fleet, blockaded all the ports with a force of nine hundred and eighteen strong war-junks, manned by one hundred thousand men, together with twelve hundred vessels belonging to the river police. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the gallant admiral, the adventurers in the red-painted bottom, A No. 1 junk Pwan Kang, succeeded in slipping out of the Yang-tse-Kiang one dark night when all the Imperial navy was asleep, and, throwing her bamboo sails to the breeze, she sped like an arrow before the wind. It was of no use to try to overtake the Pwan Kang, for she could make six knots before a fresh gale and four knots on a taut bow-line. The escaping party were deficient in navigators and navigating instruments, but doubtless expected to pick these things up on the road. The last seen of these "California Pioneers" they were heading for the Lew Chew Islands, where it was supposed they would supply all deficiencies.

The Pwan Kang had hardly been gone a week before Admiral Te-tuk made an official report of the whole affair to the great fourth mandarin. The latter transmitted it to the third mandarin, he to the second, and the second to the first, who handed it over to Woo Ting, at that time prime minister. Woo Ting devoted three months to an elaborate investigation and laid the papers before His Celestial Majesty the Emperor, who said, "Let them go,—they will enlighten the outside barbarians in California, and teach them civilization and good manners. If," said the Emperor, "these wanderers should return, deal gently with them, express our regret that they should have left the Flowery Kingdom to consort with inferior creatures; chop their ears off and send them to serve as soldiers in defence of the frontier."

Fortunately, the adventurers escaped the paternal attentions of the Emperor, and have never since been heard from, although their friends in California, who arrived by a more certain conveyance twenty-seven years ago, are still expecting them.

There was a rumor current several years after the sailing of the junk of a queer-looking vessel having been wrecked near the Fegee Islands. The crew were reported to have been all drowned; but taking into consideration the fact that some of the natives have since been seen decorated with Chinese pigtails, it is highly probable that the unfortunate voyagers of the Pwan Kang were converted into soup.

Meanwhile, the people in San Francisco were delighted with the prospect held out to them by the urbane Woo Hop of the Chinese cheap labor on its way and soon to arrive in California.

Then every one was complaining about the high price of labor, and it was supposed that a Chinese "nurseman," at two dollars and a half

a month, would be a decided improvement over a French *bonne* with watery eyes and a Corkonian accent, and that a cook who could make at least tolerable dishes at four dollars a month would be better than one who charged seventy-five dollars for the privilege of spoiling the provisions.

Woo Hop was accordingly bored to death with inquiries about the friends he expected to join him in San Francisco, but his invariable answer was, "Belly plenty Chilese come blime bly all samee blakbellies you sabe." He was now the most popular man in San Francisco, and had it not been for the lingering remains of prejudice in favor of the Caucasian race he would no doubt have been sent to Congress. As it was, he visited every one's house in the capacity of a "distinguished foreigner," his almond eyes were pronounced "perfectly lovely" by the young ladies, and his pigtail was threatened with annihilation on account of the numerous locks of hair abstracted by his admirers.

With all his popularity Woo Hop was at times subjected to indignities and perils inseparable from the peculiar civilization which prevailed in the home of his adoption. Once some drunken miners shot at him, mistaking him (so they said) for an escaped baboon. At another time his pigtail was amputated by some mischievous rascals,—an event which filled Woo Hop with the greatest indignation, and he broke forth in the following words, addressed to one of his persecutors, "You Kistin piece o' man, me belly solly; me heathel man, me belly glad," after which he marched off with much dignity. The outside barbarian felt a touch of remorse, and called out, "Here, little nigger, is a gold-piece to pay for the shave," but Woo Hop did not deign to touch the coin.

The first lot of Chinese which arrived in California came by sailing vessel, being more fortunate than their countrymen who sailed in the Pwan Kang. They reached the Golden Gate without much discomfort, and were engaged as soon as the ship came to anchor at (for them) high wages as "nursemen," "washermen," cooks, etc. Few ventured to the mines, for they had little disposition to contend with the boisterous people in that quarter.

The Chinese had for some years previous to the gold discoveries been employed in different parts of the world under the name of "Coolies." In Cuba, particularly, they worked on plantations, and were really in a condition of abject slavery. Contracts were made with these poor wretches to serve a term of years at the rate of three dollars a month, or thereabouts, a large sum to a Chinese laborer at home, but much less to the same person abroad. Rather than submit

to the horrors of slavery many of the "Coolies" put an end to their lives in the coolest possible manner, while hundreds died from home-sickness, and few indeed ever returned to China to tell the story of their sufferings.

Hundreds of these poor people were enlisted to build the Panama Railroad. By permission of the Chinese government the Chinese laborers were to serve until the road was finished, with the strict understanding that *all* were to be returned to their native land at the expiration of that time, the living as they had been sent out, and the *trepassé* (their bones) snugly packed in boxes, to be deposited with those of their ancestors.

Whether the terms of this contract were strictly complied with I do not know, but Woo Ting, the great prime minister, suddenly discovered that the population of the empire was increasing to an alarming extent, that rice was rising in price, and that the supply of dogs, rats, and other vermin was diminishing in a frightful ratio. He therefore advised the Emperor to permit the worst of his subjects to go abroad and sow the seeds of civilization and the sublime doctrines of Confucius among all the tribes of outside barbarians tributaries to the Celestial Empire.

It can readily be imagined that with a country of three million square miles of territory, containing four hundred millions of people, the prime minister, who was responsible for their being fed, should wish to lessen his labors as much as possible by doing all in his power to facilitate the exit of his countrymen. Hence it came to pass, as California gradually filled up with new-comers from Yankee-land and Europe who would work only at very high wages, that Woo Ting, instigated by Providence, sent out in the nick of time Chinese laborers as fast as transportation could be procured for them.

"Let them come," said the jovial pioneers of California; "we shall want all we can get to wait on us and build our railroads."

When the Panama Railroad was finished a fresh stream of people was swept Californiaward by the Pacific mail steam lines, consisting of some of the finest ships in the world; and the Nicaragua line, although not quite so fine, carried thousands of passengers, quicker, cheaper, and dirtier than their rivals. By all these lines the Chinese laborers who had worked upon the railroads were seen proceeding to California, where, upon their arrival, they were all absorbed, in fact, were considered a "national blessing."

The important questions, whether the Chinaman was white or "colored," whether he should be allowed a vote, in fact, whether he had any rights which an Irishman or German was bound to respect,

had not then agitated the public mind, but it seemed to be tacitly understood that John could work as hard as he pleased for as little as he pleased, and when he wished to return to the Flowery Kingdom there would be no objections to his taking his earnings with him.

Some of the more intelligent classes spoke of the Chinese as "Mongolians," which others translated into "mongrel," and came nearer to the mark than they imagined, probably, as the Chinese are a mixture of various races, with a dash of the Caucasian, which they get from the Western Tartars, who have some European characteristics,—long beards, slender figures, etc. There is not, however, enough Caucasian blood in John, according to D. K——y and other excellent authorities, to allow him to vote under any circumstances. Had he been allowed the privileges of a citizen, says K——y, he would long ere this have overrun the United States, and established here the same form of government which has existed in China since the days of the illustrious Peran-Koo-She, who, as everybody knows, reigned ages before the sublime Ta-Tu, who died in the year 2205 B. C. This terrible catastrophe has thus far been averted by treating the Chinaman pretty much as we formerly treated the negro, although allowing the former some little credit for politeness and filial affection.

It occurred to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at last that it would be a good idea to establish a line to China and Japan to supply California and the East with teas and silks, and any stray "Mongolians" who might desire a passage to the land of gold, and could raise the money to pay for it. From this time the steamers were packed with Chinamen going and returning, many of the latter packed in boxes, having given up the ghost far from their beloved country, but consoled in their last hours by the assurance that their mortal remains should be deposited near the bones of their ancestors. Notwithstanding the crowded condition of the steamers stuffed full of emigrants, hold, steerage, coal-bunkers, in fact, every place where a Chinaman could be wedged, they gave little trouble, behaving with that decorum which is inculcated by the sage Confucius, by whose writings all the Chinese are regulated.

In 1860 there were at least forty thousand Chinese in California, and there was no objection to them then among respectable people. The Californians were thinking what a fortunate circumstance it was that there were so many thousands of hard-working people available to build the contemplated railroads, and do all the other drudgery at one-third the price charged by white men.

The bulk of the Chinese emigration settled in San Francisco, and took possession of a quarter of the city by themselves, which obtained

the appellation of "Chinatown." Here they herded together in buildings somewhat after the style of those in Hong-Kong.

In these simple domiciles they live in apparent comfort and content, maintaining their national customs and local regulations without, so far as we have learned, questioning the propriety of outside barbarians dwelling in magnificent houses and selling their shoddy wares from equally magnificent shops.

Some went to the mines to work over the diggings abandoned by the Caucasians as "worked out," getting rich on placers where white men would have starved; many fishermen came over and settled along the coast to ply their calling and supply the market. People thought this was as it should be, for no self-respecting Caucasian would stoop to the ignoble business of catching fish as long as he could make more money in mining gold.

The Pacific Railroad was commenced, and thousands more of the Chinese came over to help build it and bring California within six days' travel of the Atlantic States. When the road was finished,—a result for which we are greatly indebted to Chinese labor,—the fact became apparent that ere many years a great commerce from China and Japan would pass through the Golden Gate to the Eastern States, and to Europe. We seemed destined to command the greater part, if not all, of the commerce of the East.

In former times the nation which controlled the commerce of Asia attained the greatest power, and this is one leading cause of the present importance of Great Britain in the family of nations. Why should we not take from her the wealth of Oriental commerce as she has taken it from other nations? Simply because British statesmen are not hampered by sectional or local considerations, but comprehend the requirements of the whole empire, and maintain a navy adequate not only to protect their island coast, but, in case of necessity, to defend their interests in every quarter of the world.

It were vain to tell of the persecutions the poor Chinese underwent in California after the completion of the Pacific Railroad. By that time there were at least sixty thousand Celestials in the State, the majority of the lowest class in the social scale, and they were despised and hated by the Americans and Europeans who were living, in the mountains of California, lives as rude and as savage as their ancestors when subjugated by Cæsar.

Even the lowest class of Chinese are imbued with a certain amount of native politeness which requires long contact with the outside world to eradicate, and filial piety they consider the crowning virtue. It seems a little singular that such a people should be considered outside

the pale of civilization, and be subjected to the ignominious treatment awarded to slaves and savages.

Notwithstanding all the outrages practiced upon the Chinese after their usefulness had waned, they have multiplied in California in a remarkable manner, and the prime minister, Woo Ting, must feel gratified that he has provided for so many of his countrymen, who stick to California with all the tenacity of their European persecutors. Only give a Chinaman a foothold, and he will soon attain the largest proportions of which he is capable.

To-day there are said to be sixty thousand Chinese in San Francisco, and forty thousand more distributed throughout the State,—which is about one-seventh of the entire population,—showing that the Chinese have landed proportionally a larger number—taking their means and facilities into consideration—than the whole of Europe and Americe combined.

If objections to the Chinese were based solely on political grounds there might be some plausibility in them, for so young a nation as ours is naturally in doubt as to the stability of institutions peculiar in a measure to ourselves, although the most peculiar one of all has lately gone by the board without swamping the ship of state. It may be natural, then, for timid souls to fear the effects of the unlimited emigration of the subjects of an empire which has existed for more than forty centuries in a state of civilization so different from our own, a nation which has survived the assaults of Scythians, Huns, and Tartars through long ages, and has constantly increased in population and extent of territory from the days of Peran-Koo-She (2525 B.C.) to the year of grace 1879.

Not that the Chinese have been exempt from the troubles by which other countries have been harassed, for the Huns, Tartars, and Mongols gave them a vast deal of trouble, and the two latter nations for a time formed a large element in the government of the empire; but these were finally absorbed and, as it were, lost sight of in the immense population of China, and the countries whence they came now form a portion of the Emperor's dominions.

In spite of numerous revolutions, multitudes of bad rulers, etc., China has never changed her form of government, a conservatism which should command the admiration of all true British tories. When China was in her zenith as a civilized nation all Europe was groping in barbarism, and centuries later Cæsar and his legions found the ancestors of most of the present inhabitants of Europe fierce and ignorant, dwelling in habitations of the most primitive description.

Under all the circumstances of the case, I do not see upon what

ground we can classify the Chinese as "uncivilized," especially since we admit the most ignorant negroes of the South to all the rights of citizenship. Certainly, it seems absurd to exclude Chinese from our territory because they perform certain kinds of labor at low wages.

We should do the best we can with them, and endeavor to make good citizens with whom we can assimilate when the time comes for the Chinese race to preponderate on this continent and establish a Mongolian dynasty! When that day arrives the native American citizens who are then above ground may be received into favor at the Imperial court, and perhaps fill those places once appropriated by the Mantchu Tartars, formerly the chronic office-holders of China.

This idea may seem childish to the superficial reader, who has been taught to believe that the Anglo-Saxon race is the only one at present worth mentioning, and that where they have gained a foothold they will root out all other peoples who may stand in their way. As a proof of this they point to the conquests of England in every part of the world, and to our own progress on the continent of North America in the last two centuries and a half. In reply to all this and much more that might be said on the subject, I will remark that England has maintained her footing in India and extended her empire by arraying one nationality against another in a country inhabited by different races bitterly hostile to each other. It would be very different in a country like China, forming one vast homogeneous mass, where at this day England could not maintain a footing one month's march from the coast. England has done everything in her power in late years to make her rule palatable to her Asiatic subjects, even to complimenting them by making the Queen of England their "Empress." In fact, our Anglo-Saxon friends across the way seem to have a tact which we do not possess. They manage to live in amity with savage tribes who would burn us at the stake if they could get hold of us.

We Americans have adopted the theory that this continent is for our exclusive use. Nearly all of us are in favor of exterminating the Indians, some would apply the same process to the negro race, and now Mr. K——y and his associates have decreed that "the Chinese must go;" yet at least two of these classes are, if properly utilized, a vast source of wealth to this country.

When we look carefully into the political philosophy of the Chinese we see much to admire, notwithstanding the defects with which time has incrusted it, and the close observer would no more compare the lower grades of Chinese, who form the great mass of those we encounter in California, with even the middle class, as seen in their native country, than he would compare a Satyr with Hyperion.

I will not enlarge on what has been so often noted, that we are indebted to the Chinese for many of the arts which are considered to be triumphs of modern civilization. 1200 years B.C. their emperors were arrayed in the finest silk fabrics; their china, glass, and pottery were excellent; their palaces were magnificent; and from that epoch has been handed down all the gorgeous paraphernalia of courts which has served as a model for the sovereigns of Europe. Their palaces, if not equal to those of modern days, were not devoid of beauty, and their feasts, if different from those of Lucullus, were excellent in their way.

All the various departments known in the governments of the great nations of to-day were familiar ages ago to the Chinese. Their statesmen conducted negotiations very much as at present. The most astute diplomatists of to-day are Chinese, and no nation has in the end ever obtained the better of them in the art of diplomacy. Some of their public works are unequaled. The great wall of China may well be ranked as one of the wonders of the world, being fifteen hundred miles in length and wide enough on top for six horsemen to ride abreast. This work of the usurper "Che-Kwang-Ti" stands to this day a monument to his energy; the most stupendous of the works of man; unsurpassed by the pyramids of Egypt. Che-Kwang-Ti was one of the most eminent men that his country has produced, though addicted to cruelties which have ever formed part of a Chinese emperor's policy. When he proposed his famous barrier against the Tartars, the Chinese literati—many thousands in number—strongly remonstrated against his proceedings, and recommended an adherence to the customs of former emperors,—that is, oppose no resistance to the Tartar hordes, trusting that the latter would soon be absorbed by the great Chinese race, or that they would all get the dyspepsia from living too luxurious a life, and would be glad to get back to their barren steppes.

It seems that Che-Kwang-Ti, disgusted with the satirical observations of the literati, ordered one thousand of these gentry to lose their heads and all their writings to be destroyed. He then ordered the beginning of the Chinese empire to be dated from that time, with himself chronicled as the founder thereof. Perhaps the Emperor served these scribblers right, and we have lost nothing in the destruction of their books, since the works of the great Confucius, the master-spirit of them all, are still preserved to us.

However, the destruction of these books has given an excuse for the confusion which prevails in the classics and annals, and which the most learned of the Chinese are unable to rectify.

The mighty Che-Kwang-Ti died detested by everybody, which is generally the case in this world with rulers of all descriptions. Even in our own enlightened country affection only lasts while a citizen holds office, and then to be sure it is very strong, while in regard to the respect shown to the dead who have exercised authority, the Chinese are superior to us in this as in perhaps other particulars.

While mentioning the subject of the great engineering feats of the Chinese, let us consider the great canal seven hundred miles long, its branches connecting with innumerable rivers, which serve to transport merchandise from one part of the empire to another. On this system of inland navigation is a tonnage in junks and boats estimated as greater than that of all the world besides! This work is worthy of any engineer now living.

Many of their public buildings are well worthy our admiration; and in landscape-gardening and farming the Chinese are unequaled. In naval architecture their models, it must be confessed, do not quite come up to our ideas; but after all, those things are matters of taste, and perhaps there are merits in a Chinese junk of which we cannot form a proper conception; and, to say the truth, we cannot boast a great deal of our own naval craft. As to their literature, who have we to compare with Confucius, whose works have stood the test of more than twenty-four centuries? Benjamin Franklin comes the nearest to him of any of our worthies, and it is to be hoped his memory will endure as long. Strong common sense is the leading characteristic of both these philosophers,—a valuable quality, at present quite out of fashion among the savans of to-day, who are constantly pushing forward new theories before they have tested the old ones, presenting their changes of opinion to the bewildered public with the rapidity of the changes of a kaleidoscope.

I am not sure that we could not take a hint from the Chinese in the matter of education. It is in mental attributes rather than in physical in which the Chinese excel, and we could do well by reforming in some degree the mechanical tendencies of the age, and refuse to waste our lives in pursuits which, however dazzling in appearance, bring no real happiness to the human race, but, on the contrary, wear out the faculties of mind and body and decimate our population.

The works of Confucius may not to the casual observer compare in style with our English classics, but there are no writings which have exercised such an influence over the human race. They have kept the vast empire of China under subjection to the law for twenty-four centuries, and their leading idea is to promote the cause of virtue. One of Confucius's works is a book called the "Chun-tsew," which does

not by any means, as the sound of the name would signify, refer to something to eat. The title is analogous to the Greek χρονολογια, the method of obtaining the true period of years in which past events took place. This clever book is constantly referred to by the literati,—of whom there are at least one million mentioned in the Cyclopædia of Chinese authors,—every one of whom has commented upon the maxims of Confucius, in one shape or another, until he has made a book of his own, a practice which has been followed by the million of Shakspeare "commentators" of our own day, who have so turned and twisted and befogged the utterances of that mighty genius that it is next to impossible for anybody to make head or tail of them. The "She-King," or book of odes, contains a collection of songs showing the versatility of Confucius's genius, and his "Ta-Heo" is replete with sound principles, and is much quoted by literary Chinese. It would be impossible, however, to mention the names of a tenth part of the leading classics of this peculiar people, for they are eminently a literary race, and literature is held in greater honor with them than anywhere else in the world.

In their religion, judged by our standard, the Chinese do not appear to advantage. It is to be feared that the most of them care very little for any system of worship, but will take up with the one which pays the best, or, in fact, worship anything, from a grasshopper to a teapot. The fear that they may impress such loose theological notions upon our own people is perhaps the strongest argument that can be made for their exclusion.

The system of Chinese ethics is of a very elastic nature, suited to the genius of the people. Before the days of Confucius they appear to have worshiped anything they pleased. The little religion they had originally possessed seems to have evaporated. So when Confucius appeared with his system of ethics, the people worshiped him with blind adoration, traveling about with his maxims written on their clothing, that all might read as they ran. About the year 250 B. C. Buddhism was introduced by priests from India, and it spread with great rapidity. Subsequently, when the Mohammedan missionaries visited China, their doctrines were so popular that this might have become a leading religion in China were it not for the prohibition of pork as an article of diet. Then followed the Roman Catholics, the first Christian missionaries to China. Six or seven hundred thousand converts were the fruit of their arduous exertions, and the bulk of their converts' descendants have held that faith to the present time. How much real Christianity exists in these people, a mere handful in

the millions of unbelievers, it would be perhaps impossible for us to determine.

The rulers of China have rather discouraged the people from adopting any belief whatever. They do not wish the masses to indulge in religious speculations, lest they will be more difficult to govern. One of their emperors illustrated this in a peculiar manner. He published a review of the principal religions known to the Chinese, including those of Buddha, Mohammed, and Jesus Christ, and wound up his observations by recommending his subjects to have nothing to do with any of them! What a nation this might have become had the doctrines of Christianity prevailed throughout the empire! With that religion would have come a knowledge of the highest branches of science and philosophy; the arts would have flourished, and the Chinese would long ago have taken a commanding position among the nations of the world.

The time may yet come when the joss-houses will be overthrown and the Chinese adopt the true faith, which will confer all the blessings of heaven upon them in this life as well as the assurance of a happy hereafter. This change will not occur in their own land, but in one of their adoption, and centuries may elapse before the event takes place, so thoroughly conservative are the Chinese.

The Chinese appear to have reached the zenith of their civilization soon after the time of Confucius. Not to advance is really to retrograde, and we accordingly find that manufactures have deteriorated, the arts and sciences have not flourished, great inventions have been lost, and valuable literature has perished. The Chinese claim that all our greatest inventions were known to their ancestors, and although we may doubt their story we cannot prove the contrary.

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By *the late* DAVID D. PORTER, *Admiral U. S. Navy.*

RUSSIA ON THE PAMIR AND THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PAMIRSKIJ POST.

(Armee und Marine, No. 24, 1903.)

Translated by Lieut. E. M. Norton, Eighth Infantry.

THE name of the Pamir, the country of the high valleys, called by the people of Kirghiz "the roof of the world" (Bam-i-Duniah), has had a particularly fascinating sound since ancient times. And this is not to be wondered at. For from its snow covered, inhospitable and inaccessible mass of rocks many streams of people have emigrated, which have figured prominently in the ancient history of the Old World; and with good reason one calls this highland, in which the highest and largest chains of mountains in the world meet at one place, as if it were their rendezvous—with good reason it may be called the "roof of the world." But such a part of the globe, to which one cannot penetrate except with perils and fatigues, is always the object of interest and admiration of the world, and every intelligence from there will be welcome.

The man who wrote these words, so characteristic of the nature of the Pamir, that great highland separating the sphere of power of the masters of India from the territory of Turkestan, where the two rivals for the authority of Asia are face to face as with loaded rifles—this man is Sven von Hedin, that bold explorer and learned man to whom, only a short time ago, the men of learning in the capital paid their tribute. And the man to whom Sven von Hedin dedicated those words in the preface of his excellent and varied description of his travels over the great highland is a young German officer, the first representative of the German Army who travelled over the Pamir alone and without especial preparation.*

For this reason we believe that our readers—to speak with Sven von Hedin—would like to hear some news from the "roof of the world" and its Russian conquerors. The rough highland is generally

*"A Ride Over the Pamir," by William Filchner, lieutenant of Royal Bavarian 1st Infantry. With ninety-six illustrations and two maps. Berlin, 1903: E. S. Mittler & Son, Royal Court Bookstore. Price 7 marks. This excellent book can be highly recommended.

known by the collective name "Pamir," which, with heights exceeding those of Mont Blanc, and with a surface of 140,000 square kilometers, connects the mountain groups of the Tienshan, Kuenlun and Himalayas with those of the Iran highland (plateau) and of the Hindoo-Koosh. In a stricter sense the natives probably call only the eastern part "Pamir," while they give to the western part the names of the countries Wachan, Shugnau, Badakshan, Roshan, Darvas, Karategin, Isakshim, and Paran. But even the "Pamir" itself, in a stricter sense, has still an extent of 73,000 square versts (a square verst equals 1,138 square kilometers), according to the latest statements of the Russians.

The best evidence of the ruggedness of the mountains is that, according to the census made by the Russians in 1893, only 255 male, 307 female, nomad Kirghizes, with 299 boys and 194 girls, lived in tents or huts on this large tract. The medium height of the Pamir plateau is indeed about 12,000 or 13,000 Russian feet (a Russian foot is 0.305 m.), on which are chains of mountains from 18,000 to 19,000 feet high, cut with passes up to 16,000 feet, and with mountain peaks which exceed in height the highest known mountains of the world.

A Russian officer who participated in the expedition in the Pamir in 1892 gives the following gloomy picture of the actual conditions and circumstances that surround the natives: "The unhappy inhabitants of this rough highland, in which only blizzards reign and violent windstorms sweep along whole clouds of fine sand, live their wretched lives here under a continual deprivation and hunger. These poor inhabitants of Pamir have not even corn, which they consider a luxury. One must imagine the Pamir as an uninterrupted stone desert, covered here and there with a stratum of clay soil mixed with black earth, in which a few scattered bushes of 'tereskin' grow. This is the only plant of that country and is used as fuel. It is often used as food by the cattle, weakened with hunger. Even corn does not get a chance to ripen on the Pamir. Depending upon the height of the mountains, the inhabitants suffer very much from the appearance of phthisis (mountain sickness). But the greatest plague which the people of the Pamir have to contend with are the strong winds which prevail there. Usually it begins to blow at eight o'clock in the morning, gradually increasing in velocity until, at 12 M., it has attained a velocity of twenty miles a second. The clouds of fine sand which it carries along penetrate the nose, eyes and ears and stop them up. And there is no protection against this annoying dust, impregnated with salt. Even the huts, closed on all sides, do not protect the inhabitants from this plague. Another consequence of these windstorms are the varia-

tions in the temperature, which also have a very injurious effect on the human organism. The medium temperature in summer is plus 10.3 degrees C.; in spring and autumn minus 1.2 degrees C.; in winter minus 20.6 degrees C. But in the winter temperature in the sun is sometimes very high, and in the summer it is even as high as plus 27 degrees C. in the sun. It is not seldom that in the hottest summer there is a sudden fall of snow, and during a blizzard there may be a terrific display of thunder and lightning."

Such a climate must naturally have a very injurious effect on the human organism. The cattle, too, suffer very much from a lack of food. And for these reasons the Pamir would hardly have been of any interest to Russia but for the fact that these mountains are situated on the boundary line of India, and the English would stir heaven and earth in order to incite the Afghans living at the foot of the Pamir, and other tribes of Central Asia, to serve their (English) own purpose against their neighbors in Turkestan. This is the reason that the Pamir question was agitated—a question which dealt with the litigation concerning the boundaries and which finally resulted in an engagement (conflict) between the Russians and the allies of England.

If one wishes to understand the progress of the Russian power in Asia, it is necessary to realize that Russia's progress has been controlled not at all by the ordinary thirst for conquest, but that, as Count York von Wartenburg points out in his well-known book, "The Progress of the Russian Power in Asia," the government in St. Petersburg would have had to use much more energy for retarding the progress in Asia than for promoting it. The latter, depending upon the commercial interests of the Russians and the personal interests of the local Russian governors, worked itself out in some respects without any help, and very often thrust a new, unwelcome and difficult task before the Russian government. And, besides this, it must also be taken into consideration that a sovereign state cannot tolerate plundering nomads on her boundaries for any length of time, because by such actions the very idea of "boundary" becomes visionary—and a sovereign state must necessarily have a boundary.

The Pamir question is an illustration of this idea. In the famous communication of December 8, 1864, of Prince Gortshakoff, then chancellor, this thought (or opinion) finds its full and proper expression. After Russia had brought under subjection the Chanat Kokan, to whom the Pamir formerly belonged; after having vanquished the Telke-Turks and brought the Ssalor and Ssaryk-Turks under his dominon; after having become a neighbor of Afghanistan and China in

this part of Middle Asia—it remained for her to determine the exact boundary line.

We pass over the struggle for the boundary line which occurred apparently between Russia and her Asiatic neighbors, but in which England was the secret agitator behind the curtain. On the occasion of March, 1885, Russia directed General Komarow to attack the Afghans at the Kuschk and drive them behind the Koschk, almost in sight of the "English Border Commission," which was like a strong detached body. England's prestige had received a heavy blow. The confidence of the Afghans in English aid had been shaken. It also happened some years later in the Pamir that Russia determined the settlement of the difficulty by force. The Emir of Afghanistan claimed the chanat (province) of Shugnan and Noshan. It seemed that, since 1885, Afghan troops, Chinese divisions and English officers, as Captains Younghusband and Davison, had settled permanently in the disputed territory of the Pamir.

Thereupon Russia suddenly removed this difficulty in 1892 by sending to the Pamir one battalion, three "shotnies" of cossacks and a mountain battery (on horseback) under command of Colonel Jonow. These troops were sent from Margelan. After a short fight on the 12th of July Colonel Jonow broke up the Afghan post at Sali-Tasch, near the Jaschyl-Kul. The necessity of maintaining her sovereignty in this recently disputed territory compelled Russia to leave here a regular garrison in a fortified post. For the erection of the fortifications of the Pamirskij Post, Colonel Jonow chose the stragetically important point between the Akbaital and the Saritasch Post, where the Aksu, the head-waters of the Amu-Darja and the Ak-Baital empty into the Murghab.

The construction of the works was commenced immediately. As there was no suitable building material at hand to begin with, the military engineer, Sserebrennikow, who was charged with the construction of the works, attempted to make a winter camp of Kirghiz tents. Very primitive bunks, formed of earth, took the place of beds. The roof was covered with shrubs filled up with clay. The walls of the hut were braced with heaps of sand. Sserebrennikow afterwards built the fortification (which is still standing) for the small garrison of 160 foot soldiers and forty cossacks, with several Nordenfelt rapid-fire guns, left at the Pamirsky post under the command of Captain of General Staff Kusnetzow. Lieutenant Filchner, who visited the post in June, 1900, found there ninety-eight foot soldiers and thirty-one cossacks. He was very kindly received by the Captain of General Staff, Annossow, and his officers. He gives us the following descrip-

tion of the fortification and its condition: "Although nowadays the Pamirsky post certainly has a definite purpose, and is of considerable political importance, one would not overestimate the fort as a fort, for it has not the first qualifications of a modern fortification. It finds its chief importance as a commissary and in being the extreme point of the military road over the Pamir. The fort is erected on a high conglomerate terrace which slopes precipitously to the south. From this commanding height it completely overlooks (commands) the east-westward stretching Murghab valley. The river of the same name had, when I was there, a quantity of water about equal to that of our Tsar or Tolz. The banks are sharply cut. The average depth of the water is from one to two meters. The river cannot ordinarily be crossed except at the fords. From the east the broad Akou valley extends into that of the Murghab.*

"On the northwest and north side the fortification has a rampart and ditch. The wall is 2.5 m. high and has steps on the inner side, while on its other precipitously sloping sides it has a rectangle of walls riveted with sods and sand bags. On the eastern side clay buildings are erected with rooms for officers' quarters, hospital, offices, etc. The barracks for the 129 soldiers are on the north side. On the west side is the kitchen; on the south side is a meteorological observatory, where three observations are made daily. In the center of the open space are several huts which are used for the storage of provisions and ammunition. Nordenfelt rapid-fire guns are placed menacingly on the corners, but the fort itself does not make a very striking impression. But when we consider that all the materials had to be brought over the military road of Fergana, we will admire the energy of the Russians which is shown in the construction of this fortification. To be sure, the interior of the buildings, which have only earthen floors, is furnished most simply. Nevertheless, I spent pleasant, not-to-be-forgotten hours in the officers' casino at the Pamirskij Post." We add to this description that the illustrations of the fort, taken there by Lieutenant Filchner, and which were kindly placed at our disposition by Mittler's publishing house, explain the written text very well.

From what deprivations the garrison has to suffer, excluded from the world on that lonesome post in the wilderness, it is hardly necessary to explain more minutely. Always in action in order to maintain the peace of the boundary, more than once have they had to show the

*Sven von Hedin says: "All the rivers which flow east have Kirghiz names at their upper course and Persian names at their lower course. For example: Akou-Murghab, because in the geography the Kirghiz have Turkish and the Tadschiks have Persian names."

Afghans the power of the Russian weapons, especially on the expeditions into Shugnan, a country hardly ever trodden by an European. They have often had to overcome the difficulties of the dangerous and pathless high mountains.

In 1895 there was a celebration over the boundary between England and Russia, at which England yielded again; certainly an important resolution considering the facts, but, at any rate, a political defeat.

To-day there is only a small territory, generally know as the Chanat Wachan, between the Russian vassal state Buchara, extending along the heights of the Hindoo Koosh, and the English sphere of interest. This is a territory which England is obliged to guard in order to prevent the Emir of Afghanistan from keeping troops or erecting fortifications there; a territory which, in some places, can be crossed by the Russian troops in a march of one day.

Therefore the importance of the lonesome "Pamirskij Post" is its situation near this boundary. England tried with all her means to extend this boundary during the second half of the past century, without being able to prevent the Russians from a successful advance to the boundary of the Indian sphere of interest.

Whether or not England will succeed in the twentieth century in stopping the farther advance of her powerful rival is an open question which no one to-day would dare to answer definitely.

MAJOR GENERAL VON ZEPELIN.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

AN analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the more important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

(Continued from our last issue.)

The *fifth* article is practically on the same subject, and is the work of one of the most energetic, able, and unselfish officers the Navy has ever had in its corps, Rear Admiral S. B. Luce. If he has not the interests of the Navy at heart no man ever had, and his words should command attention.

His entire article is interesting, entertaining and convincing, but we need quote only the concluding sentence, the force of which will, we trust, impress the authorities:

"In other words, the Civil War demonstrated conclusively the necessity of a War College and of a General Staff. We have the one; let us now have the other without much ado."

The *seventh* article, by Lieutenant Colonel A. D. Schenck, Artillery Corps, contains considerable matter of general interest, and should be considered in connection with a recent article by Captain Coe, Artillery Corps, adjutant U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y., on which it is evidently based:

"The annual report of General George L. Gillespie, chief of engineers, United States Army, for the year ended June 30, 1903, dealing with fortifications and river and harbor work, has been made public.

"General Gillespie says that projects for defences of thirty-one localities have been approved, and, in addition, defences of the great lakes and St. Lawrence River are under consideration. He adds:

" 'Projects for the defences of San Juan, Porto Rico; Pearl harbor and Honolulu harbor, Hawaii; San Luis d'Apra, Guam; Manila Bay, and Subig Bay have been approved by the Secretary of War, and actual construction should begin thereon at an early day.

" 'The coast defences of the United States are now somewhat more than fifty per cent. completed. Twenty-five of the principal harbors of the United States have a sufficient number of heavy guns and mortars mounted to permit an effective defence against naval attack; and

during the past three years considerable progress has been made in the installation of an adequate rapid-fire armament, now the matter of first importance.'

"At present there are provided for the defences of the United States 105 twelve-inch guns, 133 ten-inch guns, 96 eight-inch guns, 567 rapid-fire guns, and 376 twelve-inch mortars."

* * * * * * *

"The above extract from the daily press serves to recall a recent address delivered by President Roosevelt, in which he stated:

"' * * * We have met here to-day to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the event which, more than any other, after the foundation of the government and always excepting its preservation, determined the character of our national life—determined that we should be a great expanding nation instead of a relatively small and stationary one. * * * Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.'

"As applied to the nation, the Navy and Army symbolize the big stick, and in the latter the coast artillery is the chief and by far the most important element as respects a foreign disturber of the peace. It is then intimately connected with the Navy for defence, for the reason that to the coast artillery is confided the immediate defence of all the navy yards and harbors that form the base of operations, of supplies and construction of the Navy.

TABLE OF GUNS, ETC., IN THE COAST DEFENSE, WITH THE OFFICERS AND MEN REQUIRED FOR THEIR SERVICE.

Personnel for one Relief. *

GUNS, ETC.	Manning Strength.		Endicott Board, 1886.			Mounted June 30, 1903.			Present Strength, June 30, 1903.	
	Officers.	Enlisted.	Guns.	Officers.	Enlisted.	Guns.	Officers.	Enlisted.	Officers.	Enlisted.
12 in. B. L. R.	1	42½	356	356	13,621	105	105	4,444	502	13,780
10 in. "	1	38½				133	133	5,098		
8 in. "	1	33½				96	96	3,199		
12 in. B. L. Mortar	7-16	20½	544	239	11,152	376	165	7,708		
R. F. Guns, average	¼	25	1,294	324	26,534	567	142	14,175		
Artillery Districts (25)	3			75			75			
Fire Comds. (93)	4	24		372	2,232		372	2,232		
Subm. Mines	73	2,700		73	2,700		73	2,700		
Bands (32)		28			896			896		252
Totals			2,194	1,439	57,135	1,277	1,167	40,452	502	14,032

* Position finding, and search-light and R. F. gun details must always be double strength.

Present shortage in personnel: Officers, 659; Enlisted, 26,430.

Forts com. End, Board, 2 reliefs, { Regular, Officers, 1,439; Enlisted, 57,135 / Militia, " 1,439; " 57,135 } Aggregate, 114,270.

The old fortifications completed after the Civil War required for three reliefs over 105,000 men. Furthermore, the project of the Endicott Board embraced only 27, while the present one 31 posts. The above does not include the West Indies, Hawaii, the Philippines, etc.

"By far the most important military necessity which confronts this 'great expanding nation' at present is the providing of the personnel for the Navy and the coast artillery, in order to meet the absolutely essential demands incident to increased and rapidly increasing completion of ships and fortifications. It is true that our people are suspicious of a large standing Army. But they never have felt so respecting a Navy, nor of any force necessary for purely coast defence purposes.

"Our forts, the guns great and small with which they are armed, together with the submarine defences—torpedoes, mines, submarine and surface torpedo boats, searchlights, steam and electric power motors, and communications for rapid and accurate collection and distribution of information upon which depends the successful use of this powerful and complicated armament—require not alone an adequate personnel, but also one that must be highly specialized and thoroughly trained in manifold duties, to insure any efficiency whatever, even in ordinary drills and practice.

"That the personnel of the artillery corps should keep pace with the completion of the coast defences is beyond any question of doubt. But at this very moment, making no allowance for the guns that have been mounted since June 30, 1903, the corps is short 659 officers and 26,430 enlisted men. It is expected that the project of the Endicott Board will be completed within ten years, and this will require an addition of 280 officers and 16,701 men, and for the projects in the West Indies and the Philippines a still further addition of 130 officers and 7,860 men, or an annual increase for ten years, over and above the present requirements of forty-five officers and 2,450 enlisted men—at the end of ten years, 1,611 officers and 65,013 enlisted men, the minimum strength necessary to provide one relief for the armament that will then (1913) be in a position and ready for service, with a like force in the militia for a second relief. Furthermore, as it will no doubt prove inexpedient to trust our forts beyond the seas in the hands of any native troops, and on account of their extreme importance and great distances from home, the 170 officers and 7,860 enlisted men required for a single relief will have to be doubled, still further increasing our astounding deficiencies, and emphasizing the greatness of our imperial position and its imperative demands. The first and most obvious preparation to meet this grave danger is evidently to double the number of appointments at the Military Academy for at least ten years to come."

The *eighth* article is a brief summary of the military situation in the Philippines, together with a well-digested plan for the organization and stationing of a colonial army in the islands.

The *ninth* article, by Major E. J. McClernand, General Staff, relates to the vital questions of cavalry equipment, training and armament. We have space for but a brief quotation:

"It is a pleasure to recall the well-drilled troops of cavalry that went down from Fort Riley to Chickamauga Park at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. They were taught to charge straight and charge home with the saber, as well as to fight on foot. Troops were frequently practiced charging each other, and halting at fifty yards distance. One of the most interesting of the many field exercises held at that post before the Spanish-American War was between two squadrons formed for mounted action with the saber. The squadrons were placed on either side of a gently sloping hill, at a considerable distance from the summit. At a signal given by an umpire each squadron moved forward. The commanding officers were left to guess where they would meet the enemy, and in what formation. When the summit was reached and the enemy came in sight, it was necessary that each commanding officer think quickly and well, and make his dispositions rapidly, in order to meet his adversary with advantage. The present chief of staff of the Army superintended the exercise, and probably all who participated, enlisted men as well as officers, left the field feeling they had learned much about mounted action, and felt a confidence in themselves that would have been productive of good results if the war into which they were going had been fought in a country free from heavy timber and brush, and where the terrain would have permitted cavalry to move at rapid gaits. Dismounted fire action has been and will continue to be essential to the success of the dragoon, but in the open he should be prepared, when occasion demands, to meet an adversary on equal terms with the 'arme blanche.'

"Again, the trooper should be taught bold riding in the field. The mounted exercises in the riding hall are all very well in their way; they are an important part of athletics and train the horse to submission and obedience, but they do not teach the trooper the kind of riding that is required in a charge across country. Cavalrymen should be taught to ride across fields and to leap fences and ditches of moderate height and width, and they should be given horses of sufficient strength and activity to enable this to be done. When practicable to secure them, hounds will add zest and pleasure to cross-country riding, and help to cultivate a love for sports in the open, which in a large measure breed good health and contentment. To perfect himself in his duties, a cavalry recruit must work hard. He is confronted with many difficulties and discouragements, and no effort should be spared to attach him to the life and increase his *esprit de corps.*

The *twelfth* article is on a matter of vast importance for the army—the pay of sergeants and corporals—and the subject should receive immediate attention. No other matter of army legislation is of greater concern than this. All the officers of the Army feel that the time has come when the pay of a sergeant or corporal must be increased, if proper efficiency is to be maintained. Whether popular or not, the country should be brought face to face with the facts. The *initiative* of the individual soldier can only be obtained through properly trained non-commissioned officers, and unless the latter are *paid* properly they will not remain in the service. And yet the *initiative* of the individual soldier is what tactics teaches us must be fully developed for modern war.

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. Military Education.—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Jan.
2. Training of Militia.—*Jour. Mil. Serv. Inst.*, Jan.-Feb.
3. The Military Academy.—*Kriegstech Zeit.*, 1.
4. Esprit de Corps.—*Jour. Mil. Serv. Inst.*, Mar.-Apr.
5. Naval and Military Co-operation in War.—*Same.*
6. Artillery Drill.—*Same.*
7. Infantry Drill.—*Jour. Mil. Serv. Inst.*, Mar.-Apr.
8. How to Promote Rifle Practice.—*Same.*
9. Cavalry Mounts.—*Same.*
10. Army-Navy Maneuvers.—*Same.*
11. Autumn Maneuvers.—*Same.*
12. The British Naval Maneuvers.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.

The *first* of these articles is by Colonel Maude, a well-known authority on the subject, and is well worth reading by all intelligent citizens of any country.

To illustrate its scope and character we quote a few extracts here:

"Before approaching the main body of my subject, I wish to dissociate myself entirely from all the popular views as to the 'Stupidity of the British Officer,' his alleged idleness and want of interest in his profession, and to submit that the young British officer, once he feels his feet and is allowed to realize his responsibilities, compares very favorably with his colleagues in civil life, or his comrades in every other army with which I am acquainted.

"To take the latter first, when the late war broke out, and the country was flooded with sensational accounts of our blunders and all-round imbecility, contributed by witnesses who revealed their bias and ignorance in almost every line of their work, I took great pains to

draw up an analysis of blunders common to all armies at the outbreak of hostilities, and found, as I expected, that even without making allowances for the superiority of mobility on the part of the Boers, and the extreme difficulty of collecting reliable information from Kaffirs and colonists without military education, and whose loyalty was not always above suspicion, that comparing the numbers engaged and the area operated over, we came out exceedingly well from the test, and generally when the evidence forthcoming was duly analyzed it appeared that at least nine-tenths of our misfortunes were primarily due to our want of mobility—a condition which our young officers could do very little to modify. Had we possessed the power of moving faster than the enemy, the want of formation and consequent misfortune would have been on their side, not on ours.

* * * * * * *

"As a nation, we have had no direct knowledge of war within our own frontiers, nor have we experienced what the yoke of a conqueror really implies. To read the debates in the House of Commons, and the leaders and magazine articles which have arisen out of them, one would imagine that Napoleon had never existed—for the views they mostly embody on fleets, armies, strategy, organization, and tactics, are those of the encyclopædists and the early days of the French Revolution.

"There is not a 'fad' on anyone of these subjects to which the last few years have given birth, which cannot be paralleled often in almost identical language in French, German, and English newspapers at the beginning of the last century. Skirmishers, mounted infantry, the uselessness of drill, and the prowess of a free peasantry fighting in defence of hearth and home—we have had them all; but whereas the intellect of other countries under pressure of defeat has left them far behind and risen to higher conceptions of the soldier's status, and all that appertains to it, our leaders of public opinion can still speak and write of the burden of national expenditure as an incubus on trade and industry.

"But where would English trade and industry have been had Napoleon once got command of the Channel?

"Will our people never recognizze that but for our insular position, which not only of itself attracted capital but enabled us to defend accumulations of capital more economically, *i. e.*, with less disturbance of existing trading facilities than other races, the means for the creation of the great industries which gave us command of the markets of the world could never have arisen?

* * * * * * *

"Briefly, our chief difficulty springs from the reluctance of our educational bodies to realize the position war occupies in the evolution of human progress. They still view war from the eighteenth century standpoint, as conditioned by the wickedness of statesmen and kings, and the soldier's 'trade' as synonymous with butchery. This attitude of mind in freethinkers of the time was at least comprehensible; but how it has ever been possible for members of the established or of any church to justify the position passes beyond my imagination.

"If a soldier's duty is 'to kill,' is it not also the whole end, aim, and object of all his training to teach him 'to give his life—not for a friend,' but for his countrymen, who too often have shown anything but a friend's interest in his survival?

"The truth is that history, in so far as it discloses any law at all, shows everywhere and always the working of the law of the 'survival of the fittest among the races,' and proves it by a mass of detailed evidence immeasurably greater and more reliable than research has yet provided in support of the Darwinian doctrine, or any other accepted evolutionary law; and the only rational position that either science or the church can take up with reference to the causation of war is that, like plague, pestilence, and famine, it is conditioned by 'natural law,' and its advent and consequences can only be averted by the same methods that we employ to control or minimize the other national scourges with which it is classified in the Litany, viz., a study of its nature and laws, and a course of national hygiene.

"The antagonism of nations is a natural force, having no foundation in reason, but present none the less, and it is this force which renders the peaceful trade intercourse of the nation an idle dream and speculation. Countries may welcome commercial products, but the individual resents the competition of the producer, and it is the sum of the interests of the producers that ultimately decides. When we have international trade without competition we shall be in sight of the golden age; but till that ideal is attained let us train every unit to appreciate that defeat for us means individual extinction.

"Starting from this foundation, the erection of our superstructure is both natural and simple.

"Primarily, we need the power to observe facts accurately, *i. e.*, scientific teaching; next, the knowledge of facts previously registered, *i. e.*, history; and thirdly, the power to reason accurately from given data, *i. e.*, mathematics.

"But neither history nor science can be studied without a knowledge of modern languages—French and German.

"History is unintelligible without geology, geography and topography."

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. War as the Ultimate Form of Economic Competition.—*Nav. Inst.*, Dec.

2. Foodstuffs in Time of War.—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Dec.

3. Observations on the War in South Africa.—*Same*, Dec., Jan.

4. Campaigns against India from the West.—*Same*, Jan.

5. The Navy and the Nation.—*Same*, Jan.

6. International Eminent Domain.—*Jour. Mil. Serv. Inst.*, Jan.-Feb.

7. From Arizona to the Antilles with the Second Cavalry.—*Same*, Jan.-Feb., March-April.

8. The Future of the U. S. Merchant Fleet.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.

9. The Development of the Russian Merchant Fleet.—*Mar. Rund., Jan.*

10. Russia and Japan.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Jan. 2.

11. The Eastern War.—*Same*, Feb. 13; *Mil. Mail*, Feb. 12; *Mar. Rund.*, Jan.; *R. du Cercle Mil.*, Jan. 30, Feb. 20.

12. Sea Power and the Eastern Question.—*Same*, Feb. 13.

13. Tactical Problem.—*R. du Cercle Mil.*, Jan. 9.

14. Attack and Defense of a Fortified Position.—*Same.*

15. Volley Firing and Fire at Will.—*Same*, Feb. 6.

We have only space to note a few of these articles in particular.

From the *second* we quote the following interesting statement:

"From published returns of home-grown and imported wheat, it appears that the home product is just about one-fourth of the total consumption, and this does not take into account the enormous importation of flour returned as 1,128,822 tons in 1901, which if sent here as wheat, would revive the milling industry, find employment for labor, and would have given us nearly 400,000 tons of bran and other offals which have been very difficult to procure of late years, and have commanded high prices. In Ireland, I am informed, good bran has recently been selling at £7 10s. 0d. per ton. This high price of offals, exceeding the price of wheat, is an anomaly which should not exist and requires the serious consideration of the legislature; and whatever is the outcome of the Royal Commission now sitting, I am of opinion that the importation of flour should be absolutely prohibited unless accompanied by a due proportion of bran and pollard, which would assist the farmer in the production of beef, mutton, and pork.

"Taking the imports of wheat and flour in equivalent weight of grain for the cereal year ending 31st August last, and this year's estimate (Beerbohm's) of the home production of wheat, they stand

thus: imported, 26 million quarters; home production, 5 million quarters.

"It is stated on good authority that if the horses of the United Kingdom were entirely fed on home-grown grain they would consume over 80 per cent. of all that is harvested, after deducting seed for the following season. If this is approximately true, it shows the serious nature of our position, especially if anything should happen to stem the influx of the ordinary shipments of grain to this country.

"In connection with this, it is interesting to compare the relative value of the bread-stuffs imported from our own colonies and foreign countries. The returns for 1902 disclose the following facts:—

	British Possessions.	Foreign Countries.
Corn and Grain	£9,448,000	£51,492,000
British Possessions, 15.5 per cent.	Foreign Countries, 84.5 per cent.	

"Notwithstanding this, it is satisfactory to note that whereas, taking the mean of 1871-5, we imported from British Colonies and Possessions only 10.9 per cent. of the whole, it had risen in 1897-1902 to 19 per cent., but for the year 1902 it fell to 15.5 per cent. But against this another important fact has to be considered, viz., that whereas in 1870-2 we imported only 1.4 cwts. of wheat and flour per head of the population, that in 1900-2 we imported 2.5 cwts. per head. This shows that in a period of thirty years we have nearly doubled our import per head, and clearly shows our increasing dependence on outside sources.

"A further analysis of the import shows that in the period 1871-5 no one country sent us quite 40 per cent. of the total imports of wheat and flour, but in the period 1898-1902 we imported no less than 62 per cent. from the United States alone. This cannot be a safe or sound position for any country to have practically a monopoly, and it should act as an incentive to our Government to stimulate the home production of bread-stuffs to the fullest extent. To ask a plain question: What would be our position if we were at war with the United States? In such a contingency the 9,527,475 cwts. imported from Canada, out of a total of 22,700,590 cwts. from British possessions would also be seriously jeopardized. Again, it is more than probable that, owing to a bad harvest, or the increase of its population, the United States may some day not be in a position to keep up this immense supply of wheat. What would be the position of the working man in such an event? He would, without a doubt, be compelled to pay famine prices for the staff of life.

"What is the remedy? Increase your home supply, and stimulate your Colonies to grow a larger area of wheat—in fact, make yourselves self-contained as much as possible."

The *fifth* article, by Sir George Sydenham Clarke, governor of Victoria, Australia, is a powerful tribute to the British navy:

"In the history of the nations that have attained real greatness, some determining causes or characteristics can generally be traced. It was not a chapter of accidents that enabled the Greeks to spread their colonies over the shores of the Mediterranean and to give art and literature to the world; that led the Romans from a little village on the Tiber to vast dominions; that launched Carthage on a career of commercial supremacy; that built up the Empire of Spain in the western hemisphere; that conferred high honor upon Portugal in the field of maritime exploration; that carried Dutch trade and settlements into many lands; that welded France into a formidable naval and military Power; and that, in comparatively recent years, has created the United States, a united Italy, and the German and Russian Empires. In none of these cases is the determining source of greatness so clear and so consistently manifest through many centuries as in our own national history. We owe all to the inherent capacity of our race for the service of the sea. I do not wish you to infer that other qualifications have not combined in the creation of the magnificent fabric of the British Empire; but I do assert that none of these qualifications would have sufficed to secure our present position among the nations if the people of two little islands had not, from an early period, developed the instincts of the sea, and maintained these instincts for nearly a thousand years. By the instincts of the sea I do not mean only aptitude for a sea life, but that aptitude associated with great fighting qualities. Maritime peoples have, over and over again, gone under either for want of fighting power, or because they have neglected to cherish their fleets. The British people have never failed in fighting power; but, at several periods, they have neglected naval preparations to a dangerous extent, and have incurred heavy losses and far heavier risks. Up to the present time, however, our sea power has always been re-asserted in time to avert national disaster. Though temporarily led aside by the glamour of military victories, by the vain ambition of European dominion, or by the baseless theories which gain acceptance in peace time, the nation has instinctively turned to the fleet in great emergencies, and it has been hitherto possible to repair neglect and to rehabilitate the Navy before disaster supervened. Since the long series of great wars, which ended in 1815, a new order has

arisen. In the first place, the rival Navies—like the Armies—of to-day are maintained in a state of efficiency and preparation for war unknown in the past. In the second place, the British stake in the sea has enormously increased since the period of great naval conflicts. In 1815, the annual value of the sea-borne trade of Great Britain was about £96,000,000, considerably less than that of Australasia alone to-day, and the gross annual value of the commerce of the Empire and of the shipping which carries it cannot now be less than £1,600,000,000. It is almost impossible to realize what such figures mean; but it can safely be asserted that the Empire depends absolutely on sea-borne commerce, in which, directly or indirectly, every citizen is interested, that the loss of this commerce as the result of our being overpowered on the seas would bring ruin and disruption, and that the guardianship of our means of existence and our hope for the future depends wholly upon the efficiency and sufficiency of his Majesty's Navy. Australians, who live apparently secure in this Southern Ocean, and who are naturally much engrossed in their local problems, may easily come to forget the force to which they owe alike their territorial integrity, their progress, and their prospects of future development. Averages are apt to be misleading; but it is a fact that per head of population Australians have a larger stake in sea-borne trade than the people of the mother country.

"I want to try and bring before you the salient facts of our wonderful naval history, to indicate the great turning points in that history, to show what naval supremacy has conferred in the past, and then to say something as to the present situation.

"The Navy has never known a great defeat; nor has it ever failed the nation, except when it has been deliberately or ignorantly neglected. Even so, as soon as it was again cherished and adequately maintained, it instantly responded and resumed the sovereignty of the sea. You will agree with me that this long and consistently glorious record is not the result of accident. Chance could not have ruled that fleet after fleet, carefully constructed, and as carefully administered by France, should be shattered by British seamen; that, one by one, the maritime Powers went down in the contest with Great Britain; and that, before the close of the last great naval war, the Navy stood alone confronting the fleets of the world, and their recognized superior.

"In a fine passage, Captain Mahan points out that the storm-beaten ships (the ships of Cornwallis, Collingwood, and Nelson), on which the eyes of the Grand Army never looked, stood between Napoleon and the dominion of the world. That applies to Australia, and, even if war came, you would never see the ships which would guard that

huge investment in the sea which represents your most vital interest. I ask you, therefore, to keep in mind the outlines of naval history which I have attempted to trace, and, above all, to remember that that history is your own, that the deeds of the great seamen of the past are your heritage, and that, not the local squadron, but the tremendous power of the whole British Navy, stands ready to be employed in the defence of Australia, and of every portion of our Empire liable to over-sea attack.

"The strategy of naval warfare remains unchanged and unchangeable. The decisive weapon, as in the days of Elizabeth, is the gun, and the personal qualities of the man who stands behind the gun have become more important in proportion to its enhanced destructive power. Tactics have been complicated by steam, because of the freedom and rapidity of movement which sails could not confer; but, here, also, the effect is to make greater demands upon the inherent qualities of the man, and I assert that the instincts and the aptitudes, which are the ancient inheritance of our race, have not decayed."

ARTILLERY, ARMOR AND FORTIFICATION.

1. The Accuracy and Probability of Gun Fire.—*Nav. Inst.*, Dec.
2. Automobile Torpedoes,—*Same.*
3. Land Mines.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 1.
4. Torpedoes in Action.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Feb. 13.
5. Stability Tests of Nitrocellulose Powders.—*Sc. Am. Suppl.*, Jan. 16.
6. The Panoramic Telescope.—*Same*, Feb. 6.
7. Determination of Longitudinal Deviation at Artillery Practice by the Aid of Photography.—*Jour. Arty.*, Jan.-Feb.
8. The Semi-Automatic Sight.—*Same.*
9. Field Artillery Armament.—*Same.*
10. The Armored Caisson for Field Artillery.—*Same.*
11. The Development of Recoil and Counter-Recoil Apparatus for Long Recoil Field Guns.—*Same.*
12. Earthworks in Frozen Soil.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 1.
13. New Forms of Armored Forts.—*Jour. Arty.*, Jan.-Feb.

The *first* of these articles is by Professor Alger, of the U. S. Naval Academy, one of the highest authorities in the country on the subject.

The *second* is by Lieutenant Chandler, U. S. Navy, now in command of our torpedo flotilla, and one of the ablest officers for that work.

We quote a few passages from this most interesting paper:

"A useful field for the employment of the torpedo, which I have not as yet touched upon, is for the defense of harbors not suitable for mining, both from regular or improvised torpedo batteries on shore, or from submarine boats. It is well known that there are many harbors in which, owing to a great depth of water, rapid current, or other causes of a like nature, it is almost impossible to establish a thoroughly reliable system of mines. Here we have a field in which the automobile torpedo is without a rival.

* * * * * * * *

"The advantages offered by this style or harbor defence in places where mines are not available, or even as an adjunct to mines, are so great that I am at a loss to understand why it has not yet been taken up. A more powerful torpedo could be used from permanent shore batteries than it is possible to carry aboard ship, where the confined space available for handling marks the present five-meter torpedo as about the limit in length. By increasing the dimensions of the torpedo to about double those of that now in use aboard ship, I see no reason why a range of 5,000 yards with a speed for that distance of 30 knots should not be attained, by a torpedo carrying 200 pounds of explosive, and such a weapon should give a speed of over 40 knots for 1,000 yards. From a shore battery, where range and position of the enemy can be readily determined, such a weapon should be absolutely accurate and reliable.

"A great difficulty that presents itself in the defence of all harbors is the question of fog. A place like the Race, for instance, where mines did try it under those conditions would he not be more than likely to are not reliable, furnishes a splendid field for use of the torpedo. I think it will be admitted that an enemy who had a sufficient knowledge of our coast to enable him to dare the risks of ordinary navigation, would stand a very fair chance of success in an effort to take his fleet through the Race in thick weather, as far as the stationary mines and shore defences are concerned, and when the immense advantages to be gained by such procedure are considered, I have no doubt that any wide-awake enemy would do just that thing. But would he dare to try if he knew that there were a half-dozen submarines, armed with modern torpedoes, cruising to and fro across the passage? And if he pay an enormously high price for this effort?

"Therefore, I believe that, in all harbor defence work, but especially in those special harbors where the use of stationary mines is beset with unusual difficulties, the use of the automobile torpedo is an absolute necessity, and one that is very unwise to neglect in the way

in which we are now doing. Regular shore submerged batteries, with powerful torpedoes; extemporized shore batteries, submerged or otherwise, with our service weapon; and the mobile torpedo batteries furnished by the submarine boats; taken in conjunction with such stationary mines as can be used, and an outer and constantly shifting line of regular torpedo boats will beyond question form a defensive barrier that it would be madness for a hostile fleet to attempt, and the two mobile features of such a defence would also go far to keep such a fleet at a respectful distance from the harbor mouth. In a word, such a force, I believe, would render any such thing as forcing a harbor or maintaining a successful blockade impossible, except at such a cost that no nation would be able to stand it."

WARSHIPS.

1. New Russian Battleship Tsarevitch (illustr.).—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Dec.
2. The French Naval Programme, 1900-6.—*Same.*
3. Armored Cruisers.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.
4. The French Naval Program for 1904.—*Same.*
5. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, U. S.—*Same.*
6. Submarines.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, Feb. 6.
7. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.; *Nav. Inst.*, Dec.; *Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Dec., Jan.

We quote a brief extract from the *sixth* of these articles: "At present France leads the way in the provision she is making of the submarine as an adjunct to her naval force. Our neighbors have at the present time about forty boats of either one or the other of the two classes which are described as submarines or submersibles. Something a little under another score are projected in her latest program. In building vessels of this kind—vessels which experiment has proved are capable of short sea trips—France is repeating the tactics which she carried out in regard to the torpedo boat. Practically, it may be said, she regards, or appears to regard, the submarine and the submersible as the modern equivalents of the torpedo boat and *torpilleur de haute mer.* Much as she may wish to enlarge their scope and purpose, at present these are limited to the defence of ports and the waters in their vicinity. That is to say, the menace is for the blockader, and it may be admitted that no large ships could maintain a position after dark within fifty or sixty miles of any harbor known to be equipped with this description of offensive defence. The tactical

aim of such weapons is an effective increase of the defended zone, which in olden times was restricted to the range of the fortress armament. It has, however, yet to be proved that the submarine has been built which is capable of striking a blow outside the limits we have named. It is true, of course, that French submarines have crossed a wider area of sea and have delivered an attack in a port assumed for the purposes of the experiment to be the enemy's territory. But the circumstances were such that the experiments offer little or no demonstration of what could be done under the actual stress of war.

"It is a matter for regret, regarded merely in the light of the lessons which might be drawn therefrom, that if war should come in the Far East, neither of the probable antagonists appear to be provided with submarine boats. If there are submarines in Port Arthur or in the Japanese harbors the fact has not been made public. In Japan there are probably facilities for the construction of such vessels, and we know from experience in this country that they can be rapidly built. But the submarine is of small value unless provided with an experienced crew of officers and men trained to their use and employment. If either the Japanese or the Russians had been able to train crews it could hardly have been the case that the fact would not have transpired with so many expert newspaper correspondents on the spot. The only nations other than the French who have gone in largely for the submarine are the United States and ourselves. In America there are now afloat nearly a dozen, with which experiments are being carried out, and in this country we have nearly twenty completed or completing. But neither here nor on the other side of the Atlantic has anything been published of the trials of the boats which would lead us to suppose that this weapon is deemed capable of what may be termed ocean warfare. The larger vessels now in hand will, doubtless, have a wider range of action. But the larger the vessel the harder it will be to hide, and as her prime quality is her comparative invisibility, so it must follow that as the range of action is increased the opportunities for her use must be diminished. While, therefore, it must be admitted that it would be a mistake to undervalue the submarine menace, so equally is it a mistake to over-estimate the powers and possibilities of the new weapon."

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS.

1. The New (British) Service Rifle.—*Vol. Rec.*, Dec. 15.
2. American Cartridge Belts.—*Same*, Jan. 15.
3. The Ski and Its Military Use.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, 1.

MILITARY GEOGRAPHY.

1. Manchuria.—*Mil. Serv. Inst.*, Mar.-April.
2. Russia-Japan Military Statistics.—*Same.*

MILITARY HYGIENE.

1. Typhoid and Malarial Fevers at Chickamauga in 1898.—*Mil. Surg.*, Feb.
2. Rapid Transit Ambulance.—*Same.*
3. Refuse Disposal in Camp.—*Same.*
4. Suppression of Dust in Camp.—*Mil. Serv. Inst.*, Jan.-Feb.
5. Prevention of Spread of Infectious Diseases on Board Ship.—*Same*, March-April.
6. The Disposal of the Wounded of Cavalry.—*Same.*

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

1. War Signals.—*Nav. Inst.*, Dec.
2. Simultaneous Telegraphy and Telephony.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, I.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Carrier (or Homing) Pigeons in Fortifications.—*Kriegstech. Zeit.*, I.
2. The Panoramic Telescope.—*Sc. Amer. Suppl.*, Feb. 6.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. The Report of the War Commission.—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, March.
2. The French Naval Programme of 1900-1906.—*Same.*
3. A Suggestion on Recruiting for the British Army.—*Same.*
4. The Navy Estimates (Great Britain).—*Same.*
5. The Russian Army of To-day.—*Army and Navy Jour.*, March 5; *Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Feb.
6. A National Army.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Feb.
7. Machine Gun Groups.—*Jour. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, Feb.
8. Changes in the World's Armies and Navies.—*Jour. R. Unit. Serv. Inst.*, March.

The *first* of the above articles is a paper by Sir Charles Dilke on the important report on the reorganization of the British Army, as suggested by the experiences of the war in South Africa. Great

Britain is evidently determined to profit by her experiences, and the reforms already instituted have been very sweeping.

The author is a well-known authority on military matters, and a student and thinker of international reputation. His views will, consequently, command attention the world over.

On account of the standing of the author and the importance of the subject, we quote somewhat freely from the paper:

"Taking the Report as we find it, what does it come to? The Commissioners deal with the first part of the reference—military preparations for the war and supply during the campaign—and they sum up virtually against the Cabinet in a manner which it is difficult in this room to criticise. As regards the second and final part of the reference—the military operations—they give us an immense amount of valuable evidence; but for the reasons already sketched do not attempt to offer conclusions. On the whole, they limit themselves to their task without going outside it in the directions which much of the evidence suggests. But on a considerable number of points they do, in fact, go outside the narrow view of the Reference.

"The selection of generals, to which all our anxiety for great maneuvers points, and as to which in connection with the war there was some natural dissatisfaction, is not touched. In the evidence, Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts, and others explained the importance of maneuvers. Lord Wolseley, after being told by the Chairman that the Commission would not 'pass any judgment' on 'strategy,' was asked a question, for the preparation of which the room had been cleared. It was whether Sir R. Buller's giving up the direct Bloemfontein advance 'was right or was wrong.' The reply was:—'Well, I thought it was wrong.' 'The destruction of the cavalry and transport' was the result. The direct advance would, the then Commander in Chief believed, have relieved Kimberley and Ladysmith, and the change 'certainly prolonged the war.' The evidence made it clear that the selection of the general to whom the whole land forces of the Empire may be entrusted is by the Cabinet. * * *

"In dealing with the supply of men, in the second part of the Report, the system of service is naturally avoided; but much of the evidence on mobilization and the reserve will be found to bear upon it. The terms of service involve the question whether they should be the same for all our Regular infantry, or twofold, and, if twofold, how far there should be a separation between the home or expeditionary, and the peace-foreign or Indian force. This question raises again that of numbers, and of relative numbers at home and abroad in peace. * * *

"The Commissioners took some evidence incidentally and almost accidentally upon matters which bear on the distinction between a home service and a foreign service Army, and upon the linked battalion system with all its effect upon numbers and cost; but they have made no report upon the subject, and they did not pursue it in their questions upon any fixed or general plan, so that it is impossible, under guise of criticising the War Report, to deal with all this largest side of future Army Reform. One reason why I pressed for inquiry into the surrenders in South Africa, joining with those who, like Colonel Welby, pressed for such inquiry on other grounds, concerning the position of officers in inquiries and courts-martial, was that, as I explained in Parliament, meeting with general assent, such inquiry ought to tell us much in reference to enlistment and *esprit de corps.*

"There is some excellent evidence upon the subject from Sir Ian Hamilton, but it was volunteered, and the matter was not followed up by searching questions. The vital point is thus stated by Sir Ian Hamilton:—'A lofty standard of *esprit de corps* is the best safeguard.' 'There were certain regiments * * * who practically never had a man taken prisoner during the war. * * * They were all regiments with a good deal of *esprit de corps.*' The perfunctory nature of the War Office memorandum handed in and printed in the appendix is obvious at a glance, and by stopping short at the occupation of Pretoria it has closed against us the larger portion of the field with which inquiry might usefully have dealt.

"Not only did the limitation of the date to the occupation of Pretoria shut out some of the surrenders from the circumstances of which most might have been learned in reference to enlistment, officering, training, and *esprit de corps,* but it also excluded another important side of war, highly interesting, but less necessary to be dealt with at the moment than is that to which allusion has already been made: whether the plan of dealing with guerilla which was actually pursued was the right one; whether our generals showed that they had sufficiently studied partisan war and mountain war. This is only noted by me for the purpose of showing that it is not forgotten, and to pay what I think is a deserved tribute to the studies which have been promoted by papers and by speeches in this room by Dr. Miller Maguire and other masters of the question. It is often assumed that the South African theatre of war was so gigantic, and the Boers such admirable partisans, that our difficulties were the greatest ever met with. Sir Evelyn Wood, Colonel Altham, and others had told the Government what to expect. Colonel Spence, who was trained, I think, under Sir William Butler, was kept at Malta until the term of

his service expired. He, to judge by his two papers on the subject, one of which was read before the war, thoroughly grasped the application to the conditions of the Boers in South Africa of the principles laid down by General Davidoff. Dr. Miller Maguire, with immense knowledge, has developed Davidoff's principles, and all of us have read the details of partisan warfare in Algeria and Mexico. The distances in Algeria with which Bugeaud had to contend were almost as great as those of South Africa, and his other difficulties far greater, as he had to deal with every fighting man in a population of nearly 4,000,000, almost all skilful in arms. Dr. Miller Maguire has admirably examined the cases of the Caucasus and of Bosnia, and has shown that our relative resources were much greater in proportion to the Boer guerilla than those which existed on the side of the Regular Armies in any previous cases, Vendée, Algeria, and Mexico in particular.

"One of the most important subjects handled at length in the Report is that which is described as 'the use of cavalry and other mounted forces.' The Commissioners rightly tell us that most of the witnesses are of opinion that 'an Army should contain a much larger proportion of mounted men than formerly.' The Army reformers in Parliament have for many years pointed out the reduction in the number of horses kept up by us, although the strength of the Army had been increased. The tendency to discourage Regular cavalry continues, and it seems now to be thought that Yeomanry, in spite of the words quoted from Lord Roberts as to imperfectly trained troops, may be relied upon as the cavalry of army corps. The Commissioners do not attempt to settle the character of the increased mounted forces which they evidently think ought to be kept up. They quote strong opinions upon all sides. The name which perhaps on the whole carries the most weight upon this question, namely, that of Colonel Haig, is not quoted; but his evidence is of great importance on the cavalry side. The Commissioners state that the prevailing opinion is that cavalry should still be armed and trained for shock tactics, but should be more carefully trained than heretofore to fight with a rifle on foot, and that there should also be available a considerable force of mounted riflemen, who should, in fact, be cavalry not using the sword or lance. They state that Lord Methuen, General Pole-Carew, and some other witnesses were in favor of having permanent regiments of mounted infantry; but the Commission seem on the whole to side with those whose names carry perhaps less weight, who are in favor of the present system of training mounted infantry drawn from infantry battalions. There is no subject on which foreign

opinion contained in the best foreign criticisms of our South African war is more unanimous than on the increased need for Regular cavalry. The Germans are increasing their cavalry. The Russian cavalry is already extraordinarily numerous. The French are showing no tendency to alter the nature of their cavalry. The Americans are a practical people, and we read with interest a recent letter by the well-known French Colonel Picquart, who is one of the highest authorities who ever were upon the French staff, and who told the *Times* that the large proportion of cavalry in the Army of the United States is explained by the fact that 'volunteer infantry can be improvised,' while cavalry cannot: 'The Regulars have then to supply the volunteers with the necessary amount of cavalry.' In proportion to our total numbers we are the least provided with cavalry of all the Powers, and the American argument applies to us.

"A matter connected with armaments, in which the Commission have failed to give good guidance, concerns our backwardness in field guns. Lord Roberts's opinion is quoted to the effect that we were behind other nations, and that our gun was wanting in rapidity of fire; after which the Commission proceed to take, for them, the unusual course of placing their own opinion on record, and it is in defiance of that of Lord Roberts, and of truth. * * * Colonel Camille Favre, who is himself an artilleryman, quotes in his writings on the war, 'The Prussian Military Considerations on the War in South Africa':—'The English guns are old and old-fashioned. Supplied with a spade attachment, these guns obtain results very inferior to those of quick-firers. * * * The English had only one field battery which was Q.F. except their pom-poms.' Colonel Camille Favre adds, on his own account, that the Boer artillery had 126 Q.F., but failed on account of their defective shell. Our gun is still at this moment the '85, converted in 1892, with only an infinitesimal gain from the change from an action on one side to an action on the other, with a spade attachment added in 1899, and it is still so hopelessly inferior not only to the French gun but to the guns in course of being provided by the smaller Powers, that the latest full document on the subject, *Rapports sur les Études et Essais pour le Réarmement de l'Artillerie* (Berne: Haller, 1903), shows that, apart from the French gun, the Krupp gun of commerce is to our gun as 7 to 1, a battery of our guns being distinctly inferior to a single Q.F. When we find the Commission suggesting that the French is the only true Q.F. and is a secret, we may confidently reply that the Krupp gun of 1901, which is for sale to any one in the open market, is 7 times as rapid in its aimed fire as is our own."

In regard to a proposed War Board the author expresses himself very forcibly, and voices the feeling of the Army at large:

"Boards, whether at the Admiralty or at the War Office, cannot settle for the country the first-class questions. When it is suggested that we are to imitate the Admiralty in the War Office, we have to ask what it is that we are to imitate. * * * We shall all agree that wars cannot be conducted by Boards, and a Cabinet being a Board, the incursions of Cabinets into the operations of war, whether during the Peninsular War or since, have not been to the advantage of the country.

"Considered as a peace organization, the Board is hardly likely to be satisfactory to soldiers, as it must throw on the civilian Secretary of State more detailed authority over the Army than he possesses now."

The *second* of the above articles is a continuation of several previous articles on the subject, the whole comprising an abridged translation of the report of the French Minister of Marine. The present instalment relates to the *Personnel,* and to Dock Yards and Coast Defence:

"It is scarcely necessary to point out that the increase in the number and importance of our naval units should be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the effective lists of the officers, engineers and men.

"The solution of this problem is by no means easy, not only from the financial point of view, but also from the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of officers. The introduction into the fleet of a number of small units (torpedo-boats, submarines and submersibles), which is increasing every day, necessarily entails a corresponding increase in the number of junior officers.

"As the fighting value of these small vessels depends almost entirely upon the skill and dash of those in charge in time of war, their command can only be entrusted to officers who to knowledge and experience add also the ardor of youth. Young lieutenants are the officers in whom these joint qualities are most likely to be found. Their number ought then to be increased in proportion as we add to our torpedo-boats and submarines. As a necessary consequence of an augmentation in the numbers of the lieutenants must follow an addition to the number of the sub-lieutenants and midshipmen, sufficient to furnish an abundant source from which the lieutenants can be drawn.

"The inevitable result in this increase in the numbers of the subordinate officers, on the other hand, if we wish to avoid making the already slow promotion still slower, must be to add to the number of captains and flag-officers. * * *

"The exclusive idea of organizing our Navy solely from the point of view of a war with the Triple Alliance, which dominated our naval policy from 1870 up to a quite recent period, has, as a consequence, not only considerably limited our building programmes, but has also led to the neglect of our dockyards.

"With an eye only to carrying on naval operations in the Mediterranean, where Italy was making an effort to create a strong Navy, and where Germany for some time maintained a squadron, we concentrated all our large battle-ships, and the greater number of our cruisers at Toulon, the dockyard of which was the only one to which any attention was paid. It is true that even there we did not do much, but it was the only yard where we did anything at all.

"Brest, Cherbourg, Lorient, and Rochefort were almost entirely neglected; it was even at one time proposed that the two last should be abandoned as ports for fitting out ships, as they were only useful in case of a war with England, and any idea of such a war was scouted.

"At the time of the Fashoda incident, however, when we were actually face to face with the possibility of a war with Great Britain, it began to be realized what a grave error had been committed in not having kept the dockyards at Brest and Cherbourg properly equipped with the appliances necessary for keeping a modern fleet in a state of efficiency, and in having allowed Lorient and Rochefort to fall utterly behind in their means of equipping ships, as compared with the days when our Navy, above everything, sought to prepare itself for a conflict with our neighbors across the Channel.

"The same reflections are brought home to us again now by the spectacle of the efforts Germany is making to create a fleet of the first rank. Against this last Power, it will in all probability be in the Channel and Atlantic that we shall have to fight, and not in the Mediterranean. How shall we be able to make head against her if our Northern and Western dockyards are not fully equipped with all the modern necessary plant? May we not even fear that the very incomplete defences of some of our ports are really inviting attack?

"Not content with neglecting to equip our dockyards with modern plant and appliances, we have not even taken the trouble to see that they are adequately protected against attacks from the sea. Every one knows that Cherbourg and the dockyard are not yet properly protected against bombardment; and it is admitted by naval officers, that if war were to come suddenly with things as they are, any squadron sheltering there would be exposed to the danger of being destroyed from the sea by the fire from the enemy's ships.

"Lorient and Rochefort are sheltered from any bombardment, and

work can be carried on there as securely during war as in peace; but Lorient would be annihilated were an enemy to seize the Peninsula of Quiberon, or the Island of Groix, and so would Rochefort be if an enemy were to obtain possession of the islands which close the Trousses Roads. Neither Quiberon, no Groix, nor the Islands of the Charente are actually safe from the attacks of powerful squadrons. Their defences are so weak that they could be quite easily seized, and be turned into *points d'appui* from which to attack the harbors which they command.

"Toulon is considered to be impregnable by the construction of batteries on the heights which surround it. This reputation is without doubt merited; but that does not imply that in the present state of its defence Toulon could protect a fleet against an attack by a powerful enemy which has command of the sea.

"It is the opinion of some of our most distinguished officers that a squadron anchored in the Toulon Roads could be destroyed piecemeal by a squadron keeping in the open sea. Many even of these officers believe that in the present state of defences it would be possible for an enemy to send some of his torpedo-vessels or, perhaps, even some of his fast cruisers into the roadstead by night, a *modus operandi* which might be disastrous to our vessels from the way they would be crowded together, and the disorder which would be produced among them by such an attack. In its actual condition Toulon would only serve with some difficulty as a base for our fast cruisers employed in the destruction of commerce in the Mediterranean, as the only exit from it can be easily watched by the enemy, while the line on which they would try and operate would be guarded by the enemy's vessels, resting on Gibraltar and Malta, as their bases, so that the chase might well prove as dangerous to the chasing vessels as to those chased.

"The only one of our home ports which can actually shelter our fleets from the danger of bombardment from the sea is Brest, while at the same time allowing them to pass in or out freely.

"The French Channel and Atlantic coasts offer many points favorable for such landings, or, at least, for temporary naval occupation. Without speaking of the Channel Islands, which, although situated in our waters, belong to England, there are, along our coast, several points, which if not properly defended, could be made in the hands of an enemy, supreme at sea, bases for his squadrons to act from, against our more important harbors. Among such points which lend themselves naturally to such operations, and to which attention should

specially be drawn, we may mention the Peninsula of Cotentin and Quiberon.

"A military power, which is also a naval one, like Germany soon will be, might seize one or the other of these peninsulas, and might perhaps be able to fortify it and maintain herself there, until defeats in other quarters might force us to conclude peace. For some years past naval officers have been pointing out dangers against which no sufficient safeguards have as yet been taken.

"Cherbourg, with its outer port of Homet and the large repairing basin now being constructed, and with the new appliances for rapidly coaling and provisioning ships, will be able, should the necessity arise, to supply the needs of and repair our largest ships. Owing to its position, it cannot be a rival to Brest, nor should it become a base for our Northern battleship squadron, as the ships will always be exposed there to a certain extent to attacks from a fleet in the open, but, on the other hand, it ought to make an excellent harbor of refuge for our cruiser divisions.

"It is, moreover, a convenient centre for the operations of our torpedo-vessels and submarines, owing to its position midway between Dunkirk and Brest, and its proximity to the English coast, being only 146 miles from Dover, and seventy-two from Portsmouth.

"Brest, when all the new works approved by the Chambers are carried out, will be the most important of our harbors in Northern waters. Completely sheltered from attacks from the sea, with Ushant properly fortified, and with the necessary dock accommodation, which will allow of three battleships being repaired at the same time, it should prove the best base in French territory from which to conduct offensive operations, and from which our battleships in Northern waters should act. Here, also, we should concentrate our largest and fastest cruisers, with the view of launching them against either the enemy's cruisers or to prey upon his merchant ships, both homeward and outward bound. It is also the most convenient point from which landing expeditions against the English coast can be organized, and it is only here that a sufficiently large force of transports with the covering warships of all kinds can be conveniently concentrated.

"When the improvements authorized by the Chambers are carried out at Toulon, that important harbor and dockyard will be all that can be desired, its value being immensely increased by the works now being carried out at Bizerta. This harbor, by its position on the route from Gibraltar to Malta and Egypt, its proximity to Sicily, Tripoli and Corsica, and its relation to both Tunis and Algeria, is destined to play a very important part in any future Mediterranean war.

"Bizerta has the double advantage over Toulon of being nearer to the point where we should probably have to act in the event of war either with the Triple Alliance or with Great Britain, as it has nothing to fear from a bombardment from the sea. Nor is there much to fear from an attack on the land side, as the troops in Tunis and Algeria should be quite sufficient to deal with any hostile force which might succeed in effecting a landing. On the whole, we may possibly find Bizerta better suited than Toulon to be the naval centre from which we shall best be able to operate in the Mediterranean.

"There is some talk of making a base at Martinique, but in view of the proximity of the powerful colonies of another power, and of the United States, to be of any use it would have to be a fortified base of the first order."

The *third* article (by Surgeon-Major Beevor, Scots Guards) contains some very pertinent and common-sense views:

"England, having arrived at the recognition of two economic facts, is just in the condition best fitted to grasp any valid suggestion regarding her existence as a nation. I refer to the all-important considerations, 'What are we to do with our surplus male population?' and 'How are we to maintain our unique position in the world?'

"My professional experience has for some years pointed to the conclusion that the answer to the first query is 'Use them sooner than you do'; thus constituting an organization which would help greatly to answer the second; contrast the mental and physical condition of British youth brought up in our navy with those nurtured for civil occupations or for our army. At the age of eighteen years a sailor is generally a 'man.'

"My scheme, then, is to take boys from the age of twelve or fourteen years, of physically sound condition, and send them to their respective regimental depôts, where special arrangements are to be made for their training. As they become strong enough, I would draft them to their regiments. At the depôt, and in the regiment, the boys should be kept as a separate unit from the full-grown soldiers; constitute, in fact, a cadet company. I anticipate an almost universal expression of disapproval: 'How ridiculous; who is going to pay for them?' In answer, I maintain the nation would save money on it. The army certainly would. As to the state, much would be saved on the poor rates and board schools. The enormous sum now wasted on useless recruits, and those invalided after short periods of service, would be much curtailed. Then, again, barrack expenses, such as sanitary, engineering, constructive, and renovating, could be greatly diminished, by the cadet company performing duties now paid for by the state

to outside contractors. How this could be brought about, I now proceed to discuss. A boy, on joining, should be graded according to age, physical capacity, and education. The very youngest, carefully fed, well clothed, and taught the elements of a sound, healthy life, especial care being taken of their teeth—these should be washed every night, if not every morning, and and defects at once renovated by the army dentist.

"I repeat, you do not make the best of your young manhood—there is, however, one exception, our naval system—and as I write, there flits to and fro a type of man any nation might well be proud of; this, though, is on board one of His Majesty's battleships, and illustrates the exception. What is the rule? In our poorer ranks of society, vast numbers of youths are improperly fed, imperfectly educated, and practically undisciplined. Contrast batches of British manhood, aged from eighteen to twenty years, drawn without special selection from our navy, with a similar number of the civil population, equal in age, who congregate at our recruiting centres, with the object of serving their country as soldiers. It is needless to compare details, the distinction is too obvious.

"Then let us set to work and devise a means of raising the one to the standard of the other.

"A boy of sixteen or eighteen years of age should be able to cook food, groom a horse, clean harness, guns, etc.; manufacture details of barrack buildings; repair surgical instruments, splints, bandages, etc.; and perform many of the fatigues that are at present done by our soldiers, or by civilian contractors. The cadets would thereby relieve the fully-developed soldier of numberless little duties that now interfere with his purely professional training. As at present constituted, the scientific soldier's curriculum is too short to make him efficient; and any arrangement, whereby he might be relieved of some of his numerous fatigues, would allow time for his more serious and useful studies.

"It will occur to many that one defect in my system is the uncertainty of a cadet attaining the physical standard of a soldier, even after the state has spent money on his bringing-up. My answer is that, no matter how small in stature, we can find a place in our army for any man of sound constitution."

The only other article we desire to call special attention to is the *seventh,* from which we make a few extracts:

"In the course of the year 1903 two machine gun groups were put on trial in Austria-Hungary. Each of these groups consisted of two machine guns; one of them was attached to the Twelfth Hussar Regi-

ment of the Eleventh Army Corps, at Lemberg; the other, destined for mountain warfare, was experimented on by the Fifteenth Army Corps, at Sarajewo.

"These two groups are armed with the Maxim-Nordenfelt machine gun, model 1889, constructed to take the Austrian infantry cartridges, model 1893, and has the same system as the German machine gun. The barrel is placed in a cylinder filled with water to cool it; the sight is graduated for distances of from 200 to 2,000 metres. In automatic firing the rapidity of fire can reach the rate of 500 shots a minute. The cartridges are fixed in bands, which each carry 250.

"The machine gun meant for the cavalry is placed on a framework in the form of a sledge, which is laid on a hind carriage, which, different from the similar German carriage, has no seat for the gun detachment. The latter are, as a matter of fact, mounted. They, as well as the cadrés, are furnished by the Second Dragoon Regiment, the drivers coming from the artillery. The effective of the group is:—

"One lieutenant in command.
"Four non-commissioned officers, two of whom are gunners.
"Two judges of distance.
"Ten gun detachments.
"Four drivers.
"Two horseholders.
"Twenty-nine horses.

"The two-wheeled hind carriage, which carries the machine gun on the march, is called the gun-carriage, and may be used as such during firing after it has been detached from the limber, which is also two-wheeled. The hind carriage constructed as a gun-carriage, carries a trail and an aiming lever.

* * * * * * *

"The group of mountain machine guns at Sarajewo was served by infantry. All the matériel is carried by draft animals. For each machine gun, including its ammunition supply, four gunners, three muleteers, two beasts for carrying ammunition, and one for carrying the machine gun, are necessary. The total of each group consists of:—

"One lieutenant in command.
"Eleven non-commissioned officers and gunners.
"Two judges of distance.
"Two horses.
"Nine draft animals, including those for food and baggage.
"Nine muleteers.

"The framework which carries the machine gun and serves as a gun-carriage is different from the cavalry machine gun sledge. It is in the form of a tripod, which can be taken to pieces, and carries the aiming implements for elevation and direction. The length of the legs of the tripod varies; on the rear leg, which is the longest, a seat is fixed for the man who aims. The machine gun can also be carried on a man's back in country impassable for animals by means of a large hook, in a similar manner to Swiss machine guns.

"There are three sorts of fire, viz.: 1, volley; 2, individual; 3, single shots—to be used against patrols and scouts, and which do not betray the position of the gun. All the drill regulations are of great interest, and are similar to the German. The cavalry machine-gun group must conform to all the various paces of cavalry; mountain group only, maneuvers at the walk.

"*Tactical Employment of Machine Guns.*—The information contained in the provisional instructions with regard to the tactical employment of machine guns are analogous to those of the German regulations. At the same time, they are more especially drawn up with a view to mountain warfare, or to co-operation with cavalry, and the trials were conducted in this sense. The machine gun is intended to develop a density of fire superior to that in infantry in confined spaces, defiles, lines of communication, etc.; in a word, under the conditions which are characteristic of mountain warfare. Its efficacy is unequalled against objectives showing depth, such as columns on the march, or deep lines taken in flank. It can never replace artillery at long distances, but as regards short and medium ranges, it will be a most useful adjunct to the other arms, especially with regard to the effect of surprise which it is capable of producing.. It will be advantageous to dispose them in front of the line of defence, or on its flanks, in order that they may direct their fire on the ground on which it is thought the hostile artillery will take up its position, with the object of surprising them, or for the purpose of flanking dead angles; in these cases all possible precautions must be taken to secure their own line of retreat.

"Cavalry, when scouting, will employ machine guns for the purpose of breaking down opposition, especially in the storming of occupied localities. In cavalry actions machine guns will be taken as early as possible to such points where they may be able to support the attack up to the last moment. They should march with the advance guard at the head of the main body, select the battery positions in advance, and on the flanks, with a view to being able to act up to the

moment of impact of the two hostile lines; they will guard at the same time against a possible enveloping attack on the flank they occupy. Change of position during cavalry engagement must not be thought of, as the action develops too rapidly. It is under such circumstances that the group commander should, above all, give proof of initiative, and not await orders for the purpose of acting in the best possible manner under the circumstances. Should the enemy be driven off, he should at once vigorously pursue him, and prevent him from reforming; should the enemy be victorious, he must immediately decide whether it is better to defend himself on the position he has taken up, or to attempt to fall back on one in rear. Thanks to the presence of machine guns, cavalry operating with other arms will find a field for activity even on ground not suitable to its action. It will succeed in intervening in all phases of the battle; will check hostile advance guards, protect the deployment, guard against enveloping movements, and participate in the decisive attack. These new engines will, under many circumstances, take the place of cavalry dismounted action. They will lend a powerful aid to cavalry in the pursuit, for bold enterprises on the flanks, and will enable it, at the same time, to cover its own retreat."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Incidents which are most regrettable have kept the Navy of the United States prominently before the public in the past month and the amount of space occupied by the subjects relating to the Navy in the press has not been equalled since the Spanish-American war. The finding of the court of inquiry in the matter of the collision between the Missouri and the Illinois was made public and was made the subject of an unnecessary and unfortunate amount of comment by an implication that the action of the court may have been influenced by telegrams sent to a number of members. The fact of such telegrams was strongly denied by the members of the court, but the matter aroused more than its just share of interest.

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The effect of this incident had passed when the news came of the appalling disaster on board the Missouri. Thirty-two officers and men were killed by the explosion of smokeless powder, a charge being placed in one of the turret guns having become ignited and the flames having spread to the handling room below the turret floor. The explosion of the magazine seems to have been prevented by the action of Chief Gunner's Mate, Monson, who was able to close the door of the magazine and thus prevent the ignition of the entire ammunition supply of the turret. All who were in the turret were killed, and the difficulty of securing the exact details of the cause of the disaster is apparent. The catastrophe has, however, created the gravest questions on ordnance matters. With the unexplained accident to the Iowa's guns and the accident on the Massachusetts, the ordnance situation may almost be said to have been made critical. First impressions from the Missouri accident were that the speed of firing attained under the new developments of rapidity in the work of gun crews had created a danger that would effectually check the development of loading speed to the point which was in sight after the training that had been going on for a year and a half. It was, however, said later that the rapidity at the time of the accident was not by any means as

great as the rate of firing attained by other ships and without danger. The first suggestion made, however, was that powder had been left in the breech from a former load, and a later proposition is that there are new and unsuspected forces developed in smokeless powder. All of these were the mere conjecture of the moment, but the determination on the part of those in authority in the Navy Department to know absolutely where the difficulty lies in these ordnance matters is apparent. A problem is presented in which there is no safety but in absolute solution, and while temporary precautions will be taken to prevent the recurrence of these disasters, there will be no cessation of the efforts of the ordnance experts to get to the bottom of the questions that have arisen and to be able, ultimately, to assure the service that it need fear no unexpected developments. The element of uncertainty in the situation at the present must be eliminated for the sake of the efficiency of the service.

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Another source of danger in modern naval equipment has been developed in the British use of the submarine. The submarine of the Holland type A1, while engaged in maneuvers, was struck by an ocean liner, sunk and all on board perished. It was evident that the approach of the liner was either out of the range of the periscope, which projects above the water and reflects the surface into the conning tower of the boats, or it was neglected in watching for the vessels included in the manuevers. It is believed that the liner was seen but a few moments before the accident and that an attempt was made to dive, so that a few seconds would have carried the boat clear of the liner.

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After affording Japanese instruction at the naval academy for a number of years, there is a proposition afoot to get some points from the Japanese themselves. The President desired to have the question of instruction in the Japanese style of self-defense taken up by the authorities at the academy to determine whether it would be advantageous to afford the midshipmen more or less instruction in the art. The professor who is at present in this country replied to overtures that his engagements would prevent affording any instruction at Annapolis at present.

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The question of the rights and responsibilities of war correspondents is raised by the proclamation of Russia that any cor-

respondent found using a system of wireless telegraphy within the waters controlled by Russian influence would be treated as a spy. There has been a reply from English newspaper sources that the correspondents referred to, so far as they are British sources, will be protected with the whole might of the empire. The contention is that the wireless messages are capable of being "tapped" for the benefit of Japan. The question has brought out the suggestion that the status of correspondents be settled by international agreement.

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The decision that there shall be no joint maneuvers of the Army and Navy this summer is taken that the experience of the past two years has not been entirely satisfactory. Possibly the anticipations were too glowing. It is suggested that the Army would secure the same results in practice from the use of tugs and small vessels marking certain positions, while the Navy continued the open sea maneuvers in the development of fleet action. There have been some facetious publications made of the possibility of the Army developing a Navy of its own in connection with the coast defence. This was based on the proposition to add a submarine boat to the equipment of mine fields. The matter went to the joint board for consideration, and it was decided that the Army would not enter on the field of naval affairs and that the Navy should operate all the submarines bought by the government.

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Military men are apt to give a sigh of envy at the ease with which the contending powers in the current war have been able to bottle up the press correspondents and the various sources of information to the outside world. Such censorship is an impossibility in American and English military movements on account of the protest that would be raised if the presence of correspondents at the front was prohibited. There is little doubt, however, that the absence of free comment and conjecture, of the misinterpretation of even the well disposed, is a relief to military authorities though it has never been positively proved that the work of the correspondents has been detrimental to any campaign.

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The first step toward a general staff plan for the Navy is believed to have been taken by the appearance of Secretary Moody before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of

Representatives for the purpose of recommending legislation. At the time of the preparation of his last annual report, Secretary Moody was not ready to make a recommendation on the subject of increasing the efficiency of the Navy by giving the Secretary a military adviser to take up the duties which had been exercised in that direction by the chief of the Bureau of Navigation. Secretary Moody suggested the creation of a general board composed of seven officers of the grade of captain, at least, to serve not more than three years each, and of the position of a military adviser to the Secretary who should be the senior rear admiral. He said that if the office was established he intended to invite Rear Admiral Taylor to occupy it. It was definitely stated that there should be no step taken which would interfere with the military control of the department and it was inferentially indicated in the course of the hearing that the general staff scheme as applied to the War Department was not regarded as likely to be successful in the administration of the Navy. Opinion is divided as to whether there will be action on the proposition at this session of Congress. The scheme in itself has been exceptionally well received, bearing in mind that there are scarcely two identical opinions on general staff plans.

The picked troop and battery at Fort Myer, which is to exhibit at the annual tournament of the Military Athletic League, has made remarkable progress when the recent arrival of the organizations from which the exhibition troops have been picked is considered. The line of the drill follows very closely that of other years and it is one of the disadvantages of the necessary changes of the troops stationed at Fort Myer that successive exhibition squads can only become proficient in the work in this line already laid out, and must move on before new developments can be worked out. This is unfortunate, as there is a tendency in mechanical repetition to dull the edge of the good effects at first secured and to miss the real purpose of the exercise. It is a question whether this type of exercise has not accomplished its intent to emphasize the fact that a horse soldier should be efficient on horseback under all conditions and whether the tedious repetition of "fancy" movements in the drill hall should not be replaced to a great degree by rough riding in the open, by problems in picket work and in courier riding.

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Rear Admiral Watson's trip abroad for the purpose of studying the enlisted personnel of other nations will add means to a present disposition to do every-

thing possible to make a permanent personnel for the Navy. The great trouble in keeping up the efficiency of the enlisted personnel has been to retain men after the completion of an initial enlistment. While it has been a good thing for the country generally, and for the Navy in case of war, that a large number of young men have made a four years' cruise and have had so much of training, the Navy is sadly in lack of a veteran and habitual class of seamen to make a solid backing for the newly inlisted. There are so many new men coming in that petty officers are made as fast as reasonably proficient seamen can be trained, with the result that the petty officers are of all kinds rather than the pick of a crew of good average seamen. The problem with the Navy at the present time is not to get a sufficient number of men merely, but to get a class of men who regard the Navy as their home and their calling as a permanent one. Rewards in the higher grades of enlisted men have been materially increased for this purpose, but the search at present is as to how to keep men in the service long enough to qualify them for the higher ratings and pay.

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It has been decided by the War Department that six dollars per month, per room is a fair amount to pay for room rent during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. This is the amount authorized, together with commutation of rations at $1.50 per day, per man for two privates for the military academy detachment of Army Service Men who have been ordered to St. Louis for duty.

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Captain Julius N. Kilian, commissary, has been assigned to duty at St. Louis as assistant in the office of the purchasing commissary at that place, from about May 12.

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Major Henry L. Harris and Captain LeRoy S. Lyon, Artillery Corps, U. S. A., have been constituted a board to fix and locate horizontal base lines for the system of fire control and direction at the various fortifications on the Atlantic coast. The tour of duty has begun at Galveston and the board will proceed northward, visiting each fortification in its order until it reaches Portland, Me. An auxiliary board has been constituted in each district consisting usually of the commanding officer of the artillery district and the district engineer. Artillery district commanders are to make preliminary studies at point at which

such studies have not yet been made.

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The question of a permanent commissioned personnel in the staff corps of the Army may be expected to be the next engrossing subject of discussion. While the members of the present staff corps are willing to concede the principle of detail to the staff corps from the line for the junior officers of the corps, there is likely to be a strong position taken in favor of permanent staff commissions of above a certain grade. The reports of the chiefs of the various crops are coming in, but the details of a general service bill will not be presented to Congress before next December.

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Issue of the new uniforms for the enlisted men of the Army has begun at certain posts within the continental limits of the United States, and within a short time communities near army stations will have become somewhat familiar with the decided innovation of the khaki colored suits and the peculiar "scotchy" caps. An issue has been made to t cavalry troops stationed at Fort Myer, and the comment has been various. A smart man gets the most of the smartness of the new cut and headpiece, and a slouchy man, of course, slouches in any garb, but there is something of a shock in the abandonment of the blue and familiar stripes. This is a sentiment, however, that has been driven to cover, with some other lay sentiments on military subjects by the increased range and penetration of small arms.

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Representative Hill, of Connecticut, has offered a bill in the House of Representatives for the benefit of second lieutenants in the Marine Corps who have been unable to pass the examinations for promotion to be first lieutenants. The ground on which exceptional action in these cases is urged is that the course of promotion has brought new second lieutenants to the promotion examinations in so short a time after leaving civil life that they have not had the time or experience by which to be reasonably expected to qualify.

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There are twenty-one vacancies in the Medical Corps of the Army and about fifty candidates are to be examined for the positions. Examinations are also going on for the determination of eligibles for appointment as assistant surgeons in the Navy. The examinations for both branches of the service are thorough and none but well qualified doctors can pass. Owing to

the care exercised in making selections the full number allowed by law is seldom reached.

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The old army "brogan" will finally disappear even in its later modified form. The new style of shoes for the Army has been decided on and includes the box toe and general contour of the modern shoe, instead of the old square-toed army-last shoe which was impossible of being kept in shape.

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During the month the allegation was called to the attention of the Navy Department that a judge in Brooklyn had dismissed a case against a juvenile offender with the proviso that he join the Navy. A letter was addresed by the Department to the court calling attention to the fact that the Navy was not designed as a reformatory institution and that boys of bad character were not desired as recruits. The judge in reply offered a modified statement of the case, saying that the case had not been pressed in his court, but was withdrawn by the complainant, and that the statement that the boy would join the Navy was made incidentally and not as a consideration for discharge. The incident serves to accentuate the position of the Navy Department that undesirable boys in other walks of life have no place in the Navy. A close watch is kept over the apprentices while under training, and any who show evidences of viciousness are weeded out. The day of sending a boy into the Navy to get rid of him has gone by, and the recruiting officers are instructed to refuse enlistments that seem to be made on disciplinary grounds, and such recruits, should they get into the service, are speedily separated from it if their conduct shows the real reason of their enlistment.

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The Senate committee during the month reported favorably all the military nominations pending, including that of Colonel-Superintendent A. L. Mills (captain) to be brigadier-general. The opposition to the confirmation of Colonel Mills did not develop as openly as was predicted, and the chief echo of the matter is suggested legislation to require that appointments as brigadier-general shall be made from the list of colonels.

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The occupation of the Isthmus of Panama by the Marine Corps is marked in its successful nature by the absence of comment on the work that is going on. There has been no difficulty in any way and the provisioning and sanitary arrangements have won marked

praise from those who have had occasion to know of the work that has been done. The organization of the Marine Corps has proved equal to every call that has been made upon it, and the health of the troops in contrast to previous Isthmian experiences has been exceptional. The credit for this is due to the care of the Navy surgeons and to the comprehension by the Marine Corps officers of the principles of modern sanitation.

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As the result of much pressure, a bill has been reported from the House naval committee giving the President the discretionary power to appoint the three midshipmen who were dismissed from the Academy for hazing to positions in the naval service as commissioned officers to rank below all the members of their former class. They are to pass a satisfactory examination before such appointment. This bill, however, will have to pass the criticism of the House of Representatives, which has placed itself on record several times as determined to break up hazing at any cost, and it is regarded as doubtful if a sufficient number of votes can be had in its favor to secure its passage.

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There is prospect that the Port Royal naval station will remain of some usefulness to the Navy after its complete abandonment for the industrial purposes of the Navy in favor of Charleston. Surgeon-General Rixey has determined that it is a proper place for the out-door hospital for the treatment of the tuberculosis patients of the Navy. For some time these patients have been sent to the Army hospital at Fort Bayard, but the crowded condition of this hospital made other arrangements desirable. It is proposed to use the large steel and brick building built for steam engineering at Port Royal and never used. The station is well adapted in some respects for the hospital, though officers who have been stationed there do not regard it as especially desirable as a residence. The progress of the trial of the plan will be watched with much interest by medical men in and out of the service. The Sea Island country is delightful at certain seasons of the year, and the residents there stoutly maintain that it has its charms in all seasons. Its bugbear has been considered to be malarial conditions, which, however, are said to be non-existent by the native born. If Surgeon General Rixey's hope of conditions suitable for the treatment of tuberculosis are realized, there is a future for these sparsely populated island tracts which front on the ocean.

The fairy tale that has been current for so long, that the government has maintained a floating palace for the use of the President of the United States has been laid at rest at last by a letter from Secretary Moody to Chairman Foss of the Naval Committee. The Mayflower had, when she came into the possession of the government, certain fittings not uncommon to yachts of her class. These were removed for a time while she was rated as a torpedo gunboat. She was too slow for that service, and when she was returned to general service the fittings were restored. In the twenty-one months of her present commission she has cruised 22,000 miles, but the President has only traveled in her ninety-four miles, and the total of his use of her for himself or guests has amounted to one week and the travel to 410 miles.

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The army appropriation bill was completed in Congress on April 18 by the adoption of a conference report on two disagreements, the provision relating to the retirement of officers who served in the civil war at the next higher grade, and the provision to inaugurate the building of a wagon road from Valdez to Fort Yukon. The former provision as passed provides that "any officer of the Army below the grade of brigadier general who served with credit as an officer or as an enlisted man in the regular or volunteer forces during the civil war prior to April 9, 1865, otherwise than as a cadet, and whose name is borne on the official register of the Army and who has been or may hereafter be retired on acount of wounds or disability incident to the service, or on account of age or after forty years' service, may, in the discretion of the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, be placed on the retired list of the Army with the rank and retired pay of one grade above that actually held by him at the time of retirement: Provided, That this act shall not apply to any officer who received an advance of grade since his retirement or who has been restored to the Army and placed on the retired list by virtue of the provisions of a special act of Congress." The wagon road in the Yukon, which has been opposed as being in private interest largely, stands in the position of securing an appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars for a survey and estimate of the cost.

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A partial agreement on the Navy appropriation bill was approved on the same day as the

Army bill report. The provision making the pay of civil engineers and professors of mathematics the same as that of constructors goes out; the provision for twenty warrant machinists in any one year stands; the appropriations for barracks at Norfolk and League Island are abandoned; civil employes beyond the continental limits are to have the privilege of buying Navy stores; the increase of instructors at the Naval Academy stands; the bandmaster at the Academy is not to receive the rank of ensign in this bill; four years instead of six as now and of two as proposed is to be required as service eligibility or warrant officers for promotion to be ensigns; good conduct and special pay for enlisted men of the marines is provided in an appropriation of $415,000; officers of the Marine Corps who served in the Civil war are to get promotion on retirement, as in the case with naval officers; the number of vessels authorized which can be built by any one firm is limited to two.

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The provisions for consolidating navy yard power plants, for the establishment of naval training stations on the great lakes, for the location of the New England powder magazine, for the rebuilding of the Constitution, and on the subject of submarine torpedo-boats were left in disagreement by the report.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

THE ASIATIC FLEET.

Advices received at the naval station from Admiral Cooper, now in command of the cruiser squadron at Shanghai, are to the effect that he will arrive in Manila about the 25th and assume command of the United States Asiatic fleet. He will raise his flag on the battleship Wisconsin, and unless a change of front comes over the Navy Department at Washington, with reference to the battleship squadron, will remain in Manila harbor. It is expected that Admiral Stirling, now commanding the Philippine division of the fleet, will, upon the arrival of Cooper from Shanghai, proceed to that port and command the cruiser squadron. In that capacity Stirling will have the opportunity of viewing the operations of the naval engagements now engrossing the world.

Admiral Stirling decided yesterday to pay Manila a visit in the Rainbow, his present flagship. She weighed anchor and in a short while the big white home of the admiral was resting easy, a few hundred yards off the breakwater.

It is understood that the cruiser San Francisco has been detached from the European station and ordered to duty with the Asiatic squadron.

"The squadron breathes a sigh of relief now that Evans has departed" were the words expressed by a prominent naval officer to a representative of *The American* yesterday. "What has the admiral been up to, that caused a depression in these tropical climes?" was the question asked by the scribe. "Oh, well, not much, and still a d—— of a lot too, when you come to sum the whole cruise up. Courts-martial galore, plenty of hard work, with a wee bit of liberty thrown in. 'Fighting Bob' seemed not satisfied with that rather ornamental title, but assumed powers that put those conferred upon Viceroy Admiral Alexieff way back. He was 'Fighting Bob,' 'Viceroy Admiral Evans,' 'Admiral' and 'The Great I Am' of the Estados Unidos in the Far East."
—*Manila American*, March 16, 1904.

A SONG OF ENGLAND.

There is a song of England that none shall ever sing;
So sweet it is and fleet it is
That none whose words are not as fleet as birds upon the wing,
And regal as her mountains,
And radiant as the fountains
Of rainbow-colored sea-spray that every wave can fling
Against the cliffs of England, the sturdy cliffs of England,
Could more than seem to dream of it,

Or catch one flying gleam of it,
Above the seas of England that never cease to sing.

There is a song of England that only lovers know;
So rare it is and fair it is,
Oh, like a fairy rose it is upon a drift of snow,
So cold and sweet and sunny,
So full of hidden honey,
So like a flight of butterflies where rose and lily blow
Along the lanes of England, the leafy lanes of England;
When flowers are at their vespers,
And full of little whispers,
The boys and girls of England shall sing it as they go.

There is a song of England that only love may sing;
So sure it is and pure it is,
And seaward with the sea-mew it spreads a whiter wing!
And with the skylark hovers
Above the tryst of lovers,
Above the kiss and whisper that led the lovely Spring
Through all the glades of England, the ferny glades of England,
Until the way enwound her
With sprays of may, and crowned her
With stars of frosty blossom in a merry morris ring.

There is a song of England that haunts her hours of rest;
The calm of it and balm of it
Are breathed from every hedge-rose that blushes to the west;
From the cottage doors that nightly
Cast their welcome out so brightly
On the lanes where laughing children are lifted and caressed
By the tenderest hands in England, hard and blistered hands of England;
And from the restful sighing
Of the sleepers that are lying,
With the arms of God around them, on the night's contented breast.

There is a song of England that wanders on the wind;
So sad it is and glad it is
That men who hear it madden, and their eyes are wet and blind,
For the lowlands and the highlands
Of the unforgotten islands,
For the Islands of the Blessed and the rest they cannot find,
As they grope in dreams to England and the love they left in England,
Little feet that danced to meet them,
And the lips that used to greet them,
And the watcher at the window in the home they left behind.

There is a song of England that thrills the beating blood
With burning cries and yearning
Tides of hidden aspiration hardly known or understood;
Aspirations of the creature
Towards the unity of Nature;
Sudden chivalries revealing whence the longing is renewed
In the men that live for England, live and love and die for England;
By the light of their desire
They shall blindly blunder higher,
To a wider grander kingdom and a deeper nobler Good.

There is a song of England that only God can hear;
So gloriously victorious,
It soars above the choral stars that sing the Golden Year;
Till even the cloudy shadows
That wander o'er her meadows
In silent purple harmonies declare His glory there

On all the hills of England, the billowy hills of England;
While heaven rolls and ranges
Through all the myriad changes
That mirror God in music to the mortal eye and ear.

There is a song of England that none shall ever sing;
So sweet it is and fleet it is
That none whose words are not as fleet as birds upon the wing,
And regal as her mountains,
And radiant as her fountains
Of rainbow-colored sea-spray that every wave can fling
Against the cliffs of England, the sturdy cliffs of England,
Could more than seem to dream of it,
Or catch one flying gleam of it,
Above the seas of England that never cease to sing.

—*Alfred Noyes, in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.*

ORIGIN OF CERTAIN NAVAL CUSTOMS.

A curious fact, not generally known, is that the black silk handkerchief which Jack knots around his throat was first worn as mourning for Nelson, and has ever since been retained. The three white stripes around the broad blue collar of the sailor's jumper commemorate the victories of Trafalgar, Copenhagen and the Nile. Thus the Nelson legend affects not only Jack's work, but his food and clothing as well. The broad blue collar itself is older than the great admiral. It was first adopted at that period when sailors plastered their hair into a stiff pigtail with grease and powder.

At 9 o'clock each night the sentry in every ship in harbor fires off his rifle. For the origin of this custom we may have to look back to the days of flintlocks. Then, in order to test the priming and see that his weapon was in usable condition, the sentry had to fire it off each night. There is no necessity for such a test with modern rifles, but the 9 o'clock firing is religiously carried out.

Every officer or man climbing to the quarterdeck salutes. The origin of this usage dates back a long way. When England was a Roman Catholic country a crucifix stood on the quarterdeck of all ships. Every time any of the crew approached this holy symbol they crossed themselves. Out of that has grown the custom of saluting the quarterdeck.—*London Mail.*

BOOK NOTICE.

The Tiger and the Rose. A monthly journal of the York and Lancaster Regiment. Sheffield, England. Four pence a number.

A novel method of entrapping submarine boats, used during the recent naval maneuvers of the British Channel Squadron off Portsmouth, is described by the Scientific American. While a torpedo boat attack was in progress, and the undivided attention of the defending force attracted entirely thereto, the battleships of the enemy quietly dropped picket boats, manned with full crews. These craft are small, light, mobile, and easy to handle, though they can steam at from sixteen to eighteen knots an hour. Their scope was to destroy the submarines. Each picket boat was equipped with some fine nets of specially fine hard steel. When expanded, they stretched to 70 feet or 100 feet in length, and were fairly broad. Along one side of each net a hawser was threaded. One end of this haw-

ser was attached to a compensating drum on one picket boat, and the other end was fixed to a similar arrangement on a second picket boat. The net thus rigged at once sank down like a thin wall into the water. Owing to the fine, delicate construction of these nets, they can be dragged through the water like a fisherman's seine by the picket boats at a pace far in excess of that of a submerged traveling submarine. This curious process of fishing, or trawling, for submarines was eminently successful. Officers on the picket boats attached to one of the nets saw a periscope moving on the surface of the water. They immediately maneuvered their boats so that the steel net was stretched across the submarine's path. The submerged boat continued its progress, unsuspectingly. In a few minutes the officers in the picket boats at either end of the hawser felt a straining, which told them that they had stopped the career of the submarine. Immediately the boats altered course, so as to completely envelop the unfortunate underwater craft in the net. The maneuver was crowned with absolute success. The submerged craft was completely caught. To accentuate further the predicament of the sailors in the submarine, the hawser carried away the periscope, so that the navigators of the submerged craft were deprived of their sole means of seeing what was happening on the surface, and consequently the crew could do nothing but await developments. By some means or other the picket boats contrived to raise the submarine to the surface, and its capture was completed. It was demonstrated that once a submarine is enveloped in the meshes of such a net it is impossible to escape, and the boat is as helpless as a fish under similar circumstances.

—*Army and Navy Journal.*

COLONEL WM. D'ALTON MANN.

We take especial pleasure in giving as the frontispiece of this number, a picture of that gallant soldier of the Union Army and honored member of the Loyal Legion, Col. William D'Alton Mann, editor of *Town Topics*, a journal which everyone reads and nearly everyone enjoys, the exceptions being people whose silliness or worse makes them fair targets for the arrows of a society journal.

Colonel Mann as an editor has two distinguishing traits: First, he writes brilliantly, and second, he never hits a man when he is down. The following interesting sketch of his career we reproduce from "Who's Who in New York City and State:"

Soldier, inventor and editor. Was born at Sandusky, Ohio, Sept. 27, 1839. Was educated as a civil engineer. At the outbreak of the Civil War entered the army as captain of the First Michigan Cavalry. In 1862 he recruited and organized the First Mounted Rifles, afterwards known as the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, and Daniel's Horse Battery. Immediately following, at urgent request of the governor, organized and commanded in the field the Seventh Michigan Cavalry. In connection with this regiment he recruited and organized Gunther's Horse Battery. Received patents for valuable accoutrements for troops. After the war settled in Mobile, Ala., and engaged in the manufacture of cotton seed oil and railroad construction and was the proprietor of the Mobile *Register*. In January, 1872, patented the boudoir car and spent next ten years in Europe introducing it there. He returned in 1883, settled in New York City and established the Mann Boudoir Car Co., afterwards sold out to the Pullman Car Co.. Became owner and Editor of *Town Topics* in 1891. In 1900 founded *The Smart Set* magazine.

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JUNE, 1904.

*THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.**

THE present war in the Far East, although directly the result of conditions which arose only a decade ago, in the Chino-Japanese War, is ultimately traceable to the great principles involved in the Eastern question and the diplomatic movements of the last half century.

In the Chino-Japanese War Russia and Japan, both filled with the spirit of *expansion,* recognized each other for the first time as rivals for the control of the coast regions lying between the two countries. The coast of Corea and Northern China is for Russia her natural outlet to the sea, and for Japan the means of entrance into the great continent bordering her island empire, constituting the natural outlet for her trade and her excess of population.

In this war Japan showed how great a value she placed on the possession of these coast regions or their control, and at the same time proved to herself and to the civilized world that she had become a world power, ready to compete even with the great European nations for the possession of these lands.

Russia, on the other hand, recognized the fact that she must anticipate Japan if she does not wish to be forever cut off from the sea. By constantly increasing her military power in the Far East, Russia

*The purpose of this series of papers is to present a connected account of the operations of the war, considered in a strategical and tactical light. The data are necessarily incomplete and not always accurate, but the available material will be carefully sifted, and the record made as historically true as is possible so soon after the events.

was in a position to take a prominent part in the treaty between China and Japan, and succeeded, on the theory of preserving the integrity of the Chinese Empire, in depriving Japan of the fruits of her victories, and preventing her from gaining a foothold on the main coast. At the same time, she herself advanced step by step, first acquiring possession of Port Arthur, and then, under cover of the Boxer insurrection, gradually occupying Manchuria, and finally obtaining important concessions from Corea. In spite of her promises to evacuate Manchuria, she continued to strengthen her position there.

Japan, weakened by the war, found herself immediately after its close unable to cope with her great adversary. Time for recuperation was required, and diplomacy had to be employed to strengthen her own political position, and to weaken that of her rival.

The two contestants are interested only in Russian or Japanese expansion, but underlying this question is that graver question of free trade in the markets of the world, in which all the great civilized nations are more or less concerned.

The dispute between Russia and Japan, however, is not about Manchuria, although that matter may come up later; it concerns Corea, and is based on strategical considerations. The Russians, foiled by nature and by treaties in the Baltic and in the Black Sea, have gained an outlook in the Far East upon the Pacific, and they are determined to maintain their position there, and are resolved to become the predominant naval and military power in those waters. The Japanese, on the other hand, an island power like England, recognizes the fact that the aims of Russia are fatal to their own pretensions. To Russia, predominance in Corea and the possession of Corean harbors is essential, for this peninsula would otherwise stand as a bar between Port Arthur and Vladivostok; to Japan, on the other hand, this land is necessary to enable her to establish herself on the continent of Asia.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

During the past eight years both powers have anticipated the possibility of war, and have, consequently, increased and perfected their respective war material and power.

Japan increased her navy on a definite plan. Six battleships, six large cruisers, six small cruisers, besides a number of torpedo-boats, appeared to be more than Russia would be likely to concentrate against her in the Far East, consequently this was the strength of fleet which Japan aimed to attain in the past eight years. Against a

possible support of Russia by another sea power, Japan secured herself by alliance with the greatest, namely, Great Britain.

In 1902, however, Japan, seeing that Russia was increasing her eastern fleet faster than the building program of Japan increased her own, proceeded to buy in Genoa the two cruisers building for Argentina (the Nishin and the Kassuga), and ordered two battleships to be built in England, with a limit of time for completion of twenty-seven months, at the same time proposing further purchases from Chili or Argentina.

The Japanese, moreover, utilized the years of preparation in constructing naval ports, well supplied with docks, in perfecting their iron and coal industries, in completing their net-work of railroads in the interior, and in fortifying their navy yards and supply stations with modern fortifications.

In December, 1903, a number of steamers were converted into transports in various harbors, and the coaling stations were all well supplied with coal from abroad.

The Japanese Army had also been increased on a definite plan since the Chino-Japanese War. At that time it consisted of seven divisions, and had a total strength of 70,000 men; at the beginning of 1904 it comprised thirteen divisions, and had a total strength of 190,000 men.

At the end of the eight years of preparation Japan believed herself to be ready, her army mobilized, and her fleet and transports prepared. Her mobilization could be effected without difficulty, owing to the excellence of the system and the patriotism of the people. The land transport had been prepared for by constructing the railroads so as to facilitate embarkation; and the water transport by collecting a very numerous transport fleet. A Council of War was created to facilitate prompt action, and an emergency fund was established upon which the government could draw, while it could also issue treasury notes and raise temporary loans to an unlimited amount for military and naval purposes.

Russia proceeded with similar determination to increase her war strength in the Far East. Every increase in the Japanese Navy was met by an increase in the Russian fleet in the Far East. To effect this she even depleted her principal European station, and constantly increased her navy by adding new constructions, sending every warship, as fast as it was completed, to the Eastern station. In this way she preserved her superiority at sea, but just before the outbreak of war this superiority had come to a standstill, and towards the end of 1903 the six Japanese battleships were opposed by only the same num-

ber of Russian battleships. In December, 1903, however, the addition of the Cesarevitch raised the number to seven, and by sending out the Osliabia the number could have been increased to eight, while in the two following years five Russian battleships then under construction could have been completed.

Russian also increased her docking facilities at Vladivostok and Port Arthur, and completed the Trans-Siberian Railway to serve as a line of communication even for a purely naval war. The difficulties that Russia had to contend with were very great, however, as all the necessary material had to be drawn from a great distance. Consequently, Russia was far behind her adversary in this element of preparedness.

The Russian Army in the Far East, as already stated, was greatly increased under various pretexts, during this period of preparation, and a strong defensive line was established along the Yalu River.

In a strategic sense the key point to the theatre of war in the Far East is the Strait of Corea, which has recently been so aptly termed the *Yellow Bosphorus.*

Afterthe seizure of the Peninsula of Kwantun, the Russians were naturally anxious to secure an outlet to the Yellow Sea, especially in a northern direction; hence, through the Strait of Corea.

As regards Japan, on the other hand, in this strait lies the most westerly of the Japanese islands, namely Tsussima, which is well fortified, and constitutes an important advanced base for the Japanese fleet and a point of departure for all her naval operations. From Tsussima to Fusan or Mosampo (on the coast of Corea) is only six hours by steamer, hence, the possession of these two points, or even of one of them, would enable Japan to close the straits to foreign ships; while Russia could only neutralize the advantage Japan would have, by getting possession of Mosampo, by which she could prevent Japan from fully controlling the situation, interfere with the communications between the latter and Southern Corea, observe the Japanese fleet, acquire the necessary coaling station between Vladivostok and Port Arthur, etc., but Russia would not thereby gain full control of the Yellow Bosphorus herself.

By special agreement with Great Britain and other Powers concerned, Russia cannot take possession of the Island of Hamilton (abandoned by the British in 1887 as unsuitable for a coaling station), nor can she occupy Corea permanently.

Russia recognized the fact that neither the blockade of Vladivostok and Port Arthur, and the loss of Dalny (near Port Arthur, on the Kwantun Peninsula), can injure her materially, since their com-

merce and trade are insignificant. Moreover, she had made up her mind to remain on the defensive with her fleet, in which she felt herself to be inferior, and to endeavor to bring about the decisive actions of the war with her land army, where she would be undoubtedly superior, provided she could bring her available forces to bear in time. Her main reliance was, therefore, placed on the Trans-Siberian Railway, her only line of communication for supplies and reinforcements.

Manchuria, the smallest of China's dependencies, has an area of 366,000 square miles, with two distinct mountain systems, one in the west and north, rising to about 5,000 feet, the other just north of the Corean frontier, with an elevation of about 8,000 feet; the former has but one road, that between Tsitsihar and Aigun, and the region is clothed with dense forest. The latter has an important road from the valley of the Yalu over the Motienling Pass to Liaoyang, and in the southern portion, where the hills are lower, many roads cross.

The climate is good, except in the extreme northern portion; the roads are generally very poor, and their condition depends entirely on the weather.

The coast of Manchuria from the mouth of the Yalu River to the Great Wall is very shoal, except near Talienwan, and the ports at the mouth of the Yalu and Takushan Rivers are closed by ice between the end of November and the middle of March. Port Arthur and Talienwan, however, are practically ice-free ports. In the Gulf of Liaotung there is only one harbor, that of Newchwang, and only one coast island has a harbor worth mentioning, namely, the small harbor called Thornton Haven, on the Island of Haiyangtao.

Port Arthur and Talienwan are on the Kwantun Peninsula, which is joined to the Liaotun Peninsula by a narrow strip of land, strongly fortified by a series of batteries, constituting the strategical key to the Kwantun Peninsula.

Port Arthur has strong forts on the sea side, arranged in a reentrant form, and the 600-yard channel is protected by submarine mines. On the land side permanent works have been constructed on a semicircle of hills, about two and one-half miles back from the water front. There are search-lights on the sea and land fronts and the place has a permanent garrison of 14,500 men.

In general outline, the plan of action of Japan will probably be to obtain command of the sea by preserving her local superiority in naval power, thus depriving Russia of any line of communication with Manchuria other than her *land* line; gaining control of the Straits of Corea by occupying Fusan and Mosampo; blockading Vladivostok

and Port Arthur, and landing troops at several points in Corea and occupying that country with her field army.

This will constitute her *strategic deployment.*

The succeeding operations will probably comprise an advance against the Russian line of defense on the Yalu River, with Harbin, the railroad center of the main branches to Vladivostok and Port Arthur, as the strategic objective. Russia, before the war opened, had already decided to hold her fleet on the defensive, and her army will probably be forced to the same mode of action until her forces east of Lake Baikal amount to about four army corps, two cavalry divisions and three reserve divisions, besides the local garrison. Her offensive action after strategic deployment will probably consist in an advance against the Japanese position on the Yalu River or in advance of the latter, depending on the progress the Japanese Army may have made by that time.

MILITARY AND NAVAL FORCES.

The naval forces available on the two sides of this war are determinable, but the land forces can only be surmised at present.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NAVAL FORCES.

The organization of the naval forces of the two nations, so far as the war in the Far East is concerned, is fairly well determined to have been as follows at the opening of the war:

JAPANESE FLEET.

Battleships (Main Squadron, Vice-Admiral Togo).—Asahi (flag), Mikasa, Shikishima, Hatsuse, Yashima, Fuji. *First Cruiser Division.*—Idzumo (flag), Asama, Tokiva, Iwate, Yakumo, Azuma. *Second Cruiser Division.*—Chitose (flag), Takasago, Kasagi, Yoshino. *Destroyer Divisions.*—Three or four.

Convoying Squadron (for transport to Chemulpo).—Takachiho (flag), Naniwa, Chiyoda, Akitsushima, Matsushima class, etc.

Convoying Squadron (for transport to Masampo).—Heigen, Seigen, etc.

Some warships were probably also detached to observe Vladivostok.

The other Japanese warships, not here classified, are: the battleships Chin Yen and Fusoo, the armored cruisers Nysshin and Kasuga (purchased from Argentina), and Akashi, Suma, Idsumi, Hashidate,

Idsukushima; the despatch boats Tatsuta, Chihaya and Akasaki; besides twenty destroyers and sixty-eight torpedo boats.

Battleships (Main Squadron, Vice-Admiral Stark, in Port Arthur).—Petropavlosk (flag), Polteva, Sevastopol, Peresviet, Pobilda, Retvisan, Cesarevitch. *Cruiser Division.*—Bayan, Diana, Pallada, Askold, Novik, Boyarin. *Destroyer Divisions.*—Twelve destroyers. Variag (detached at Chemulpo). Koriez (detached at Chemulpo).

Cruiser Squadron (in Vladivostok).—Rossia (flag), Rurik, Gromoboi, Bogatyr, two transports.

Reserve Squadron (in the Red Sea).—Osliabia (battleship, flag), Dmitri Donskoi, Aurora, Almas, four transports.

Also a considerable number of torpedo boats at Vladivostok and Port Arthur, and a number of gunboats and smaller torpedo boats either in the naval ports or detached. Probably twenty torpedo boats in all, exclusive of the destroyers.

ORGANIZATION OF THE LAND FORCES.

The organization of the two opposing armies before the war is also fairly accurately known, but the number and character of the Russian troops on the theatre of war at the opening of hostilities, as well as those brought to the scene of operations by either party since then, is very difficulty to determine at present.

JAPANESE ARMY.

The Japanese Army comprises thirteen divisions, organized in time of peace into three armies, either for administrative purposes or for the defense of the Empire, the total strength on a war footing being about 340,000 men, with 780 field guns.

The railroads are laid with a view either to the strategic deployment of the Army for the defense of the coast, or to the concentration of the army on the coast for offensive operations over sea. The time required for the concentration of the entire army is estimated at fifty days.

The merchant marine is sufficient (after furnishing to the navy the necessary hospital, ammunition and repair ships and colliers), without interfering with the regular postal service or the coastwise trade, to furnish transports sufficient to carry three divisions (with guns and trains) at a time over sea.

The embarkation of a complete division (according to previous experience) requires three days, and their disembarkation at Chemulpo, for example, would probably require five days. The entire

time required to transport every two divisions would probably be about fifteen days.

RUSSIAN ARMY.

The part of the Russian Army directly concerned with the war comprises the troops in the Government of the Far East and those of the military department of Siberia, and these were the only forces mobilized and placed on a war footing. The Manchurian Army, to be formed of the troops assembled in the theatre of war, will probably number about 210,000 men.

The main line of communications is the Siberian Railway, and as each train carries only 500 men, and Lake Baikal causes a delay of two days, the journey from Moscow to Harbin requires about four weeks. It will probably take about sixty-six days to assemble all the reinforcements necessary to mobilize the troops for the Manchurian Army and concentrate them at Harbin, and two months more to assemble the reserves. The strategic deployment of the Russian forces cannot, therefore, take place for about four months after the opening of the war.

The number of Russian troops in the Far East at the outbreak of the war is difficult to determine, but was probably about 150,000 men, with 266 field guns.

This, in brief, is the military situation at the opening of hostilities. The strategic deployment of both armies cannot be completed, in all probability, before the middle of June. Meanwhile, we will follow the course of events beginning with the naval operations and the efforts of Japan to obtain command of the sea, followed by the landing of her army of operations in Corea and its strategic deployment.

(*To be continued.*)

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM DRAGOON.

In one of the early numbers of The United Service was published an interesting article entitled "Bits of Army Etymology," weherein the following passage appeared: "The dragon that crested the helmet of the mounted warrior made him a dragoon." The only authority that can be found for this curious statement is M. de Schauenburg, who is quoted (Bismarck's "Tactics of Cavalry," p. 302) as saying, "Le nom de dragon parait avoir été donné à cette arme, parceque les premiers dragons, ou plutôt les premiers fantassins qu'on a mis à cheval, portaient sur leurs casques l'effige d'un dragon." That these troops wore on their helmets the figure of that myth as a crest will be seen to be an error, when it is considered that at the period they were instituted (*circa* 1553-56) feathers had come into vogue, and head-pieces with ornamented crests were seldom worn, and then only displayed on tilting-heaumes, and confined to the lists and the parades of pageantry. Moreover, the *crest* was a valued token in those days, belonging to the person of a knight and to him alone, and therefore prized as an honor of high dignity; and instances were rare where two knights knowingly bore upon their helms the same device. There can be no doubt that the first dragoons organized—like all other soldiers, particularly in France and Italy—wore a cabasset, a pear-shaped iron hat, with a narrow, curved, upturned rim, and without neck-guard, crest, or visor (Demin's "Weapons of War," p. 242). Sir Samuel Meyrick ("Critical Inquiry into Arms," ii. 273), quoting from the *Ordonnances* of Francis I., speaks of "mounted arquebusiers wearing a cabasset, in order to command a better view and have the head less loaded."

All writers agree that the term *dragoon* is in some way connected with the animal of antiquated story, but why a particular body of soldiers received this name is a question full of conjecture. Some etymologists in defining the term have blindly followed the eminent philologist, Giles Menage, and among the number Dr. Samuel Johnson, who explains in his lexicon, "Dragoon,—from the Roman Draconarii"; while Rich ("Dict. Greek et Rom. Antqs.") remarks under

"Draconarius," "It is from this word that the modern name of dragoon originated, meaning in its original sense a cavalry-soldier who followed the ensign of a dragon."

From the statements of two ancient and trustworthy captains, contemporary with the times they describe, we can see that the word dragoon has no relation to the Draconarii. Ammianus, Marcellinus ("Roman History," B. xvi.), who served under the Emperor Julian, referring to the battle of Strasburg, A. D. 357, says, "The emperor was at once recognized by his purple standard of the dragon, which was fixed to the top of a long spear"; and speaking of the march of Constantius to the Roman capital, he remarks, "The chief officers who went before the emperor were surrounded by dragons embroidered on various kinds of tissue." A score of years later, Flavius Vegetius ("Military Institutes," B. ii.) wrote, "Each cohort has also its own peculiar ensign, the dragon, carried by the Draconarius." And again, "The ensign-bearers carry the ensigns, and are now called Draconarii." A cohort was a division of the Roman legion, and, at this time of the empire, was invariably composed of foot-soldiers; while the cavalry was arranged in turmæ, or troops, and had for their own proper banner the Vexillum, borne by the Vexillarius. From these citations it is apparent that at one period the dragon was the flag of officers of supreme rank, and at a later day served to distinguish a cohort in the Roman army. The dragon was chosen as the symbol of vigilance by several of the ancient nations (Fosbroke's "Antiquities," i. 160) in the East, where it was first raised as a standard, but there is no evidence that it ever gave its name to any corps that followed it. Brunet ("Regal Armorie," p. 114) states, "The word dragon is derived from the Greek, and signifies a looker-on, or a watcher who guards an entrance," and that it was the custom of many of the Oriental cities to place over their gates the statue of a dragon with open eyes, typical of the sentinels being constantly on the watch. The same author relates that Tien Hoang, the first lawgiver and king of China, having suppressed the worship and the human sacrifices to the dragon, its image was removed to the temples and emblazoned on the national banner. This prince was also represented as a warrior, lance in hand, about to kill the monster. The children of Gog—the Goths—too, had a dragon for their standard (Gog, their father-king, having his helmet adorned with this "spirit of fire"), and carried it with them in their conquests in Western Asia, where the imperial legions of the Emperor Trajan encountered it in Gurgistan, now Georgia. Here the Romans captured a flag whereon was depicted a mounted soldier beating down a dragon. This Trajan

took for his ensign, introducing it into his army and in all the provinces of the empire. The Emperor Adrian probably brought it to Britain, A. D. 121; for the inhabitants of that land, according to Brunet, when compelled to defend themselves against the inroads of the northern tribes, went into battle bearing the banner of Trajan, which they had dedicated to Albion, the tutelar deity of the island. From the monkish annals Geoffrey of Monmouth ("British History," ch. 7) has taken the legend how Prince Uther, from seeing in the sky a comet with a fiery dragon at its tail, was impelled to have a golden dragon made, which he always carried with him to the wars. "From this time, therefore," the chronicle narrates, "he was called *Uther Pendragon,* which in the British tongue signifies the dragon's head." Dr. Brewer ("Dictionary of Fable"), commenting on this story, points out that *Pen* is British for head, and *dragon* means chief, leader, ruler. The dragon, however, became the national emblem of the Britons, and afterwards of the Anglo-Saxons, and remained, as Meyrick says, a figure in the English standard until the reign of Henry VII., 1485. Louis de Gaya ("Treatise of Arms," p. 143), treating of the French cavalry (*temp.* Henri IV., 1589-1610), makes the following odd mention: "We have changed the Carabins into soldiers that fight both on foot and horse, whom we have called Dragoons, in imitation of the *Dimachoe* of Alexander the Great; which name comes from the Greek word *Dimas,* that signifies terror and fear; because they carried dragons for their ensigns." De Gaya was indebted to Quintius Curtius (B. v. ch. 13) for so much of this statement as concerned the renowned Macedonian establishing the "Dimachæi,"—which word Pickering ("Greek Lexicon") explains, "men practiced to fight either on foot or horseback," but Curtius in alluding to this squadron of soldiers has nothing to say of any badge or banner by which they were known. The learned French Jesuit, Pére Daniel (Histoire de la Milice Françoise," ii. 353), observes "that some writers derive the term dragons from the German word *tragen,* or *draghen,* which means, they said, *infantry carried,* but that Menage in rejecting this etymology remarked, that *draghen* had no signification in that language, and as to *tragen,* it did not mean *infantry carried,* but only *to carry.*"

That garrulous old soldier of many campaigns, Sir James Turner, Knight, in his quaintly-written volume, "Pallas Armata," 1670 (p. 238), gives in two places his opinion as to the origin of the name. The following extract is the one least quoted: "Musquetiers on Horsebacke are called Dragoons in all languages, from the word Dragon, because when they are mounted on Horses and riding with

burning matches (especially in the night-time) they resemble fiery dragons flying in the air." More than a century later the renowned Prussian General Warnery ("Remarks on Cavalry") wrote, "Or as they were then denominated arquebusiers on horseback, it is said to have been the famous Count of Mansfield who baptized them by their present name, without a doubt upon comparison with those imaginary dragons which are represented as spitting fire." Count von Bismarck ("Tactics of Cavalry," p. 301) says, "These mounted foot-soldiers were called *dragoons* probably from a comparison to the imaginary monster, the dragon, when, with burning matches and fire-arms obliquely slung across the shoulder, they rushed along with the rapidity of lightning."

Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, who commanded a company of dragoons in the service of Charles I., and afterwards with Cromwell, during the Irish rebellion, 1640-51, observes, in his "Treatise of War," 1677, "They were evidently originally so called from dragon, as they fought in the air or on the ground, mounted or on foot. Their long carabines were called dragons, from the cock being made in that shape." Gervase Markham, a contemporary officer and military author, in his book, "The Souldier's Accidence," an edition of which was printed in 1645 (Grose's "Military Antiquities," i. p. 110), writes, "The last sort of which our Horse troops are compounded are called Dragons, * * * and for offensive armes they have a faire dragon, fitted with an iron worke, to be carried in a belt of leather, which is buckled over the right shoulder and under the left arme, * * * and these dragons are short pieces of sixteen inches the barrell, and full musquet bore, with firelocks or snaphaunces." From this statement Meyrick was induced to express an opinion that has been earnestly supported by almost every succeeding writer on this topic. Prominent among the number are Mr. Planché ("Encyclopædia of Dress"), who remarks, "Dragon, a small kind of blunderbuss or carbine, with a dragon's head on the muzzle, presumed by Meyrick to have given the name of dragons to the French troops so called." Planché presents an engraving of the piece, which, he adds, "is an example of the time of Queen Elizabeth."

Fairholt ("Dictionary of Art," p. 157) observes, "Dragon, a short musket, so called, according to Meyrick, from a representation of that monster's head at the muzzle. (The old fable being that the dragon spouted fire). The soldiers who carried these arms were thence called dragons, and were first raised in the year 1600, by the Maréchal de Brisac." Boutell ("Arms and Armor," p. 294) writes, "A kind of blunderbuss called a *dragon*, which gave the troops who

used it the name of *dragooners,* whence we derive the well-known term dragoons." Dr. Brewer ("Dictionary of Fable") remarks, "Dragoons, so called because they used to be armed with dragons,—*i. e.,* short muskets, which spouted fire like the fabulous beast so named. The head of a dragon was wrought on the muzzle of the musket." Mr. Hewitt, an able antiquary ("Ancient Armor," iii. p. 720), after citing Markham, and rejecting the various derivations offered, boldly declares, "The name of these troops seems clearly to be derived from the weapon they carried, the *faire dragon*, and not, as we have been told, from their pieces having the muzzle in the form of a dragon's head, ***which it never had.*** Just as a cannon was called a serpent or a falcon, and a large harquebus a musket, was this arm named a dragon, simply to give it one of the unappropriated names significant of maleficence." Sir Sibbaldt Scott ("History of the British Army," p. 33) has no doubt "but this class of troops derived their name from the weapon with which they were armed," and in confirmation of this opinion he quotes the observations of Major Beamish (on the weapon mentioned by Planché, now in the Meyrick collection), who says, "Except in the length of the barrel, which is only eleven inches, instead of sixteen, it entirely corresponds with Markham's description, having a wheel-lock and a monster's head forming the muzzle. Dr. Meyrick infers that it was called a dragon from the formation of the muzzle, because the culverine (*colubrina*), serpentine, falcon, etc., were so denominated from the heads of these animals being the respective ornaments at the mouth." Beamish, in continuing this subject (Bismarck's "Tactics of Cavalry," p. 304), remarks, "These were taken from the tubes for ejecting the Greek fire, which was similarly embellished, and from the annoyance which they gave the Crusaders gave rise to the stories about knights and what Sir James Turner says naturalists call a fiery dragon." Centuries before the Banner of the Cross was exalted, and its followers went forth in quest of holy adventure, the romantic legends of the mediæval gleeman had told them of the dragon in every phase; and if we inquire of the Crusading contemporaries we shall find that, although these copper tubes were, as Gibbon ("Roman Empire," iii. 466) writes, "fancifully shaped with the mouths of savage monsters" (formed much in the same manner as the gargoyles, or water-spouts, on the old cathedrals), there is no evidence of their being named after the grotesque likenesses on them.

Far more formidable means were employed for throwing this fire; and as to the stories of knights and dragons in connection with these tubes, there were none to tell. Johnes, in his translation of Lord de

Joinville's "Memoirs" (A. D. 1248-56), speaking of the "Feu Grégois," states, "Sometimes this fire was put into phials and pots, and it was also discharged from Perrieres and Cross-bows"; and Joinville, who accompanied Louis IX. of France in his Crusade, remarks that when he and his companions were near the city of Damietta the Saracens "shot at us with large bolts armed with Greek fire, so that it seemed as if the stars were falling from the heavens"; and during a siege near the same place he relates, "From this engine they flung such quantities of Greek fire that it was the most horrible sight ever witnessed; this appearance was like a large hogshead, and its tail was of the length of a long spear; the noise which it made was like to thunder, and it seemed a great dragon of fire flying through the air, giving so great a light with its flame that we saw in our camp as clearly as in broad day. Thrice this night did they throw the fire from *la perriere* (a terrible engine to do mischief) and four times from cross-bows."

It is well-known that when fire-arms were first made they were of very rude construction, and the names of destructive, flesh-tearing creatures were selected as appropriate appellations for them; and as their manufacture advanced, especially during the "Renaissance," the armorer often expended his fancy in embossing them with elegant and curious designs; the serpentine or cock that held the match, the cock-head in which was fixed the pyrites, and that which held the flint,—also the muzzle,—became the favorite points for ornamentation. But there is no satisfactory proof that because any part of a fire-arm was carved in a certain form such representation gave its name to the piece. Demin (p. 65), alluding to the difficulty of classifying the larger guns, observes "for very often the same piece was named differently in each large city." The handles, or "anses," of the old cannon were usually shaped as "dolphins embowed," yet one may venture to assert that these guns never received the name of this fish. The muzzle of the musket was not fashioned to resemble the head of the sparrow-hawk, nor was the mouth of the culverine wrought like a serpent's; neither did the serpentine, falconet, basilisk, or saker have their muzzles engraved in the likeness of these snakes or birds. Indeed, among the many antique pieces exhibited in the museums throughout the world, comparatively few, particularly the small-arms, are to be found with the muzzle formed in imitation of the head of any animal, bird, or myth. Of these collections of decorated weapons Demin (p. 548) says, "The beautifully-finished precision-arms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, remarkable for the beautiful chiseling and carving on them, were intended only for pageants and shows." Now Meyrick's so-called dragon, *a solitary specimen*, surely

belongs to this class, for it is enriched with finely-carved work, and at the period assigned for its fabrication a costly wheel-lock; moreover, its barrel is shorter than that of any other fire-arm used in the armies of that age; and it is more than probable that it was intended for a presentation piece, or constructed to please the taste of some opulent officer fond of display. Meyrick, speaking of this very period, *temp.* of Elizabeth, 1558-1603, writes, "for notwithstanding the invention of the wheel-lock, it was too expensive to be used by the common soldiery." Even Markham does not say how the dragons got their name, or why their weapons were called so, or that these pieces were ornamented with *any* carving; and if by the term *firelocks* he means *wheel-locks,* he clearly indicates that the latter were but seldom used in his day, for, describing the arms of the cavalry, he remarks, "And all these are with firelocks, and those firelocks (for the most part) snap-hances, because the other are too curious, and too soon distempered with an ignorant hand." Captain John Cruso ("Mil. Inst. for the Cav.") in 1632 acknowledges, "The carabines with us (English) are for the most part snap-hances, and so something differing from the firelock." Meyrick, it appears, was the first one to suggest that the dragoons received their name from the *faire dragon,* and he was certainly encouraged in this conjecture by the discovery he made of the piece (described by Beamish) to which he gave the name of *dragon,* because the head of that myth was cut on the muzzle, accompanied with the supposition that such a weapon was carried by the original dragons. It is also evident that when he wrote his elaborate "Inquiry into Arms" he had not met with this piece, for in the Glossary to the first edition will be found the definition of the word dragoons, to which is added, "were so called after the draconarii of the Romans"; and when quoting Markham's observations ("Critical Inquiry," iii. p. 103) he says of the *faire dragon,* "a species of carbine; Sir James Turner thus describes it." But the worthy old knight does nothing of the kind, but in the passage referred to ("Pallas Armata," p. 173) the *blunderbuss* is spoken of, with the information that it was carried by some "carabiners," instead of the "carabin," which latter weapon, Turner says, "had a barrel of four foot long, but ordinarily only three." It is rather remarkable that, in the varied list of ancient arms noticed by the different antiquaries no mention has been found of such a piece as Markham has described or Meyrick discovered. Not one of the old dictionaries or encyclopædias (and many have been consulted) make any mention of either of these pieces. Demin (p. 68) in his rare compilation, embracing every known implement of war, indeed, speaks of *à dragon,* but in this wise: "Two other sort of hand

cannons, *à serpentin,* or *à dragon,* without trigger or tumbler, were invented about the year 1424. The match was fastened to the weapon itself, and was held by the *serpentine,* a sort of small linstock; when this weapon was better made, it was called a *hand culverine, pétrinal,* or *poitrinal,* from the shape of the stock, which was often rested on the cuirass." A drawing of this piece is given,—a rude thing, consisting of a plain iron tube fastened to a rough stock of wood. Captain Grose ("Military Antiquities," ii. 297), whose untiring researches into obsolete military matters render his testimony worthy of confidence, modestly remarks, "Markham mentions a kind of piece I do not recollect to have met with elsewhere, which he calls a dragon." Then, as if assuming there was such a weapon, he adds, "The piece derives its name from the species of soldiers by whom it was carried, who to this day (1785) are, in France, called and spelt dragons." Grose is the only writer who makes this assertion, and he may possibly be correct, if we couple the hand-gun mentioned by Demin as *à dragon* with the fact that when this weapon was introduced into Germany, where it was "invented about the year 1424," all Bohemia was convulsed with a religious war occasioned by the burning of John Huss and his followers rising in rebellion against the despotic rule of the emperor, Sigismund, who, in the beginning of the struggle, A. D. 1418, created a military order of knighthood for the purpose of fighting the rebels. This class of nobility was entitled "The Knights of the Order of the Dragon," and was so designated in commemoration, as the emperor imagined, of his "casting down the dragon of heresy," as typified in the oppression of the religious freedom claimed by the Hussites (Coates's "Heraldry," 1724). Whether this order carried fire-arms is a question of considerable doubt, yet Demin shows from manuscripts of this very time knights in complete harness, mounted, and armed with the rude hand-cannons he has mentioned. However, it is certain that a body of horsemen, known as the Order of the Dragon, and probably called dragons, existed before small fire-arms were used in battle. Any one who will investigate the subject will feel convinced that the term dragoon was never derived from any weapon these troops carried, and that such a piece as Meyrick found was unknown to them; also, that these soldiers had their name before Markham wrote, in 1645, and were armed with any weapon *but* the "faire dragon." Walter Yonge, Esq., wrote in his diary ("Camden Society Papers") under date of September, 1620, in reference to the English contingent in the Palatinate: "Colonel Francis, his regiment especially, the *dragons,* do continually make incursions." Cruso ("Mil. Inst. for the Cav.") in 1632, describing what he styles "the dragone,"

remarks, "The Dragoni is of two kinds, Pike and Musquet;" of the latter he says, "he hangeth at his backe, keeping his burning match and the bridle in the left hand."

Henri, Duc de Rohan ("Treatise on Modern War," 1640, translation), an eminent Hugenot general, who died in 1638, describing the arms of the French cavalry, states "these be of five sorts, the Lance, the Pistoll, the Sword, the Carabin, and the Musquet,....and for Musquettiers on horsebacke or Dragones they are also in a manner left off." Markham, we are informed, "speaks of the year 1645." At this time the chief engineer to Charles I. was Captain Thomas Rudd, who observes (Supplement, Elton's "Art Military") of the exercise of the dragoons, "The Musquettiers must therefore exercise themselves to give fire on Horsebacke." A few years later, "A Brief Treatise of War," written in 1649 (Grose, "Military Antiquities," ii. p. 111), says, "As for Dragooniers, they are onlie to have as followeth: Calivers and powder flaskes." And Père Daniel ("Mil. Franc.," ii. 357) distinctly shows from the memoirs of several distinguished persons who lived in the latter part of the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, that these soldiers were known as and called dragons in France and Spain, and drageons in Holland and Germany, while he cites the Chevalier Melzo as authority for stating the dragons first organized in the French and Spanish armies were armed with the *matchlock musquet,* but as the match interfered with the motions on horseback, those pieces were exchanged for *wheel-lock arquebuses.* (The former weapon was at least four feet long in the barrel, and the latter two and a half to three feet). And if Melzo's statement is not sufficient, we fortunately have the testimony of an eye-witness, showing the very kind of fire-arm used by De Brissac's men at the period he established the corps in question. One Edmund York, a veteran upon whom the city of London relied for advice during the consternation produced by the Spanish Armada, observes in his report (in Grose's "Military Antiquities," ii. 295), "I remember when I was first brought up in Piemont, in the Countie of Brissack's Regiment of the Old Bandes,* we had our particular Calibre of Harquebuze to our Regiment, both that for one Bullett should serve all the Harquebuzes of our Regiment, as for that our Collonell would not be deceaved of his Arms. Of which worde Calibre came first that unapt term we used to call a Harquebuze a Calliver, which is the height of the Bullett, and not of the piece."

*In the reign of Henri II., 1547-59, the French army was divided "into legions or bands of six thousand men each." When the term regiment was adopted, the regiments formed out of the original legions, which were not disbanded, were called the "Old Bands or Corps." (De Vernon's "Science of War," 1805).

Beamish (Bismarck's "Tactics of Cavalry," p. 302), being much exercised as to the proper derivation of the term *dragoon,* asked Meyrick for his opinion, and that gentleman was so deluded by enthusiasm by the discovery he had made that he actually replied, "It appears to me that Count von Bismarck has adopted the *suppositions* of Père Daniel and Sir James Turner: this is not an uncommon mode of proceeding with historians, and often tends to mislead. . . . Let us, however, seek for earlier authority than Père Daniel and Sir James Turner on the subject of *dragoons,*—Markham, who published his 'Souldier's Accidence,' in 1645." Meyrick then quotes the passage wherein the faire dragon is described, and pronounces Grose *"absurd"* for saying the piece got its name from the troops, "whereas," he continues, "the inverse of this is the truth; the carbiners were so named from the carbine, the lancers from the lance, etc., and so the *dragoniers* (as they were sometimes called), or dragoons, were termed from the dragon."

By analogy one would be disposed to agree with Meyrick, and argue with others that as the grenade produced the grenadier, and the fusil the fusilier, so the dragoon came from the weapon dragon; but the origin of a name is not bound by rule, and in military nomenclature the appellation of a corps does not always convey an idea of the kind of arms the soldiers composing it use. The Hungarian horseman, the Hussar, by his name, gives no intimation of his armature; the old German foot-soldiers, styled Lansquenets, or Land-knechts, were not called so from any weapon they had; the Irish Hobiler was so denominated, not from the piece he bore, but from the little horse, or hobbie, he rode; the Spanish light-horse, the Genetaires, were so named from the jennets, on which they were mounted; and a like troop had for their chief weapon an arzegaye (a short iron lance pointed at each end), but were known as Estradiots or Stradiots (from a Greek word, meaning soldier). The French Argoulets at first carried bows, and retained their name when they were supplied with arquebuses, and the Carabins (from the Arabic *karab,* weapon) were so designated long before the carbine was placed in their hands, they being at first (in France) armed with an escopette, and afterwards with the largest kind of a wheel-lock arquebus. ("Mil. Franc.," i. p. 169; Demin, p, 488.)

This point is illustrated in the German Reiters, or Riders, of whom one of Queen Elizabeth's best generals, Sir Roger Williams, in his "Discourse of Warre" (p. 36), says, "The Almaines during the time they carried launces carried a farre greater reputation than they doo now, being pistolers, named *Rutters.*" In regard to Markham's statement that the dragons "have a faire dragon," it can be safely con-

cluded that such a weapon was in use in England, *but only there,* and only for a brief period, and then owned by a select body, some particular troop, formed and accoutred by certain wealthy volunteers, who, suiting their own convenience, had the arms of their command made of a like size and pattern, also of a peculiar style,—for this piece "of sixteen inches the barrell" was shorter than the pistol, and was of "full musquet bore,"—and these gentlemen apparently desired an arm that might be easily carried in a baldrick over the shoulder, as the carbine, petronel, blunderbuss,, or musquetoon was, yet having a lighter weight, and just as effective a discharge as either of those pieces. The company being disbanded, the weapon dragon became unknown. This conclusion is fully warranted by the following facts and the remarkable condition of the times. Markham and Lord Orrery are the only writers who mention the dragons as bearing a piece called a dragon,—they both speak of the same period, and described different weapons,—while all other authors, whether before, contemporary, or after, refer to these troops as being armed with the musket or arquebus. It was an age when commanders frequently raised and equipped their respective bands at their own expense, obtaining their weapons from whom and where they could, and when skillful armorers and experienced captains held conflicting views as to the proper size and length of various fire-arms. Although Charles I. had in the year 1631 directed, in a special commission, that "Arms be made of a uniform pattern," which Grose ("Military Antiquities," ii. 324) observes "was a circumstance never before attended to," and ordered, the commission recites, "that expert and skillful workmen may be trayned up, imployed, and maintayned, to the end that wee may not be inforced in tyme of Warre to seeke for Arms, &c., in forraigne parts," the English, when the disastrous rupture occurred between king and Commons, in 1642, found themselves but scantily supplied with arms.

The Earl of Clarendon ("History of the Rebellion," ii. 325), an eye-witness of the stirring events of this war, relates, "The greatest difficulty was to provide arms, of which, indeed, there was a great scarcity; in all places the noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, sent the King such supplies out of their own armouries, which were very mean. Among the Horse, the officers had their full desire if they were able to procure old backs, and breasts, and pots (iron caps), with pistols and carabines for the two or three first ranks, and swords for the rest." The cavalry is also noticed by one John Lacy, soldier and actor, in a comedy entitled "The Old Troop," wherein several unpleasant truths concerning the service are told in a vein of humorous satire; he says, "The most part of our horse are raised thus: The hon-

est country gentleman raises the troop at his own charge, then he gets a low country lieutenant (some military adventurer who had served in the Holland wars) to fight his troop safely; then he sends for his son from school to be his cornet; and then he puts off his child's coat to put on a buff coat; and this is the constitution of our army." (Walter Scott's "Rokeby," note 13.) Sir Sibbaldt Scott ("History of the British Army," i. p. 459) states, "In this reign (1625-49) mention is made for the first time in England of that useful description of troops termed dragoons; they appear to have been very weak in numbers." But Clarendon also alludes to a rich company of cavaliers, attached to the royal headquarters, as being "so gallant a body, that upon a modest computation the estate and revenue of that single troop might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs who then voted in both houses of Parliament."

Now as Markham was an officer in the king's army we cannot but believe that he met with such a troop of dragoons, armed with the kind of pieces he says "they have;" for surely a company of well-to-do gentlemen, of that particular time, had their arms made to order, and of a *fair* or fine pattern, different from any others, and easily recognized. Although he is silent as to how the dragon got its name, the weapon may have been called so for the very reason Lord Orrery gives; but other fire-arms had the cock wrought like the head of the dragon, and yet they were not known by that name.

Demin (p. 486) remarks of the matchlock musket still in use in certain parts of Hindostan, introduced there by the English *circa* 1598, "The serpentine of this army generally represents a dragon's head;" and, judging from old military pictures, it appears that it was customary to carve the cock of the small fire-arms in that form. In an engraving taken from a Dutch print (Planché, "Encyclopædia of Costume"), *temp.* James I., 1603-25, of a soldier in the act of firing, his musket has the cock cut like the head of a dragon. In Cruso's work, published in 1632, there are plates exhibiting the exercise of the pistol, and this weapon too has the cock wrought in the same manner; a similar figure is made of the serpentine of the musket, held by the musketier, depicted in the frontispiece of Elton's "Art Military," printed in 1668. As Lord Orrery is the only author who states a long carabine was called a dragon, "from the cock being made in that shape," it is not unreasonable to assume that the dragoons he raised, equipped, and commanded during his service, 1641-51 ("Biography, Encyclopædia Londinensis"), were furnished with such pieces, and being amused with the fantastic ornament on them, jocularly dubbed their carbines *"dragons,"* just as the English soldiers bestowed the name of "Brown Bess" (from the browning on the barrels) on the old

regulation musket of the British army. The earliest knowledge we have concerning the creation of a body of troops defined as dragons ("they afterwards got the name corrupted into English,—dragoons," says Magrath, "History of the Art of War," p. 138) is from the pen of Père Daniel, who obtained what he knew of their origin from the Chevalier Melzo, an Italian officer of distinguished rank in the Spanish army of the Netherlands, who published, in the year 1611, a book on Cavalry (now a very scarce volume); and it is a fact deserving of notice that almost every writer, in relating the history of the dragoons, does not quote what Melzo or Daniel say, but the words that Grose and Meyrick, after him, have been pleased to lay before their readers. They both observe in their respective works, "According to Père Daniel, dragoons are of French origin, and were first invented by Charles de Cosse, Maréchal de Brissac, when he commanded the army of that nation in Piedmont, some time about the year 1600. He supposes they were called dragoons from the celerity of their motions, and the rapidity with which they ravaged a country, thereby resembling the fabulous monster of that denomination." With a view to show that this account is incorrect, and what the learned Jesuit does say, his remarks are herewith transcribed:

"Il me paroît beaucoup plus vraisemble que ce nom fut donné d'abord à nos Dragons comme une injure par les ennemis chez lesquels ils alloient porter le ravage, et qu'il leur demeura. Ils le prirent volontiers comme un nom terrible qui les rendoit redoubtables, et qui marquoit leur activité et leur valeur.

"Il se pourroit faire encore que le Maréchal de Brissac qui imagina cette espèce de Milice, leur donna lui-même ce nom par de pareilles raisons." Daniel then states that the Maréchal organized this corps when he was at the head of the French army in Piedmont, and translates from Melzo's book:

"Les Arquebusiers à cheval furent une invention des François dans les dernières Guerres de Piémont et eux-mêmes leur donnèrent le nom de Dragons qui leur est toujours demeuré depuis." (Mil. Franç., ii. p. 354.) Now, it will be observed that neither the Italian nor Frenchman set down *any particular year* for the formation of this corps, neither is any allusion made to the movements of the dragons resembling those of the fiery animal of fable, and as *Charles de Cosse* departed this life in December, 1563, the statement *"some time about the year* 1600" made by Grose, must be considered as a very great error.

It is rather difficult to ascertain the time De Cosse established his mounted arquebusiers, but as he was opposed to the Duke of Alva, who was sent into Piedmont after the siege of Metz was abandoned,

in January, 1853, and as the duke was at Naples in the autumn of 1556 preparatory to invading the patrimony of St. Peter, the period referred to by Melzo was probably between those years. (Robertson's "History Charles V.," B. xi.) In order to comprehend the remarks of Father Daniel, it is necessary to recall the political and religious relations in which the time was involved. The reformation had become an open ecclesiastical rebellion in Europe. The Huguenots had arisen in France. The honest purity of the new creed and of its teachings, expounding the plain truths of the gospel compared with the dogmas and corrupt practice of the Romish Church, had induced thousands of people to accept the doctrines of Luther and Calvin. The Roman Pontiffs had excommunicated and cursed them, and although their edicts were supported by the armed forces of powerful monarchs who exercised the greatest barbarity on the alleged heretics, the mighty schism grew apace.

Charles V. was emperor of Germany, king of Spain and Naples, and Henri II., with the cruel Guise family, ruled France; but, notwithstanding the continuous wars between these princes and their bitter enmity, they concurred in the design of stamping out the so-called heresy and exterminating their Protestant subjects wherever found in their dominions; with this object ever in view the most ruthless persecution was carried on against the reformed sects. Some of the survivers of the frightful massacres perpetrated in France and Germany had fled across the frontiers to seek an abiding-place in the valleys of Piedmont, where the Vaudois, or Waldenses, had settled centuries before to avoid oppression. In this secluded region the fugitives tried to live with their Vaudois friends; pure in mind, simple in manners, they diligently read their Bibles and worshiped God in their own austere way, receiving and believing the words of the evangelists with an interpretation that was literal to severity. During the successful operations of De Brissac in Italy he had placed in the hands of France the greater portion of Piedmont, where the peculiar nature of the country, with its deep ravines, precipitous mountain passes, narrow rocky roads, evidently suggested to him the military advantages to be gained by the employment of a body of mounted infantry, drilled to perform alike the duties of horse and foot soldiers. By this measure this band of troopers were enabled to penetrate many sequestered spots and remote places hitherto unknown to them; thus becoming acquainted with every hidden nook inhabited by the fugitive Protestants. These unfortunate people had been solemnly excommunicated by his holiness the pope, and delivered by him body and soul to the Evil One. In fact, there was a standing papal order against

them, and they were considered as under the *ban* of the Church. So these incorrigible heretics were hunted like wild beasts, then inveigled by solemn protestations and promises of protection into yielding up their strongholds and themselves prisoners, only to realize the truth of the maxim of those days, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." Burned, mutilated, and tortured, their houses laid waste, their dearest ties unmercifully severed, and knowing, as they did, that all this infernal work of brutal rapine was alone prompted by bigotry and religious hatred, recommended by their own sovereigns and fervently applauded by the pope, and sincerely believing with the old Christian scholiasts that the dragon, a voracious reptile breathing fire, exhaling poison, and working desolation, was the symbol of Sin, Satan, and the Devil,—"the heathen power is so called," observes Dr. Clarke ("Commentaries," Rev. xii.), "that old serpent which deceiveth the whole world, from its subtlety against the Christians, and causing the whole Roman world as far as it was in its power to embrace the absurdities of Paganism,"—these harassed fugitives felt that just as some of the Roman emperors pursued to death the primitive Christians for abandoning the worship of the heathen deities, so papal Rome was dealing with them for denying the supremacy of its pontiff, and rejecting as impious the tenets and pompous ceremonies of his church.

To the minds of these Reformers there was a striking resemblance between the oppressions of pagan and papal Rome, and the latter was still heathenish in what they considered its superstitions and idolatrous observances; therefore, with this not unapt comparison before them, they gave to their Roman Catholic persecutors—De Brissac's troopers —the most opprobious epithet they could imagine, and called them *dragons,—i. e.,* serpents, devils. Not from any terror these soldiers may have inspired, or their rapid maneuvers (which the face of the country would not admit), or their fiery action, or any display of reckless daring, or from any arms or flag they carried, was the name bestowed, but because of their serpent-like, devilish conduct, the wanton destruction they caused, blighting every home and body their foul presence touched. No other appellation these tormented people could have devised under the circumstances could have so thoroughly expressed the utter scorn and bitter aversion they entertained for these dragons of persecution. It was a terrible name, as Père Daniel himself confesses, and he surely knew, being a priest, the full and only interpretation of the term, importing in its significant brevity a heathenish creed protecting and urging an all-devouring sin, as manifested in the evil works of these troopers. The name was a severe satire on

them and the Romish Church. Although Melzo states these dragons gave themselves the name, which always clung to them, Daniel is undoubtedly correct in his surmise that it was given them by their enemies, among whom they carried their ravages, as an injury, an insult, and as a term of reproach. He also remarks that De Cosse's men willingly accepted the name, as it rendered them redoubtable, and marked their activity and bravery; also that it may have possibly been that the Maréchal gave them the name for similar reasons: but it is just as possible that De Brissac, as an accomplished knight, was acquainted with the *heraldic* meaning of the word dragon, as well as the signification his enemies attached to the term, and so he may have adopted it as an appropriate title for his troopers, on the warrant of the old armorists, that "the Dragon is given to vigilant and strenuous Heroes. This shows that the Bearer is of such a violent Spirit, and is so imperious in his Carriage, that most men did fear him." (Crossley's "Heraldry," p. 14.)

Then, too, the term dragon was a far more euphonious word than either serpent or devil. It seems that the original dragons rather prided themselves on their inexorable mode of dealing with their opponents, and their ferocious manners were not only imitated, but fostered, and even expected of the succeeding bands of soldiers bearing their name; this is to be noted in the words we have derived from their actions. Mr. Crowe ("History of France," ii. 104), treating of the persecutions in France, *temp.* Louis XIV., 1685, says of the authorities, "They asked for a supply of dragoons *as more efficient;* a day was appointed for the conversion of the Protestants of such a district,—the refractory were hanged, and their chiefs broken on the wheel; these military expeditions were called *dragonnades.*" We also have the phrases *dragooned, dragooning,* and *to dragoon.* The latter, Major James ("Military Dictionary," 1802) observes, "is to persecute, by abandoning a place to the rage of the soldiery." N. Bailey, in his Dictionary, published in 1722, gives the definition, "Dragon, from the Latin *draco,* a sort of serpent. Dragoon, dragoner (of dragon), so called because at first they were as destructive to the enemy as dragons."

Although we have no decided assurance of the circumstances under which the name was given, we are justified in believing that the term dragoons was derived from the cruelty and devastation caused by these troopers being compared to the pernicious qualities the dragon was supposed to possess, and the evils he inflicted on mankind.

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*PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST.**

PERHAPS the chief result of the war up to the present, apart from the destruction of the Russian fleet, has been the vehemence with which the campaign against the "yellow peril" has been commenced upon the Continent. Looked upon by Russia as a means of obtaining the support of the European countries in this war, no pains have been spared, or are likely to be spared, in order to force upon the imagination of the world the terrible spectacle of a united Asia advancing upon them. And the Russian advice is that if Europe supports her against Japan, the peril will be averted. Even in England, where past experience should have warned the newspapers and people in general of the nature of such press campaigns as those of the "yellow peril" nature, and their true meaning, the reports are too seriously discussed. This being so, it is perhaps interesting to quote the opinions of some Japanese authorities upon this subject. Count Okuma, whose position and weight in Japanese affairs are well known, writes from the other point of view upon the peril from a dominant Russia, composed largely of Tartar stock. He says:—

"Let us consider first of all the question of the yellow peril, or what is sometimes known as colorphobia. History tells us that the so-called white people suffered from the invasion of the Mongols who, crossing over the Ural Mountain range, pushed their interests as far as the Danube, and that the dominion of the Mongols was extended under the rule of Genghis Khan from the Chinese Sea to the banks of the Dnieper. In 1235, Ogdai, whose troops were as numerous as their spoils, dispatched armies in many directions. One was directed against Korea. Victorious and always advancing, the Mongols moved on into Hungary and Poland. Genghis Khan was a formidable enemy of the nations in the twelfth century. Wherever he went he scattered his enemy and made havoc of everything with which he and his soldiers came into contact.

"The word 'Tartars' created consternation among the people at that time. The germ of the yellow peril is to be already found there,

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so that it is by no means a new phenomenon; but in the twentieth century, with the development of the island empire in the East, the old fear of the yellow race again took possession of some Europeans. To be sure, the term yellow race comprises Orientals, but strictly speaking it is difficult to draw a line of demarcation among the colors of the different peoples of the world, for a certain mixture of race has taken place in the course of the migration of the human race.

"The inhabitants of China were peace-loving people, and as they were subjected under the oppression of the Northern barbarians, they contrived various means of self-defence. The long wall of China was built for this purpose. Confucius often pointed out the dangers from the barbarians of the north. The fact that China, a peace-loving country, was invaded by the barbarians is clearly shown in her history, and in the literature and customs of the people. And it appears from historical study that these barbarians have been holding their stronghold in Russia for the last hundreds of years. The real cause of the yellow peril does not lie with Japan or with China, but with their gigantic neighbor of the north."

Count Okuma thus sums up Japan's aims:—

"The Japanese stand upon liberty, humanity, and justice. Japan wills to be the patron of civilization, and to protect a tottering empire and a kingdom from tumbling into dust. This is the embodiment of the Japanese spirit as developed after coming into touch with that of America and England."

The Honorable S. Shimada, a leading Japanese statesman, is no less worthy of attention when he writes on the ambition of Japan, and the fact that intellectuality does not depend upon race. He says:—

"The Japanese have a noble ambition to bring back the Orientals to life and activity. The gratification of this nation, however, is not based upon any racial bias, which is nothing more than the difference in color and physical constitution of the human race. Strictly speaking, the racial difference will diminish with the development of science, and of the means of communication, which will bring the nations into closer contact, annihilating all the differences in customs and manners. Taking the present state of humanity into consideration, the Europeans make assertions that they are the race which govern and control the destiny of mankind. While there is some truth in this statement, man's intellectual and moral progress does not depend upon the difference in race. The Hungarians are Orientals, while the Indians are Caucasians, and belong to the same stock as the present white people in European countries, yet the former are making steady

progress in civilization, and the latter, subject to climatic and other influences, have lost their national independence. Those who lay stress upon the difference in race look at the present situation only, and ignore entirely the past and the future. If the millions and millions of the Orientals are destined to rise again, Japan will play the part of their saviour. Nothing can be happier than to restore the race whose fate has been sealed for so many centuries."

He also quotes a fragment of early history to prove his contention, thus:—

"When Commodore Perry came to Japan, and a treaty was concluded, a certain Ishikawa, the mayor of Yokohama, visited the ship, and requested the Commodore to write something on a fan in memory of this great event. Perry took up the pen, and wrote on it 'Friendly to all Nations.' The interpreter translated it in the language of Confucius, 'Shikai keitei nari,' or literally 'all men are brothers.' The language of the Commodore is full of noble sentiments, and reflects the entire feeling of Americans. Japan has this noble feeling, yet we hear that some Europeans bring up charges against Japan on the ground of the yellow peril. Our ambition is not to oppose the white people, but to raise the position of the degenerate humanity in the Orient to its original moral splendor. Do not let the minor differences in appearance be obstacles in performing man's duty. Nations whose doings are opposed to the proper duty of man, no matter what race they may be, must be regarded as enemies of mankind."

The difference between the methods of Japan and Russia in their treatment of China he considers as demonstrating clearly the proportionate danger of a world peril:—

"In 1899, when troubles arose in North China, rioters besieged the ministers of different countries in Pekin, and Japan, in union with Europeans, did everything in her power to deliver these peoples from danger. She suppressed the Chinese, the yellow race, and helped the white people.

"If the behavior of the Russians is to be taken as representing the white people, we should raise the cry of 'white peril' instead of 'yellow peril.'

"We sincerely hope that those portions of the white race who look upon Japan with suspicion, thinking that Japan will unite the Orientals to oppose the white people, will change their minds, and regard the situation with impartial eyes. Japan desires to raise the position of hundreds and millions of Oriental people so that they may share the 'heavenly grace' with the white race."

His opinions as to the danger to be apprehended from Russia find an echo in the words of Mr. Soyeda, president of one of the largest Japanese banks:—

"Russian occupation of Manchuria not only disturbs the peace and obstructs the commerce of the Far East, but may one day endanger the world, because China, drilled and led by Russia, may bring into actuality 'the yellow peril.'"

While it would be going too far to proclaim that these Japanese authorities are wholly right, and the Russians wholly wrong, in their views on a "Yellow Peril," this exposition of their feelings on the subject at least enables both sides of the question to be seen. Does it not appear likely that Japan, with all her intimate knowledge of the past and present of China, should be a safer guide than Russia, who knows practically nothing accurately about the nation or its feelings and ideals? Is not an intricate machine, with dangerous potentialities, safer in the charge of a skilled engineer familiar with its construction than it could ever be in the hands of an untried apprentice? Russia's aim in China has not been disguised; it is to raise up a native army similar to the native army in India. Japan would be the last nation to raise China into a great military force—the limit of her endeavors in this direction might be to enable the northern viceroys to protect their territories from foreign aggression.

Very similar in nature to Japan's relations with China are those she means to maintain with Korea. This empire owes its independence to Japan, and since the beginning of the present war the Japanese government has given the clearest proofs that Korean integrity is to be maintained. It is quite possible that Korea may bear to Japan the same relation that Egypt does to Great Britain, but it will still exist as an independent nation. No time was lost by the Japanese in entering into a treaty with the Korean emperor, which is a most self-denying ordinance. Its terms are as follows:

"Article I.—For the purpose of maintaining a permanent and solid friendship between Japan and Korea, and firmly establishing peace in the Far East, the Imperial Government of Korea shall place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan, and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvement in administration.

Article II.—The Imperial Government of Japan shall in a spirit of firm friendship ensure the safety and repose of the Imperial Household of Korea.

"Article III.—The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

"Article IV.—In case the welfare of the Imperial Household of Korea or the territorial integrity of Korea is endangered by aggressions of a third power or internal dissensions, the Imperial Government of Japan shall immediately take such necessary measures as cercumstances require, and in such case the Imperial Government of Korea shall give full facilities to promote the action of the Imperial Japanese Government. The Imperial Government of Japan may for the attainment of the above-mentioned object occupy, when the circumstances require it, such places as may be necessary from strategic points of view.

"Article V.—The Governments of the two countries shall not in future, without mutual consent, conclude with a third power such an arrangement as may be contrary to the principles of the present protocol.

"Article VI.—Details in connection with the present protocol shall always be arranged as the circumstances may require between the representative of Japan and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Korea."

It is quite possible that had the circumstances been different, the Korean emperor would have declined to subscribe himself to this treaty, but how many little boys would ever take the necessary medicine, had they their own way? There is no doubt at all that Japanese protection will be the best thing possible for the Korean inhabitants. Under the old régime, during the existence of the habit of farming out the taxes, they were ground down to an extent never dreamed of in European countries. Everybody save the peasant had to have his "squeeze," and no mercy was shown to those who did not pay up. In this connection it is interesting to note that many of the leading Korean politicians became friends of Japan, owing to the fact that by depositing their money in the Japanese bank, they were able to free themselves from the constant dread of its confiscation. If this was so among the higher classes, what it was among the poor may be imagined. The Japanese wisely sent a special mission to Korea, headed by Marquis Ito, whose name alone ensured its having the most far-reaching results. While in Seoul, he did much to smooth down any ill-feelings, though these were reduced to a minimum through the forethought of the Japanese in deporting the most incorrigible pro-Russian Koreans. No time is to be lost in the institution of reforms. Railways, banks, sanitation, good money, and improved conditions, all these are to come to the Koreans as a result of the war. After

the war with China, reforms were attempted too rapidly, and caused too much opposition; now they are coming into force gradually. The lessons learnt from Russian banks and railways will not be forgotten, nor the enormous power of these as factors in colonization. In the south, the fortification of the island of Kojedo, off Masampho, will give Japan supreme control of the Korean Straits.

On the sea, Japan has continued in her successful career, and practically reduced the Russian fleet, remaining after the first few days, to such insignificant proportions as to lend weight to a fear that should the Baltic squadron ever reach the Pacific, they will have difficulty in working in conjunction with the Russian Far Eastern fleet. The operations outside Port Arthur seem to demonstrate that not only can the Japanese warships do better in battle, but that the Japanese commanders are able to force even the leading Russian naval commander to fall into their plans. The gallant Admiral Makaroff met his fate in responding to a plan which had been prepared by Admiral Togo, and upon which he had rung the changes until success should crown his efforts. Admiral Makaroff was admittedly Russia's most brilliant officer, and if this happened to him, what hope have others less gifted? It is idle to ascribe the destruction of the Petropavlosk to bad luck; in naval affairs, to quote the wards of a leading English seaman, "Bad luck is only another word for bad management"—once admit the possibility of luck, good or bad, in naval affairs, and a serious step downwards has been taken.

But whatever the Japanese may have done on the sea, every one is all impatience to see her meet the Russian land forces. Then things will be different, say the friends of Russia, and even the sympathizers with Japan have a sneaking fear of the results. For Russia, they say, is a great land force. It may astonish many to learn that in Japan it is also considered that however effective their navy may be, the Japanese army is far more so. As the premier service, it has received far more attention and been far more perfected than the navy. So the Japanese themselves are content to await the result of the land campaigns with patience. The general advantages that the Japanese claim that their army possess may be summed up shortly. First, of course, comes the nearness of operations to their base, and the fact that the Japanese plan of campaign has been the sole care of an efficient general staff for nearly ten years—the Russian plan, on the other hand, having had to take its chances with several others many considered more vital in St. Petersburg; the fact that the Japanese generals know Manchuria, and that the population is friendly to them—

an advantage not to be belittled. The Japanese military equipment is excellent, and is not subject to the drains of corruption as rife in the Russian as in the Chinese army. The medical arrangements are excellent, and the field hospitals are supplemented by the wonderful Japanese Red Cross Society. This numbers among its members nearly 900,000 Japanese, and has rendered yeoman service in the past. A special attaché, an English lady, has been sent out through the personal effort of the Queen, to report upon the Japanese hospital system for the benefit of the British Red Cross Society. In the Japanese Army there are elements unknown in other countries. Combined with hardiness of body, the Japanese soldier, by his training and his practice of ancestor-worship, may know what fear is, but cannot be afraid. These are soldiers to be reckoned with, as among them there can be no panic and no surrender. All these are cogent reasons why the Japanese military authorities consider that their armies have a very good chance against Russia's thousands. There are other reasons for their confidence which cannot be mentioned here, and it is no small thing to know that should the whole army leave Japan, and all the police, too, there would be no disturbance.

In dealing with the Japanese plan of campaign, it must always be remembered that the object of the war is the domination of China. In these circumstances the capture of Mukden, with its tombs of the imperial ancestors of the Manchu dynasty, might well mean more than the fall of Vladivostok. It is this anxiety to impress the Peking Government that may lead to the early capture of Port Arthur. This would have, as a consequence, the capture of the Liao-tung Peninsula, and would be a very fine demonstration, for Chinese consumption, of Japan's superiority over Russia. Such action on the part of the Japanese forces would enable them to utilize the railway line for an advance northward. But the true policy of the Japanese is not to force the capture of Port Arthur. The policy originally laid down was to bottle up the fleet, or else, preferably, lure it out and capture or destroy it, and then to let Port Arthur stew in its insanitary conditions, and starve with its inadequate stores, until it would fall without a blow. So valuable to the Japanese plan would a beleaguered Port Arthur be, that it would be real wisdom for Russia to abandon it at once. The rôle of this Russian fortress is to be the Ladysmith of this war—the necessity for relieving it, the force which will draw the Russian armies to attack the Japanese entrenchments. Besides this, a Russian advance to the south would expose the army under

Kuropatkin to attack on both flanks. It would be the Natal situation over again, only far worse.

With regard to the question of the delay in Japan's land operations, and whether she would not have been better advised to rush forward bodies of troops and seize strategical positions, there is much to be said in favor of her slower actions. The Japanese nature is impetuous; as individuals they often are not able to succeed in chess should the opening moves be favorable to them. Thus interested friends of Japan feared she might rush into her land campaign impetuously, and lay herself open to initial checks, if nothing worse. But the Japanese General Staff, realizing this, showed itself calm and methodical. Theirs has been the method of Prussia, and not that of France. Slower, perhaps, but organized and irresistible. Already one of the reasons of war has been attained, and Korea stands free from Russian troops. A considerable Japanese army is at Wiju, and along the southern bank of the Yalu. Russian officers report in their letters to St. Petersburg considerable amazement at the mobility of the Japanese forces in the most awful climatic circumstances. Seas of mud were traversed, rivers in flood were crossed, and methodically the army advanced to the Yalu, the Russians falling back before them. There is little doubt that the army in Korea is likely to remain there for some time, its duty not being to enter Manchuria for the present. Recognizing the indisputable fact that Russia's land forces are no matter for under-estimation, the Japanese have made preparation for defeat, and have provided two lines of entrenched positions—one along the Yalu, and one across the peninsula from Ping-yang to Gensan, behind which they can retire should the day go against them. The main army of invasion will probably land somewhere between Shanhaikwan and Newchwang, should Port Arthur remain untaken. Recently Japanese opinion has declared itself very decidedly upon the Chinese failure to maintain neutrality in these districts, which may be the sign of coming action there. Another sign which cannot be overlooked is the action of the British and American Governments in withdrawing their gunboats from Newchwang. This points to the probability of Newchwang being attacked. Both nations are friendly with Japan, and may be expected to have inside knowledge. Newchwang cannot be defended against a Japanese fleet, the country being flat, and it being possible for the warships to bombard the hastily erected Russian entrenchments from a position beyond the range of the land artillery gathered together there. It may be taken for certain that Newchwang will become Japanese just as soon as it is con-

sidered expedient. The main Japanese army will strike at Liao-yang, along the caravan route, and join hands with a third army advancing from the Yalu, probably in two columns converging on the caravan route southeast of Liao-yang. It is this line of caravan route which is to be held against any Russian attempt to relieve Port Arthur. Such a plan, with the co-operation of the fleet, would place Japan in a very strong position.

It must not be forgotten that much of the discussion of the situation is based upon supposition, and Russian reports often are the real foundation even of that supposition. In present circumstances it is difficult to see how anything more accurate could be expected. The Japanese authorities, learning from the South African war, and other campaigns, the danger of too comprehensive newspaper correspondence, took the strongest measures to prevent their plans being prematurely revealed by newspaper men. So advantageous to military maneuvers has secrecy been, that it is practically certain that their example will be followed in all future wars. From Russia many reports come, but of little actual value. Report said Russia was going to hold North Korea, and also that General Kuropatkin had 400,000 men. The first was incorrect. What of the second? At least it is known that the source is not unbiassed. That the Japanese knew the whole facts is certain, and that they are not daunted is equally so.

The Japanese do not regard the massing of enormous bodies of Russian troops as cause for overwhelming anxiety. They have always foreseen it, and in many respects regard it as an advantage. As one Japanese general tersely put it, "There is no limit to the number of men Russia can put into Manchuria, but there is a decided limit to the amount of food that she can put into the men." Report says that stores for six months for 400,000 men have been collected in Manchuria, but this is very doubtful. Few people realize what an army of that dimensions can eat in a week. And all provisions have had to go along a single track of railway, which must have been occupied to its fullest extent in getting even 100,000 of the reported 400,000 men on to the spot. It is an impossible task, and as has been proved in past wars, contractors do not tend to abandon corrupt practices when military necessities are forcing the hands of the authorities, and accounts are passed without undue scrutiny; therefore, even should the quantity reach Manchuria, the quality may be far from what is expected. It is this knowledge that has caused the Japanese to stay their hands, and not destroy the railway in the beginning of the war. If food is short, the larger an army is, the more rapidly it will starve.

When the enormous masses of men are in a country bare of food supply, then is the time to cut the railway. Should Japan's land forces meet with disaster, there is less shame should her adversary have 400,000 in the field, than if she had 100,000, although, in all probability the number of men engaged in the actual battles might be the same. General Kuropatkin has several things against which he must guard. The railway demands a number of soldiers. The unfriendly population requires supervision. There is the chance of a Japanese landing at Possiet Bay, striking at Kirin, and there are the Japanese attacks in North Korea, and at Newchwang. Also there is the relief of Port Arthur. And the 400,000 possible men at his command must contain a goodly proportion of soldiers who have spent several years in Manchuria and Siberia, and are no longer equally disciplined as their European comrades.

That the land campaign will be a bloody one is probable, if only from the fact that it will be carried on amongst a third race, who may easily allow their desire of paying off old scores to lead them into the killing of the stragglers of both armies, especially the Russian, the Japanese owing much of their popularity among the Manchurian population to their treatment of the sick and wounded in their hospitals during the war with China. However deadly the land campaign may be, it cannot compare with the wholesale destruction of life in naval warfare. On the sea, men are killed in bulk, on land, in retail. In the words of an eminent Japanese authority: "This war will go on till we are all destroyed or till we destroy all." But this must depend upon the financial resources of the two countries. Japan is in an enviable situation in this respect. Her national debt is very low, and as the interest charge on her foreign bonds is under £1,000,000 per annum, there is no question of her financial responsibilities being repudiated. In fact, Japan will sacrifice everything before she will allow her notes to become inconvertible again, which is a much less serious thing to contemplate than repudiation. Since the opening of the war it has been shown that the Government of Japan could raise £30,000,000 by local loans, which is a most satisfactory state of things. It is a remarkable fact, however, that Japanese 5 per cent. bonds stand lower in the London market than do, say, the 5 per cent. bonds of Bulgaria, though between the resources of the two countries there is no comparison. This is a very serious situation from the Japanese point of view, and a very vital one should it be considered necessary to float a loan. Since ignorance of actual conditions in Japan is at the bottom of it, one cannot help realizing that the Japanese

Government lost a great opportunity of making herself widely known to the world in not making use of the presence of numerous special correspondents, who were forced for so long to kick their heels in Tokyo, in lack of anything better to do. Had there existed some competent central bureau, charged with the giving of useful information to these foreign correspondents, the effect upon the world would have been immense. The correspondents should have been taken around to see the great manufacturing centers of Japan, the cotton and silk mills, the great mines run entirely by Japanese, the shipbuilding yards, where vessels of 6,000 tons are being constructed, and so on. This would have provided them with interesting material for their newspapers, and, properly managed, might have been powerful enough to put up Japanese credit several points. Although it is probable that now some such an arrangement may be made, much time has been lost by the Japanese Government seeming to have considered that the war in itself was a sufficient advertisement. They forget that, from a business point of view, while war may rivet attention on Japan, those interested in this way should be made to see more fully the resources of the country.

The advice of the meeting of Russian bankers that a foreign loan of £40,000,000 should be raised in Paris, Brussels, and elsewhere, at the earliest possible moment, does not seem to bear out the constant reports of Russian financial resources.

For much of the following financial information I am indebted to Mr. Yamazaki, of the Finance Department, who is now in England on a special mission, one of the rising "younger men," for it would be strange were Japan without any great financial authorities save such as Count Okuma and Count Inouye, who were ministers of finance thirty years ago. Thirty years in Japan's recent history is an interminable time, and there have grown up younger men who are as able as were ever the elder statesmen. But they are little known, just as Baron Komura, the present Foreign Minister, was not heard of a few years ago. In Baron Tajiri, who was Vice-Minister of Finance for the eleven years since 1890, and Mr. Sakatani, the present Vice-Minister of Finance, Japan possesses men of the very first rank. It is all important to know what are the views and opinions as to the financial policy of Japan held by these younger statesmen. To do so it is well to quote a recent speech (January, 1903) of Mr. Sakatani:—

"The exact position of Japanese finance should be clearly understood, as I believe it is not only essential for our own people, but equally

important for those who are the holders of Japanese bonds. I might compare the Diet which sits to discuss Japanese financial affairs to a shareholders' meeting, in which is discussed the financial position of a company. So I think it well to set forth the real situation as to Japanese finance for the benefit of our creditors at home and abroad. In the last Diet the land tax and financial administration reform questions were undoubtedly the two greatest subjects upon which the house was unable to agree with the government. But these differences of opinion do not rise from any difficulties in our finances. In these there were no difficulties. The discussions chiefly confined themselves to the economic result of the land tax increase, and to what extent the reforms would be carried out. Foreigners, however, might have thought that the recent collision in the Diet pointed to the existence of something grave in our fianancial system. Briefly, all the government sought to do was to provide funds for naval expansion. If, therefore, the government abandoned the scheme there would have been no necessity to increas the land tax. The question of reform in administrative expense can hardly be considered as one imperilling the existence of the nation as a whole."

Baron Tajiri is in accord with Mr. Sakatani in his views upon financial matters, and yet neither statesman is considered to be optimistic. There seems to be an unconquerable distrust of Japan's financial position, however much her rapid economic and commercial growth may be admired. This is largely due to the fact that the majority of foreign investigators of Japanese finance fail to grasp several of the important keys which are necessary for accuracy. First of all must stand a knowledge of the alteration of the money standard in 1897. Prior to this date, Japan was a silver standard country, and then adopted the gold standard. It is, therefore, most important to hold in mind the following change in silver compared with gold:—

THE AVERAGE RATIO OF SILVER TO I OF GOLD.

1877	17.22
1882	18.19
1887	21.13
1892	23.72
1897	34.34

It unfortunately happened that this vital economic change was obscured from view by the great war with China, and thus a number of statistics given in Japanese yen at various dates, although

right in themselves, are wrong for purposes of comparison. To obtain the right comparison is a complicated matter, and seldom undertaken by foreigners. This change in the value of the yen makes it quite natural that while too optimistic accounts are given of the trade and industries, too pessimistic a view is taken of the national expenditure and the burden of the taxpayer. It is this reason which enables the far-sighted statesmen of Japan to be more optimistic than foreigners. It is too often stated that Japan's national taxation has more than doubled, or the taxation *per capita* has nearly doubled, and that the revenue and expenditures have doubled in five or six years. But the real facts can be seen by the following table:—

	1892-1893, or 1892. Silver Yen.	Converted to Gold Yen.	1902-1903, or 1902. Yen.
Total revenue per head of population.....	2.47	3.33	6.16
Total expenditure per head of population.	1.87	2.52	6.15
Ordinary revenue per head of population.	1.96	2.64	5.06
Ordinary expend. per head of population.	1.55	2.09	3.88
Taxation per head of population.....	1.61	2.15	3.32
Imports per head of population.....	1.74	2.35	5.93
Exports per head of population.....	2.21	2.98	5.64

Another point not understood by foreign critics has reference to the methods by which the necessary funds were raised for Japan's war finance in 1894-95. That this should be so is easily understood when it is realized that the expenditures for the war and the sources from which they were drawn were omitted from all statistics available to foreigners. That Japan was able to manage so well then was owing to her ability to divert expenditure from productive works to the prosecution of the war, an unproductive one.

A third point is a clear knowledge of complicated trade returns. In order to compare the statistics of various years accurately it must be remembered that up to 1898 only the original cost of imported goods was given, while since 1899 the c.i.f. value was given. For this reason, according to the calculation of the Japanese Finance Department, the amount of imports prior to 1898 must be added to by 15.3 per cent. in order to allow for insurance and freight. This naturally tends to increase the outflow of gold resulting from the excess of imports over exports. These revised calculations give the

outflow of gold as reaching the sum of £51,000,000 in the years 1893-1903, instead of the £32,000,000 usually ascribed, which seems worse than ever for Japan. But it throws a remarkable light upon the solidity of Japanese finance. To quote Mr. Yamazaki, however:—

"For a country which has lost over £50,000,000 in the last eleven years by her trade balance, and has no income from abroad, to be able to build and buy abroad warships and armaments such as to make her the strongest Power in the Far East is remarkable, but when in addition she starts the gold standard in currency, doubles the special reserve in her central bank to the amount of £12,000,000, and maintains the emergency fund—receiving only £53,000,000 from abroad in loans and indemnity, out of which £8,000,000 went towards the expenses of the previous war—this is a far more wonderful demonstration of power than fighting against even a greater Empire than Russia!"

In Japan, for the last fifteen years, the national earnings, outside the export trade, have been calculated minutely by the Finance Department. This knowledge causes the finance officials to regard with astonishment statements which state that "the yearly excess of imports must inevitably represent so much money." This is not accurate, although it may be true, as is generally given as the reason for the above statement, that Japan has no money invested abroad and no colonial possessions. She has, however, a merchant marine of some 920,000 tons, which carries half her trade. She is selling coal and other ships' stores in her ports to foreign vessels, the amount of which is omitted in the Trade Returns. She is receiving some net profits on Japanese enterprise abroad, and her 70,000 emigrants are bringing or sending their savings home. Moreover, foreign travellers are spending a great deal of money in Japan, the average sum per visitor being calculated at over £200. All things taken into consideration, these items of income amount to £7,000,000 anually, and, deducting outlay connected with some of the sources, the sum of £5,000,000 annually may be reckoned upon. Viewed in this light the trade returns show a very different story, and it is possible to understand how all these things have been done. Much of the imports are also designed to enable the Japanese to increase their exports, and thus the excess will shrink far more rapidly in the future. There will be less machinery imported, and more goods made by the early machinery will be exported. Thus it will be seen that the drain of gold

is not so great as might be imagined. At the present moment Japan is suffering a little from loss of gold. As is known, last year's rice crops were excellent, and there should have been sufficient food for the nation without buying rice abroad. The Japanese farmers, however, anxious to recoup themselves for bad preceding years, refused to sell until the price of rice should have risen, and thus great amounts of rice have been paid for in India and Siam and Burmah. This means loss of gold. That the farmers cannot continue much longer to refuse to sell will relieve the situation. In the damp weather season the rice stored in bulk goes bad very rapidly—and so it must be sold before then. Apart from this drain, there is little to fear from the export of gold during the war, that is if the experience of the Chinese war counts for anything.

ALFRED STEAD.

THE MEADOW-LARK'S COLORS.

One lovely morning in the bright September,
  A meadow-lark rose gayly singing with the sun,
And took his flight o'er plains and hills and valleys
  To where the reapers had their work begun.

Over the golden field a breeze was creeping,
  Moving its masses in a gentle swell,
And many a brawny husbandman was reaping
  The grain that laughed and nodded as it fell.

High poised in air the meadow-lark remaining,
  Watched with a sigh the blooming rye laid low.
Till a dark cloud across the sun's face passing,
  Robbed the still dying grain of half its glow.

Then up from out his little heart came welling
  A song so full of pity and of love,
As pierced the perfumed air of early morning,
  Ascending even to the throne of Jove.

The warrior god heard with a deep compassion
  The song that marked the bird's o'erwhelming grief,
And vowed that he should ever wear a token
  That he had sympathized and sent relief.

He spoke. The cloud, the mighty word obeying,
  Changed to a rainbow floating in the sky.
While sunbeams all untrammeled now come trooping
  Up the sweet valley to the field of rye.

One, the most brilliant, thro' the grain bursting,
  On a scythe lighted for a moment's rest.
Then upwards glancing, the great Jove obeying,
  Fell with warm kisses on the lark's dark breast.

And to this day the meadow-lark is wearing
  The richest color that e'er greets the eye,—
A merry sunbeam's radiance, tempered
  By the rich bloom that blossoms on the rye.

T. H. Stevens,
Commander U. S. N.

HENRY KNOX, THE GREAT ARTILLERIST OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

JUST opposite where Drake's Wharf used to be on Sea Street, Boston, was born, on the 25th of July, 1750, a boy who afterwards became a major-general in the war of the Revolution, and the first Secretary of War under the Constitution of the United States, which he had done more to perfect than any other man, saving the great general himself. He was the bosom friend of Washington from the time he took command of the Continental army, under the old tree, at Cambridge, until the Almighty called the great commander to join His army of illustrious men. Never was the confidence which Washington reposed in General Knox violated in the slightest degree; there never was known to be even a ripple on the surface of their friendship.

When this boy, of Scotch-Irish parentage, had just completed his grammar school course, his father died, and, at the early age of thirteen, he found that the support of his mother and a younger brother devolved upon him; consequently further school education was out of the question. Happily, he procured an excellent situation with Wharton & Bowes, the leading booksellers of the day, and, on the compensation which he received, he not only supported the family, but saved a portion, beside enjoying the opportunities of reading and study which, in after life, made him one of the most intelligent men of the colonies in general knowledge, a most brilliant conversationalist, and the greatest artillery officer of the Revolution.

Harry Knox, as a bookseller's clerk, enjoyed a more practical education, one that became more serviceable to his country, than if he had taken a collegiate course. He paid particular attention to studying the theory of the art of war, and acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of the French language and literature, as well as the literature of Greece and Rome, through translations. His genius bent in the direction of military affairs, and it was fortunate for the colonies that it did. He was of a robust frame, possessed an uncommon amount of physical strength, and took a prominent part in the athletic sports of the day, and was a grand specimen of manly beauty. In the Boston Gazette, of July 29, 1771, there appeared this advertisement:

"This day is opened a new book store by Henry Knox, opposite Williams's Court, in Cornhill, Boston, who has just imported in the

last ships from London a large and very elegant assortment of the most modern books, in all branches of literature, arts, and sciences (catalogues of which will be published soon), and to be sold as cheap as can be bought at any place in town. Also a complete assortment of stationery."

And this is the pleasant way in which this youngster, who was within the next five or six years to become the bosom friend of Washington and his able ally, announced his entering business rather before than at his majority.

His store became the rendezvous of the best informed officers of the British forces stationed in Boston, and from them and the maneuvers of the troops he learned that vast amount of practical knowledge which helped to make him the great artillerist of the Revolution. Three years before this he joined Captain Pierce's Boston Grenadier Corps, and was its chief in drilling and disciplining the corps. In 1773 he lost the two smaller fingers of his left hand while gunning, but by the graceful use of his handkerchief or military scarf, the defect was effectually concealed. It was about this time, or perhaps a year later, that, his hand being gracefully bandaged, while on a parade of the Grenadier Corps, he attracted the attention of Miss Lucy Flucker, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Flucker, secretary of the province, a lady of great intellectual gifts, and very fond of books. During her visits to Harry Knox's store an attachment grew up between them which soon ripened into love. Her father and family were rank royalists; Knox was an ardent patriot. Opposition to the marriage had no effect upon the young lovers, and on June 16, 1774, having won the game, they were married. Their domestic life was a happy one. Mrs. Knox often visited her husband in the camp, and was greatly popular with the army. She was, however, sometimes quite eccentric; but the general managed her with consummate tact. He never lost his temper, and trifles never disturbed him to affect his domestic comfort.

In less than a year after his marriage he was called to the field, where he remained, almost without intermission, during the eight years of the Revolution. On the first anniversary of his marriage he escaped with his wife, in disguise, from Boston to the patriot army at Cambridge, where he acted as aid to General Ward. His services in preparing the forces for the battle of Bunker hill, in which he was actively engaged, which occurred the following day, brought Knox into the immediate notice of the prominent officers of the Continental army, and after the battle he was given, by general consent, the supervision of the artillery and field works; and his energy and skill so

attracted the attention of Washington that the young patriot bookseller became at once a favorite adviser and the confidential friend of the Commander-in-Chief, who rarely made a mistake in his friendships. Until the death of Washington in 1799—sixteen years after the war had practically ended—no two men who had fought together were stronger friends than General Knox and the great commander, if we perhaps except Lafayette, who, from all accounts, is said to have secured an equal place in the heart of his leader.

When Washington crossed the Delaware, on his disastrous retreat through the Jerseys, Henry Knox was with him. He prepared everything, and his stentorian voice, equal to that of Jupiter Tonans, was heard in every command, ringing loud and clear above the roar of the tempest and the crashing of the great blocks of ice. But why go on with the well-known career of the Boston apprentice boy, who was in every important battle with his great leader. Are they not matters of record? Is not his fame dear to the heart of every American? And does not the nation owe its liberties to the wisdom which led him in the little book store on Cornhill to make a study of what other boys naturally passed by as being of no value?

When he escaped from the city his wife quilted his sword into her petticoat, and handed it to him across the river. His last great service to the country was as Secretary of War under Washington, during the latter's entire term of office, and he held other important civil duties, which he performed with the same zeal for his country that he had exhibited in earlier life.

Henry Knox was the founder of the Society of the Cincinnati, at the head of which was Washington, and of which Lafayette, Rochambeau, Steuben and others were members. And this society now made up of the lineal and collateral descendants of the officers of the Revolution will ever hold a prominent place in the history of our country, for it received the sanction of Washington. History tells us that the founder of this great order was amiable, upright and pure in his private life, sound in judgment, and cool in action, though ardent, impulsive and enthusiastic, without which latter qualities he might have never accomplished what he did. It was his mixed nature which carried him successfully through the eight years war of the Revolution.

BENJ. F. STEVENS.

"BIZERTA AS A FORTRESS AND A NAVAL BASE." *

WITH SKETCH.

THE desire of France for the undisputed dominion of the western basin of the Mediterranean and the necessity for an immediate defence of her fair and valuable North African possessions, long ago induced the Republic to attach a very special importance to the sea-fortifications of the Mediterranean. Marseilles and Toulon have been made suitable harbors for men-of-war, and Villefranche has been made a connecting link to the island of Corsica, which is of the same importance as a flank or an outlying post would be, and which shortens considerably the distance to the southern sea-coast.

While the northern position on the coast of the Gallican sea has this advantage—to compare it to an arc, opening to the south in the direction of a hostile attack—that it enables the isolated places to assist each other, more or less, yet it is just the contrary on the southern coast of the great basin. The French North African coast, extending along the Iberian, Sardinian and Sicilian shores, has foreign countries and islands extending along its entire front, and a glance at the map shows that the eastern part, especially, forms an arc curving dangerously to the north, which might favor considerably the attack of an enemy appearing in front of it, and would make it most difficult to defend. With the establishment of the protectorate over Tunis, it became absolutely necessary for the Republic to take energetic measures to provide against the possibility of an attack at the point of this sharply curved arc, and this is made more necessary on account of the nearness of the coasts of Sardinia, Sicily and Malta, as well as the Italian peninsula. From this hint it follows that that point of the North African coast is threatened especially by Italy and England, *i. e.*, by those powers, which, first of all, have to be taken into consideration in a war for the predominance of the western basin of the Mediterranean. However, at this time, it is not our intention to speak of the probable aggressor and the possibilities of his power, nor of

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those other measures of defence which the Republic has taken on the north coast of Algeria; but we wish to speak particularly of that formidable fortress which France established a few years ago in place of the old, classic Hippo Diarrhytos or Zarytos, and to the enlargement of which the state is continually working.

Many descriptive articles have been written about Bizerta in former times, some of which were, in part, very accurately and suitably written;—but none of these articles give the reader to understand that it was written by an eye-witness. We do not wish to give the impression that these descriptions fail to give correct information of the different parts of the fortification. But the traveler, who on a perfectly legitimate tourist journey becomes acquainted with the large harbor, or who passes the heights of Bizerta on the sea road running through the Mediterranean, will learn particulars about those points, against which the fortress is effective with her fire and by which she is exposed to a direct attack. By this he will be able to give a better description than those others which have been made only with the aid of maps and are the work of visionaries.

Being on board a steamer passing Bizerta, the traveler gets the best impression of the country which is best adapted to purposes of defence. Extending almost directly from west to east the coast slopes down to the sea at Cape Ras Angela, Cape Blanc and at Cape Guardia, the last-named also called Cape Bizerta (see sketch). At the last named Cape the coast runs in a nearly southern direction, but soon turns and forms a slight arc, open towards the north. About 7,000 meters southward from Cape Bizerta, a stream of water enlarged into a canal, disembogues into this coast line—it is the entrance into the large body of water known as the inland sea of Bizerta, which, farther to the southwest, finds a repetition in another inland sea, to be mentioned later. The surface of the entire tract of land in question is essentially uneven in those sections formed by this canal. Northwest of the town of Bizerta, built on the north bank of the canal the outermost spurs of the Tunesian Atlas extend almost to the sea—especially at Cape Guardia and Cape Blanc, only about 2,500 meters distant from each other—and here slope into the blue waves like a wall; like a bare, salient wall these heights appear to those who pass them from the north. Westward from Cape Blanc and southward from Cape Guardia wedge-shaped surfaces stretch in front of those ledges of rocks, shore landscapes full of dunes, which turn both their points towards the aforementioned capes. The crests, situated between those capes, and extending to the northeast, rise from 250 to 350 feet above sea level and are the base for the left,

western position of Bizerta, which is also characterized as the offensive wing, directed against the commanding sea road. But east of the mouth of the canal the sea-shore rises, first a little to the north, again towards the Ras Zebib, about twenty kilometers from Cape Guardia, and then it makes a sharp turn to the south over into the Gulf of Tunis. This part of the coast lies in front of the large inland sea similar to a tongue, about 3,000 meters wide at its narrowest place, and here it has the general character of plain sand dunes. Only the ledge of rocks of the Djebel Touila, about seventy-five meters high, which is situated between the canal and the place Mennzel Djemil, can be called a height, and makes, as will soon be mentioned, the southern inland sea entirely invisible from the high sea. Along the eastern shore of this inland sea a lower ledge of rocks of the Tunesian Atlas stretches to the northeast, sinks down into the sea at the wooded, aforementioned Ras Zebib and slopes on the east side into the channel of the Oued Medscherda, the Bagradas of the ancients, which, partly composed of swamps, is the longest river in Tunis. As an extension of this ledge of rocks underneath the sea, about 2.5 kilometers northwards from the Ras Zebib, the Cani or Dog Islands rise out of the waves of the Mediterranean, and lie before the Bay of Bizerta in a northeastern direction, similar to an outlying post. If one considers these islands, equipped with light-houses and with observation stations, and if one connects them with the continental contour of the coast, the bay is characterized as a deep, partly enclosed branch of the sea. In former times, when the islands were united to the continent and when the tongue of Mannzel Djemil did not separate the bodies of inland water as at present, this bay was probably much larger. The section of the coast situated east of Bizerta has the character of an isolated wing which partly flanks the west front, and serves as a defense for the mouth of the canal and keeps the enemy at a distance, rendering it impossible for him to cannonade, even slightly, the large inland water beyond the tongue.

This part of the line of defense, named the south front, behind which and into which, also, the road from Tunis to Bizerta runs is defended—as French newspapers have reported—by five batteries. At the farthest distance from the town, and from 6,000 to 9,000 meters from the mouth of the canal, is situated Battery Remel (A), which takes its name from the ledge of dunes called Djebel el Remel. Upon the same heights, but farther to the west, is located Battery Chrek ben Chaabane (B), sometimes written Cheik ben Chaabane, which may lie about due north from the place Mennzel Djemil. According to the formation of the entire terrain, these two aforemen-

tioned batteries cannot be situated more than fifty meters above the level of the Mediterranean. Passing Menzzel Djemel the Tunis-Bizerta road runs westward from the battery Crek ben Chaabane, and thereby divides, in some respect, the fortifications of the right wing into two sections. Next, westward from the road, in the section nearest the canal, is located the Battery Ain Bittar (C), and almost due southwest from this is situated the Battery Bordj ben Negro, both built upon the northern slope of the Djebel Touila; the name of the first indicates that it has been erected in the neighborhood of a source; the name of the other indicates that it stands on the site of an old fort formerly used by the Turks. The Battery Roumadia (E)—the word means, approximately, a place for burning charcoal—nearest the town and canal, respectively, may be identical with the Bordj Roumane, and may hardly be able to thrown the projectiles of its guns towards the high sea as the other batteries can. Battery Roumadia is to be used only for the immediate defense of the harbor entrance.

During the season of target practice held from June 1 to July 10, in which the above mentioned batteries partook, the portion of the sea in front of them, within a range of 6,000 meters reckoned from the west coast of the bay, was temporarily blockaded for all traffic. Taking into consideration this measure for safety, one can understnd that only the battery El Remel was compelled to point its guns sharply to the left and that the other batteries had a free range in their front. It should be mentioned that in some reports—especially in those reports which have been written from a study of maps, etc., and without a knowledge of the country—the Djebel Touila is often called Djebil Henchir. The word Henchir, abbreviated Hir., is often found on Tunesian maps and is to be translated as ruin, and is used to designate the unimportant relics of old, classic times, which are very often found here.

On the left, offensive wing, the fort Djebel Kebir (G), "the fort on the great mountain," is probably the main (key) point of the entire fortification. The Djebel Kebir, rising to a height of 274 meters, is situated about 4,000 meters due south from Cape Blanc and was the object of the visit which President Loubet paid to the fortress in the last year. The Governor of the latter, General Marnier, welcomed the President with the following words: "Je ne croix pas, Monsieur le President, qu'on vienne nous attaquer. Ca couterait beaucoup trop cher aux assailants" (I do not believe, Mr. President, that anyone will attack us. It would cost our assailant too much). And, indeed, anyone who has seen those powerful constructions, even if he saw them only from the exterior as an innocent passerby, would

believe that the governor was right in his remarks. According to the reports of French newspapers, this main fort is more or less closely connected with the forts and batteries of Rar, of Ain el Roumi ("source of foreigners"), of Ain el Euch and Saint Jean, and with those of Koudia (F, H, J, K). The ridge of El Euch is situated northwards from the Djebel Kebir; it forms the extension of the heights stretching north-northeastward to the Djebilet Rara,where it at last slopes down to Cape Guardia. The forts on the Djebilet Rara, visible at a great distance from the sea because of a flagstaff, are those which, first of all, control with their fire the large naval road which passes the fortress from west to east. In this work they are aided as well by the guns of Battery Djebil Kebir, as by those of the Batteries Ain Roumi, Ain el Euch and Saint Jean. At any rate the last named batteries are situated directly upon the aforementioned ridge. On the opening of a battle from extreme ranges, the batteries in this position have their principal value in defensive as well as in offensive operations in their being able to sweep the channel with their fire. These batteries, being at a sufficient distance from the real object of the attack made by an enemy approaching from the sea, entirely divert his fire. Furthermore, the whole formation of the terrain, as it is on this flank of the position, gives the defenders the best opportunity to erect new batteries with which they can unexpectedly oppose the enemy, having the advantage of being able to quickly change their position. Here is a sufficient and advantageous occasion to demonstrate the proof of "the movable element in a fixed compass" in stationary batteries. If one descends from the Battery Djebel Kebir southeastward to the town of Bizerta, situated on the left bank of the canal, he will come out at the northern exit of the town at the Battery Sidi Salem, named as "ruine" on French maps, which is situated directly on the sea-shore and which is connected with the more southerly situated Kasba, the old castle of the former Turkish sovereigns. In former times there was an old Spanish fort on the ledge of rocks with the Dar (house) el Roudia. One can still find the ruins of the old Fort d'Espagne. It is obvious that these old buildings previously mentioned are of no importance to modern fortifications; but this is not the Battery El Koudia (F), often mentioned by the French in newspapers, etc., the situation of which may be the same as that of the above-mentioned ruin, and which will be used for the purpose of aiding in the defence of the town and the canal.

The depth of the sea in front of the forts is in general advantageous for the assailants; at one place about 1,100 meters from the Cani Islands, the depth of the navigable water decreases, but

hardly enough to make it dangerous for larger vessels. Directly in front of the coast, westward from Cape Blanc, are so-called "blind" breakers, which prevent the approach of both large and small vessels to the shore, and for this reason there is no necessity for the defenders to have this part of the coast under fire. These "blind" rocks, which come to the surface at the western Fratelli Islands and again at the Galita Islands, characterizes the submarine elevation. The last named islands and islets might not be of any importance in a warlike demonstration of the proof of the fortress to either the attackers or the defenders.

BIZERTA AS A FORTRESS. MILITAR WOCHENBLATT, NO. 89. CONTINUATION OF NO. 88.

As it has been repeatedly shown, the traveler who passes France's powerful rampart, controlling the eastern exit of the western Mediterranean basin, and pointed threateningly against Malta and against Sicily, receives the impression that it is a modern, up-to-date fortress, a masterpiece of the French who have always been considered masters in the art of fortification. To-day there are only three objects which give possibility for a general belief to those who, admiring, look upon the magnificent heights,towering at the coast, and who vainly look for signs of the mighty forts. The first of these objects is the signal station El Querra of Cape Blanc, which is sometimes called Cape Labeit. From this station the semaphore, erected on the Djebel Nador is visible for a long distance. Furthermore, there is a high flagstaff, also visible for a long distance, on the Djebel Kebir, which may belong to the fort. Another flagstaff, not so conspicuous, can be seen on the Djebel et Rara. The third conspicuous object is a high trestle, built of iron, visible at a great distance, and which is high enough to permit the passage of any kind of sailing vessels with their high masts. A platform, suspended from it by wire cables, serves as a bridge between the canal banks. But this object, which gives the enemy an excellent object for determining the range, will be removed and will be reconstructed in Brest. At its place in Bizerta a tunnel will be built which will make possible constant communication with both sides. It is evident that the French will also remove the other conspicuous objects in case of a mobilization.

Several English officers, whom the author of this article met by chance on a vessel bound from Malta to Algiers, were pleased to speak rather slightingly of the French position. But in case of a war the latter would be able to make more difficulties for an enemy,

than could be expected from the hoary walls of Malta, should that island be attacked by an enemy.

But, as it is known, Bizerta is not only a fortress but also a naval base; for nature favored this place not only for the erection of fortifications, but also as a rendezvous for the assembly of important naval forces, to conceal them from the attacks of a superior enemy, and to suddenly put them in action again against a hostile fleet. This is made possible by the large body of inland water which is connected with the sea by a canal only 2,400 meters long. Having an area of about 15,000 hectares, that lake, of an average depth of about fifteen meters and of suborbicular form, extends southwards from the tongue of the Djebel Touila, which separates it from the sea. At this writing the canal, of the length of which about 900 meters is at the mouth of the inland sea, has a width at the bottom of only about sixty meters, while the width of the banks at the water level is about 100 meters. But the work of enlarging the width of this canal to 200 meters has been going on extensively for some time past, and it has already reached such a state of completion—as the France Militaire reported in its last issue—that at the eastern bank, where they did the digging, only a narrow strip has to be finished. In this enlargement, principally that tract of land at the southeastern bank, which was used for the great coal yards has been used. In front of the canal is an outer harbor, which, with a surface of eighty hectares, is bounded by two immense moles. Recently the entrance between the ends of the two moles has been narrowed by extending the western mole, and has been protected from the waves of the Mediterranean by placing a third mole in front of it, which is not connected with the bank but is about parallel with it. The two passages formed from this are to be known as entrance and exit. The fortress would obtain a considerable advantage if a second exit from the inland sea could be built, which, by all means, would be possible by merely digging through the peninsula. The moment of surprise, in which a fleet, lying in an inland water, could sally forth from it would thereby be doubled. In the northwestern corner of the outer harbor another (blind, sham) canal opens, which extends about 300 meters into the town. From a military point of view this of nearly no consequence.

The large canal running to the sea widens abruptly at its extremity into the Ansa de Sabra, at the northern bank of which is situated the "Arsenal de la defense mobile." Through a channel about 4,500 meters in length and of average width of about 1,000 meters, the so-called Goulet—Italian Goletta—narrow pass—the canal runs into the inland water in such a manner that its northwestern

bank extends over toward the sea-shore in nearly a stright line, while the southeastern bank deflects sharply into an eastern direction. Before the Goulet is a small fisher islet and behind it the large island Njila Kebira.

Through the Oued Tindja, which disembogues near the Njila Kebira in a southern direction, the large inland water is connected over a region, not quite 3,000 meters in breadth, with the lake of Echkheul, sometimes called Garaet Ach Kel; but as it has a surface of only ninety quadratkilometers, it is of no importance to Bizerta as a naval base. In front of the Arsenal de la Defense Mobile, which built at the western bank of the Anse de Sabra, the traveller passes on arriving in Bizerta with the train, are always some of the fourteen tropedo boats and two (avisos) advice-boats, which belong to the mobile defence of the harbor. Sometimes one of the five tow-boats is seen there, which, like a great number of other craft, belong to the harbor equipment. Near this arsenal is the Admiralty, several buildings of the Staff and of the harbor authorities, and the laboratories and workshops of the mobile defence, two barracks, a lazaret and a large coal depot. There are also several docks at this place. But more important than these establishments are those which are located at Ferryville, one the south shore of the sea, at a distance of fifteen kilometers from the sea, and which are being improved continually.

After all, what French newspapers report about these workshops and depots, situated in a little locality of natives called Sidi Abdallah, and, for that matter, what else transpires among them, they might soon belong to the most imposing establishment of that kind in existence and might be sufficient for the greatest demand of a navy, thrown on the aid of Bizerta. The establishments, as they are now completed, seem to be divided into three groups—the arsenal itself, the pyrotechnique, and, lastly, the military town which is for the accommodation of officers, official men, soldiers and workmen. A small harbor of from 600 to 900 meters breadth (surface) has been made in front of the arsenal by dredging, which, notwithstanding the near shore, has an average depth of ten meters, and around which wharfs and repairing shops are built. Two docks are provided for the purpose of repairing larger vessels. Magnificent buildings serve as offices for the different departmental authorities, as laboratories, as magazines of the "defense sousmarine," and as offices of the artillery administration department. The pyrotechnique is erected at a distance so as to prevent any danger of an explosion. An electric plant furnishes light and power. There is a barrack building for marines large enough to accommodate 1,800 men, and a lazaret has been con-

structed. At the present writing the military town is said to contain 5,000 official men and workmen.

Between the arsenal Ferryville-Sidi Abdallah and the farther mouth of the Oued Tindja, above mentioned, a spit, called Bled bordj el Kaid, comes out at a distance of about 1,500 meters from the arsenal. The removal of the above mentioned "Arsenal de la defense mobile" to this point has recently been suggested. And, indeed, at this point the arsenal would be better protected against any possible accidents and its management would come in closer contact with the authorities of Sidi Abdallah. And, lastly, the distance of thirteen kilometers which the arsenal would have to be moved would present less difficulty considering the possibilities of establishing railway and water communications.

All of the present coal depots, which have been several times mentioned, have a capacity at present for 25,000 tons of coal, but it is believed that it might be made 50,000 or even 80,000 tons.

The supply of fresh water, which might present some difficulties on account of the bad conditions of the shore around the inland water, is at present furnished by several elevators. A water tower, with a capacity of 500 tons, is used exclusively for Ferryville-Sidi Abdallah.

The magnificent establishments of Bizerta cover a wide tract of land, and in case of warlike preparations of the place, peculiar difficulties would confront the commissary department. But measures have been taken to offset this difficulty. For example, the commissariat is at work collecting information as to the amount of provisions the surrounding country would be able to furnish.

The large extension to these immense establishments must be considered their greatest defect. The present barracks and other accommodations would not be sufficient for the garrisons necessary for the place in case of a mobilization, and one or perhaps several camps would have to be made. At the present time the French seem to be in doubt as to whether or not the fortress should be garrisoned only with troops of the Tunesian occupation division, which is possible only in time of peace; in case of war it would require 30,000 men to garrison the fortress. But even in time of peace it will gradually become a custom to bring over troops from the mother-land, which, in case of war, would be an absolute necessity. The occupation division, not very strong itself, also garrisons Gouletta and Sousse, two very important points; and one should not task their powers too much to fortify a difficult position, especially in the south of the country. The fault of too large an extension of the fortifications is so much the worse, because, at the present time, there is hardly any defence

against attacks from the land side. A disembarkation of an enemy on the west of the fortress is almost impossible because of the formation of the terrain aforementioned; but so much the more this danger threatens from the east, from the Porto Farina, only twenty kilometers distant from Ras Zebib. From here a disembarkation through the valley of the Oued Medshroda could be made so much the easier if the occupation division should be weakened by causing a part of the troops to be unnecessarily withdrawn, or if that part of the coast should not be under the control of Bizerta as a naval base by a navy squadron. The garrison of Gouletta, at present consisting of two battalions, or of Tunis, would hardly be able to do much against such a movement; only at sea could it be prevented. The projects for the fortifications necessary for the complete defence of the country do not seem to be finished, and no one seems to know exactly what further fortifications will be required.

But, at any rate, an assailant would need a very strong navy and a very strong landing place for the disembarkation of troops in order to make an attack on the fortress with even a little hope of success. And this fact alone thoroughly justifies the extraordinary labors, efforts and expenses which France is making in order to build up and enlarge this magnificent place.

The town of Bizerta is divided into the old port, consisting of the native population, whose houses are being diminished and torn down rapidly; and a new, thinly settled part. For this reason the town has the appearance of a place which is just coming into existence. Besides ragged natives, the energetic figures of the soldiers of France's North African army are conspicuous. Officers, from whose appearance one can see the effect of the rugged camp life of France's unequalled, large, North African maneuver ground, are more numerous in the fine hotels and restaurants than are tourists. But, wherever he looks, the traveller will receive the impression that Bizerta, when sufficiently garrisoned, can hardly be conquered. It is not probably that Germany's war flag will ever be unfolded in the fire of these guns. But we hope that the German trade flag will be seen, in the future so much the more in the small part of the canal which is open for merchantmen. The author of this article watched a German ship which was being loaded in Bizerta and which he afterwards met in the harbor of Tripolis.

A CRUISE ON THE CONSTITUTION.

(*Continued.*)

COCHIN CHINA—TOURON BAY.

THIS beautiful harbor is almost entirely closed from the sea. The entrance is not seen in particular parts of it. The scenery around it is remarkably grand, and resembles that around Rio de Janeiro. The hills appear to have been thrown together without any regard to order. The town of Touron is situated on the river of the same name and on the left side of the bay. It is completely concealed from view while entering the harbor. Touron river divides the town into two parts, communication being cut off except by boats. The left division of the town contains one fort, as well as the right, and there are other fortifications on islands near the shore. The town is thickly settled as are also the numerous villages around it. One great source of employment to the people is fishing, and the many little boats gliding in and out the harbor seem to cast a cheerful shade over the scene. On the 11th an officer was sent to town to call upon the authorities of the place stating our object in visiting the port, and the probable length of our stay. On reaching the shore he was received by a person apparently of some distinction. They passed through a file of soldiers to a large house or rather store fronting the water. Here the party were treated to tea, that being the common beverage of the Chinese. By means of a Chinaman proper (of whom we had five on board) communication was held in writing between the mandarins and our party. It would be well to remark that the Cochin Chinese use the same characters in writing as the Chinese proper, though one cannot understand the language of the other. To our inquiries for water, provisions, etc., the mandarins gave the most trivial replies, being evidently suspicious of us. They wished to know "Why we came?" "Why we did not go?" "How long we should stay at Macao?" and perhaps twenty other questions, one of which was "What we were going to do at Canton?" to which Lieutenant Chaplin very properly replied, "None of your business." This answer put an end to further inquiries and they said we could have chickens, fish, water, etc. After again drinking tea the party returned on board.

The next day, having found an excellent stream of water near the outer fort, we commenced watering ship. No boats ventured to come alongside, and the whole conduct of these people, thus far, evinced a suspicious character, little comporting with what we had been led to expect. Boats were sent to the neighboring villages to procure refreshments, but were not allowed to land.

On the morning of the 13th I set out at sunrise for the town in the gig to procure live stock. The market was held directly upon the beach, and women appeared to be the sellers. Soldiers were stationed along the shore, with rattans to keep the crowd in order, occasionally giving some unlucky girl a few lashes, who had strayed out of the path. We found refreshments very reasonable, though the manner of selling did not suit very well. For every lot of things, whether potatoes, ducks, chickens, or pumpkins, they expected a dollar, and often would mix the lots together, so that to obtain three chickens, one would have to buy ten or fifteen pumpkins. Occasionally they would give for change a kind of zinc coin strung by the thousand upon sticks measuring them by the yard, though they would rarely receive them back, the "almighty dollar" being all they cared for. The women, many of them, were good looking, but of small stature. Their complexions are dark and but for the manner of wearing the hair would not, many of them, be distinguished from the men. The children most of them were entirely naked, and ran hither and thither without any attempt being made by their parents to render their appearance a little more acceptable to our modest eyes.

On the morning of the 14th a boat was seen approaching the ship manned by twenty or thirty rowers, and containing several mandarins, with a body guard. They were received in the cabin and every attention was paid to them that was possible. They were accompanied by an interpreter, who had but little title to the distinction, as he could speak but a little broken Portuguese and Spanish. After an interview of about an hour, they were invited to examine the ship, which they did. Their inquiries seemed to be directed more especially towards our flag, having asked at least twenty times whether we were English or American, and the same suspicion was attached to their movements on board the ship that had characterized our first visit on shore.

Shortly before leaving the interpreter came back into the cabin and handed the captain an open letter, stating by signs and broken Portuguese, that if he were discovered by the mandarins he would have his head cut off. At 11.30 A. M. they had left the ship. The letter was translated by Dr. McLeod, and found to be from "Domi-

nique Lefevre, Bishop of Isamapolis, and apostolic vicar of Western Cochin," stating that he was imprisoned and calling upon the French admiral (for whom we were taken) to make certain demands upon the king of Cochin China, thereby procuring his release and peace and quiet for the French missionaries. Its date was the 10th of May, but did not state the place of his confinement. A postscript was attached dated 11th in these words: "I am condemned to death without delay; hasten or all is finished." Here was a predicament. A Frenchman was at the mercy of barbarians. He was a Christian and humanity called for our assistance. No French ships were in the harbor, and America and France were upon the most friendly terms. Before assistance could be obtained from Canton he would probably be executed, as the postscript to his letter implied. The instructions of our government to the captain ordered him to afford every aid in his power to citizens of other nations that he might meet during the cruise, and this *I think* was a case in point. Should we set aside the claims of humanity? These people respect no civilized powers, will make no treaties and are destitute of all faith in keeping even the slightest promises. Their conduct to us though not actually uncivil implied a direct and groundless suspicion of our character, though the authorities of Touron had been repeatedly assured that we were a national vessel, only requiring water and refreshments, and willing and ready to pay for what we received.

At 1 P. M. four boats were well manned and armed, and set out for Touron under command of the captain. Our force consisted of about eighty men, of which number thirty were marines. Upon landing at the town the officers followed by a guard of marines and soldiers proceeded to the house in which the former meeting was held. In case of danger, the men were posted from the house to the beach, that everything should terminate as safely as possible. Though we passed through at least three times the number of soldiers (armed with spears and muskets) as our force consisted of, and were within pistol shot of a fort, and within musket shot of another, all these preparations meet with no resistance. In a few minutes the same party appeared that had visited the ship in the morning and requested to know our business. The captain (by means of a Chinese scribe) demanded to see the governor of Touron, and was referred to one of the party present as being that personage. This was doubted and the same question asked and the same reply obtained. At last the person referred to said that we must first tell our business to him before we could see the governor. Captain Percival then told

him that he had a letter for the French missionary confined at or near this place which he wished to be forwarded to him; that he would wait fifteen minutes for the governor to appear and if at the end of that period he did not come he should take the mandarins present on board of his ship as hostages for the safety of the bishop's life. The letter for the missionary was left and directed in French and Chinese. At the termination of the time allotted, no governor having appeared, the mandarins were marched to the beach and from thence taken to the ship. They expressed a willingness to go and no resistance was offered by any of the people. A letter to the king had been prepared and was left on shore with a promise from an officer that it should be immediately sent. For fear of any suspicion, the interpreter who had brought the letter was taken on board, and the three were ushered into the cabin, where they were made as comfortable as possible. The afternoon of the 15th a force was sent under command of Lieutenant Alden to bring alongside three junks (war) belonging to the king. This was also effected without resistance. At 5 P. M. our hostages wrote a letter to the king and dispatched it by an attendant who was to be back in two and one-half days. The next day a communication was received from some person on shore wishing three days to send to the king at Hué, a place forty-five miles in the country. This was acquiesced in, and our hostages wrote another letter to the king, as did the captain in French and Chinese, the purport of which was that in four days we must see or hear from the Frenchman. The next day (17th) a large letter was received, but it amounted to nothing, only stating that soon the Frenchman should come. A considerable correspondence has already passed betwen the ship and shore, and the promises made by the mandarins do not appear to be fulfilled. On the 18th a letter was brought on board, directed as usual to the captain, stating that the king had sent a mandarin from Hué to arrange matters and requested him to come on shore the following day and bring the hostages. Accordingly on the 19th, accompanied by a strong force, the captain and hostages landed, but finding no mandarin or any sign of one being in the village the party returned on board.

On the evening of the 19th the hostages were permitted to return on shore, having promised to exert themselves for the release of the padre by going to Hué and stating the case to the king. The next day (20th) the three junks anchored near us got underway and stood for the river. Nine shot were fired over and around them. These they did not mind but kept on. A force was sent after them, and they were brought from under the guns of a fort mounting twenty-

four pounders. No lives were lost in this transaction, though many of the Cochinese jumped overboard and swam ashore. In the afternoon the wind freshening, one of the junks drifted on shore, but after much trouble was got off. On the 21st three Cochin Chinese brigs of war were discovered anchored under the land on left of the entrance of the bay. The next day the captain with a small force went towards the brigs and endeavored to get on board but were repulsed. Upon showing the arms, however, we were allowed to come alongside and the captain went on board. Everything was in confusion and though each of the brigs must have had at least 100 men on board and ten guns, yet I am confident no resistance could have been made to a regularly drilled force of fifty men. From the 23d until the morning of the 27th we obtained no satisfactory intelligence about the padre. From the actions of the native officers on shore we were led to believe that none of our letters had been sent to the king, and we despaired of getting the bishop from them unless something unusual occurred.

On the morning of the 27th, therefore, we stood out to sea with the land breeze. The morning of the 30th we boarded an English ship from Singapore (May 15) for Hong Kong. On board of her was a French priest who informed us that the French squadron was at Singapore—that M. Lefevre's imprisonment was known, and that the French admiral intended (after receiving orders from home) to proceed to Touron Bay to effect his liberation.

At noon of the 5th of June we put a letter bag on board the American ship Rainbow for New York, and in the afternoon anchored in the outer roads of Macao.

At the time that the Consitution was engaged in saving the life of the apostolic vicar of Cochin China, since taken possession of by France, Louis Philippe reigned over that nation with the title of king of the French, and he never thought that he should be driven from his government. But he was, escaping over the walls of the Tuileries gardens and under the name of Mr. Smith he landed safely in England, where he died. Previous to his escape from Europe he wrote or caused to be written through the French minister that the captain, officers and crew of the Constitution were to be rewarded by the government of France for saving the life of the Bishop Lefevre, but Louis Philippe took a hurried journey from his capital and no recognition of their services was ever received by the American tars.

Louis Philippe, king of the French, occupied the throne of France from 1830 to 1848. He died near London 1850. He was the son of

Philippe Egalitè, who was the Duke of Orleans. His godfather was Louis XVI., his godmother Marie Antoinette. He was, like his father, carried away by the enthusiasm of the Revolution of 1789, but his father was executed in 1793. During the Reign of Terror, Louis Philippe visited the United States of America. He saw Washington at Mount Vernon in 1797 and afterwards became a teacher of the French language in Boston. In 1809 he married Marie Amelie in Palermo, and on the fall of the emperor, the first Napoleon, he returned to France, after an exile of twenty-one years. He was elected king of the French in 1830 by 219 out of 252 votes of both Chambers. His reign was turbulent, one of its great events being the attempt of Fieschi upon the king's life. It was during this reign that the adventurer, Louis Napoleon, made his second attempt on the throne of France and was imprisoned in the fortress of Harn. Louis Philippe with great difficulty escaped across the Seine with his wife, arrived near London and remained there till his death in 1850.

CHINA.

At Macao we remained until the 18th inst. I visited the shore several times during our stay. I saw no difference between this place and other Portuguese cities we had visited. The inhabitants are mostly Chinese to whom the place belongs—Portugal paying a certain sum annually for ground rent. Very little business is transacted here, owing to oppressive charges and port duties of the Portuguese. Most of the shop keepers are Chinese.

The city is built at the foot of a mountain and has an extremely pleasing appearance. The scenery around it is beautiful—hundreds of islands of all sizes add a pleasing variety to the view. On the morning of the 18th we weighed anchor and stood up the river for the anchorage at Whampoa. At midnight we passed the "Boca Tigris," and the moon being full had a fine view of the forts at the Bogue. These are of circular form and built upon the sides of the hills and would command the entire entrance to Canton River if other people than Chinese had possession. On the 19th we anchored off Whampoa or Blenheim beach about three miles below it. This island has no attraction for the stranger and is only worthy of notice as the place of anchorage of all ships trading with Canton. The scenery between the Bogue and Whampoa is really beautiful. The land is generally low near the banks of the river (which is about a mile in width) and in the rear lofty hills and mountains are seen. The banks of the river are lined with fruit trees, while farther back the rice or paddy fields,

having the appearance of plains of grass, add a pleasing variety to the scene and give a stranger some idea of the extent to which the cultivation of this useful article is carried among the "celestials."

On the 27th the American steamer Midas visited us and brought a party from Canton consisting of American and Chinese merchants. In the evening I took passage in her for Canton, and arrived at that city about 7 P. M., having accepted the invitation of P. S. Forbes, Esq., our consul (and of the house of Russell & Co.), to stay with him. Upon nearing the city, I was struck with surprise at the sight of the immense quantity of boats of all descriptions. The number is computed to be 84,000 and there may be said to be 400,000 people that rarely visit the land. The four principal kinds of boats that attracted attention were the junks, pleasure boats (flower), tankah boats (passenger) and the canoe holding but one person. Many of the second class far exceed anything of the kind I have seen, being fitted out with chandeliers, couches, ec., and are the resort of the rich who seek recreation and pleasure far from the crowd. Such a busy scene as is exhibited upon Canton river cannot but afford pleasure to any one not used to such. Boats are continually crossing for several miles, and swarming with human beings; so great is the quantity that one almost despairs of reaching "terra firma." Thousands of voices are mingled together, which gives one a good idea of "pandemonium."

The streets of Canton are extremely narrow, generally paved with flags or blocks of granite and sheltered from the sun and rain by mats extended from the roofs of the houses. The two most deserving of notice are old and new China Street, where the many curious and fancy articles are for sale, so much prized by foreigners. There are other streets wider and handsomer, fancifully adorned with signs and which take their names from the peculiar trades or professions carried on. To stand at one end of these streets, and look down as far as possible is really a beautiful sight. The city is supposed to contain between two and three millions of people, and at all hours in the day and night there appears one great moving mass of beings.

The houses of the foreign merchants are situated on the right bank of the river, and do not differ materially from houses in our own country. With the exception of the "pagodas" there are no buildings in or about Canton that can be considered worthy of particular notice. The houses and stores are mostly low, built of brick and covered with tiles. A slight description of the people may not be uninteresting. They are rarely over five feet six inches or seven inches in height. Have long, black hair, which they wear down their backs braided into

a tail. This is a necessary appendage to a Chinaman, as much so as any articles of dress to a European. Were he to lose it he would be obliged to get a false one. The coolies or laboring men wind theirs around the tops of their heads during working hours. I did not see one person with light hair, in fact, they boast of this and call themselves the "black haired race." The Chinaman is very fond of theatricals. This amusement, together with a kind of lottery, forms the only visible pastimes of the people. I visited one of their theatres in company with a friendly Chinese. The stage was erected in the open air at the junction of four streets and I should suppose the audience consisted of at least 1,000 persons. A smart shower of rain sprang up during the performance, but was not heeded. The better class, upon payment of a few mace, are allowed to sit in the upper stories of the surrounding stores, where they are protected from the sun and rain. The performers were all men, no women being allowed in China to go upon the stage. The chief aim appeared to be to make a loud noise, and truly they succeeded. The deception in regard to the dresses and characters of women was very good, and for some time I really thought they were bona fide females. Some of the acting was the most extravagant I ever saw, beating "Bombastes Furioso" all to pieces. All the actors came in and went out by the same door, so it can be imagined what an affair it was.

After passing several months in Canton, during which I visited the ivory factories, the silk and crape works, etc., we left August 27 for Macao. At that port we stayed until September 1st, taking in provisions, etc. On the 1st we left with a fair breeze for Manila, and arrived at that port on the 13th. Our passage to the coast of Lucania was very short and we were detained several days there by head winds.

BENJ. F. STEVENS.

To be Continued.

"THE BARBAROUS MOORS." *

"Nido Algeri di ladri infame ed impio."
Algiers! abode of robbers, cruel and impious.
TASSO.

THOSE naval officers who have passed their tenth lustrum will remember that, when "seven bells" had brought the sun "over the fore-yard," and cheese and biscuits and a glass of grog were being discussed, while the mess waited for the latitude to be announced, a very usual toast was, "Here's to the downfall of the barbarous Moors!"

This sailor toast had come down to us from the very foundation of our navy.

It seems strange that a horde of marauders and pirates, the offscouring of the Levant—Turks, Fanariot Greek and Latin renegades, grafted upon the races of Mauritania,—never great in number, and the most ignored and superstitious of all Mohammedans, that these should have occupied the cradle of Latin Christianity, the country of St. Augustine, of St. Cyprian, and of Tertullian; and should have so impressed the terror of their name upon all modern Christendom that "the Moors" should be a houshold word in a young Republic, four thousand miles away across the great seas.

Yet, so it was; for, about the dawn of our century many a household on our Atlantic shores had sad experience in regard to Algerine slavery, and had mourned an absent father, or brother, or husband, toiling his life away in "High Barbarie," having been captured on the high seas while winning their bread.

It was even worse with most other maritime nations. At the time we speak of the French had partial exemption from Moorish piracies, purchased by severe and repeated bombardments in former times. The English they respected to a great extent, also,—especially after they became possessed of Gibraltar. But all others were either their humble tributaries or their legitimate prey, whether Spaniards, Portuguese, Genoese, Neapolitans, Dutchmen, Danes, or Americans. Perhaps they hated the Spaniards before all others, and took the most malicious delight in humbling the proud Don. But they were unprejudiced fishers of men, and took all kinds that came to their net.

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It was long the custom, when one of their corsairs fitted for sea and left the port, for the Rais to display, underneath his bowsprit, the flag of the nation against whose vessels he intended to cruise. But, if a ship of that flag did not soon appear, one of some other country did as well, for they all had Christian crews of whom to make slaves, passengers for whom to demand a ransom, and cargoes to be sold upon the mole at Algiers.

Algerine piracy—and, in a less degree, that carried on by Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco—had been regarded for three hundred years as one of the necessary evils with which the world was cursed; as inevitable as the smallpox or the plague. Yet people seem always to have known that Algiers was not so very strong a place. Dan Pierre, in his "Historie," 1649, says, "The city could never defend itself on the land side, because there are a number of hills and mountains all round it, from which it could easily be battered down." D'Aranda, writing in 1665, says, "In this piratical city the miseries of slavery have consumed the lives of six hundred thousand Christians since the year 1536, at which time Chereddin Barbarossa brought it under his power; but it is hard to imagine why its government, being so ill administered, could endure so long, making that hole dreadful to all Europe, since its strength, situation, and fortresses are by no means considerable." Dr. Shaw, 1720, remarks that "the walls are weak, and of little defence; * * * towards the sea it is better fortified."

In spite of this knowledge, the state of things was so entirely acquiesced in by powerful and enlightened nations, that religious orders were formed, among which were conspicuous the Fathers of the Redemption and the Fathers of the Trinity, whose entire time was expressly devoted to the collection of money and the reception of legacies to be applied to the liberation of Christian captives, among whom were to be found persons of every degree; and, while there were many of higher name, there were none of higher fame than Cervantes, who here enacted, in his own person, the Knight of the Rueful Countenance. This wonderful man, excellent soldier, and unsurpassed author, spent here five years of his life in the bitterness of slavery. The head of all conspiracies to escape, he assumed all responsibility when these were discovered; braved all the barbarous wrath of the Dey,—standing firm through threats of impalement and hanging. Well might the potentate exclaim, "If he could but keep that lame Spaniard well guarded, he should consider his capital, his slaves, and his galleys safe."

Many of the good Fathers of the Redemption remained in the bagnios to administer ghostly consolation to their forlorn flocks, and

many died the death of martyrs; especially those who were blown away from guns by the renegade Dey, Mezzo Morto, in his horrible and unavailing rage at the persistent and destructive bombardment of the city by the French, under Duquesne, in 1683.

To the period of this bombardment belongs a little incident with that touch of nature which makes all men kin. It is related that an officer of the French fleet, while reconnoitring, ventured too close, and was captured, with his boat's crew. Mezzo Morto, in his insane rage, ordered him at once to be blown from a gun—as the French consul had already been—and thus returned to his friends. At this moment he was recognized by a corsair captain, who had once been captured and humanely treated by the Frenchman. The Algerine implored the Dey to spare the prisoner's life, but without avail, when stepping to the gun he embraced the officer, and declared that he would be blown away with his benefactor since he could not save him. His intrepid conduct gave Mezzo Morto time to think of the consequences should the French be successful, and he changed his purpose, —the Frenchman living to relate his adventure in his own country.

The city and its dependencies which we know as Algiers, formerly included in Numidia, the kingdoms of Masinissa and Jugurtha, have but little of general interest in their history from the Roman times until the period of their subjugation by the Turkish power. The indigenous tribes have always been troublesome to their neighbors, and we read that Maximian had to take sweeping measures against "those fierce barbarians, who lead a life of rapine and violence."

The Arab element, which has blended with the Berbers, Kabyles, and other indigenous tribes, came in by successive waves, not only through Egypt but from Spain and Sicily. .

Their history, in regard to modern times, assumes great prominence at the period when they fell under the rule of the Barbarossas, those redoubtable brothers whose fame and fear made Algiers the bogey and bugbear of all Europe.

The place derived its name from a small island, which rose a few hundred feet from the shore, "Al jezeire" (The Island). There are other Al jezeires in Moslem lands, as well as in Spain. The town rose in amphitheatrical form upon a hillside which looks towards Mecca, and at the summit of the wedge-shaped mass of habitations was placed the famous citadel, the Kasbah.

The city of to-day, occupying precisely the same site, may be divided into two parts, the upper preserving the primitive style of buildings and streets, and the lower purely European, save that the two principal mosques have been allowed to remain undisturbed. The

upper town has square-built, whitewashed houses, without other openings upon the street than the entrance doors, and receiving light only from the court-yards. The streets themselves are narrow, dirty, and extremely tortuous, but still monotonous in their sameness. The lower town has arcades and boulevards, shops and hotels, and the two mosques alone remind the visitor that he is not in Marseilles, or some other city of southern France.

On the great mosque, Djama Kebir, an inscription was formerly decipherable, which placed the period of its erection as far back as the year 409 of the Hegira (1018 A. D.). It is large, built in the most severely simple style, and is whitewashed scrupulously several times a year.

At the descent to the port is the new mosque Djama Djedid, the slave architect of which was burnt alive when his masters discovered that he had succeeded in giving to it the cruciform of a Christian church.

In the neighborhood of the city have always existed great numbers of beautiful country-seats, embowered in foliage, the vivid green of which forms a striking contrast with the white town. These were the residences of the successful *Agas* and *Rais* of corsair times, and are now occupied by consuls, government officials, prosperous merchants, and invalids from many lands, whose number is yearly increasing. At present fashion favors the seats to the southward of the town, while to the northward and westward the sites are less sought for, though formerly preferred. They are high, healthy, and command a fine view of the sea, and it is here that Notre Dame d'Afrique rises, conspicuous from its Byzantine architecture and great dome. On the road to it, passing out by the Bab el Oued, the western gate, we pass the great Arsenal d'Artillerie with its parade-ground, which is the site of the martyrdom of St. Geronimo, in 1569. He was buried alive in a block of fresh concrete, and built into the wall of a fort erected on that spot, by Euldj Ali, the governor of the town, a Calabrian renegade, who thus signalized his devotion to his new faith. The Spanish Benedictine Haëdo recounted the circumstances and place of his martyrdom so faithfully, that in 1853, when the French destroyed the Moorish fort to make the parade, his remains were found in the block of concrete, which had preserved a cast of his person.

The island which gives the name to the city of Algiers has always borne an important part in its history. As a sequence to everlasting and inconsequent hostilities, the Spaniards by a *coup-de-main,* in 1505, possessed themselves of the little island, fortified it, and successfully held it for nearly thirty years. Unable to dislodge them, and annoyed

beyond endurance by their presence, especially as they were so close as to be able to bandy defiant threats and to seriously interfere with the preparation for their maritime forays, the Algerians at last appealed to Barbarossa, a Levantine corsair who had rendered his name terrible throughout the Mediterranean by successful piracies and dreadful atrocities. He came, assumed command, and failed to reduce the island; but, playing the part of King Stork, he strangled the Dey in his bath, possessed himself of the government, and signalized his accession by extreme violence, oppression, and cruelty. At last he was killed in battle by the Spaniards, about 1518, being succeeded by his even more energetic and bloody-minded brother Khair-ed-din, who stormed and captured the island, whipping to death with rods the gallant Spanish commander and the survivors of his garrison.

The younger Barbarossa greatly strengthened the fortifications, and built a fleet with which he disputed the empire of the sea with Andrew Doria himself.

Khaireddin also commenced the mole between the city and the island, so much needed, both to form a harbor and to contribute to the defense of the former place. At this work he is said to have kept thirty thousand Christian slaves employed, almost day and night, for three years. These numbers seem excessive, but we have seen that it was estimated by D'Aranda, an author whose statements have not been questioned, that between 1530 and 1640 no less than six hundred thousand Christian slaves died in all Barbary, and the proportion of these held by Algiers was always very large.

For the honor of Christendom it was high time that something should be attempted against these common enemies of mankind, who were so feared that a special supplication in regard to them was contained in the litanies of most European nations, and still survives in the prayer "for all prisoners and captives."

Accordingly, in 1541, Charles V., in the height of his power, prepared a grand expedition, ranged in which were large contingents from several nations. It was under his personal command, and, not to mention knights and nobles of the highest rank, included among the captains of the land forces Hernando Cortes, while Andrew Doria commanded the fleet. The pope issued a bull of pardon for all who took part in the expedition, and another of absolution for those who fell.

From various causes the expedition was delayed, and did not leave Majorca until November; but the emperor insisted upon persevering in his enterprise, even after the old sea-dog, Andrew Doria, had represented his fears for the result, saying that there were only two ports on the North African coast—June and July.

Charles landed in the bay, at a point about two miles to the eastward of the town, on a low and sandy beach. Here he threw up a temporary work, and established his headquarters close to the water, and he appears to have allowed the ladies and courtiers who accompanied him to land with the troops, while he left most of his stores and provisions on board the ships.

He was resisted by the Moors in a series of skirmishes and partial engagements; but his forces advanced steadily towards the hills commanding the town, and would most probably have taken the place, had not a dreadful storm arisen, accompanied by an earthquake and torrents of rain, so that in one night more than half the fleet was destroyed. His army then became a prey to the Moors, who, seeing them in a desperate strait, their arms and powder damaged by wet, and themselves exhausted by exposure and want of food, swarmed out against them, and disposed of them in detail.

So great was the number of prisoners taken, that the Algerines, by way of marking their contempt, sold some of them for an onion apiece. As soon as he could, the emperor re-embarked the discomfited remnant of his army, and returned to Majorca.

This terrible defeat, which Charles owed more to the elements than to the prowess of the Moors, more to want of proper caution than to either, naturally increased the general fear of the Algerines to an extent which we, at this day, can hardly appreciate.

A marabout had predicted that the great Christian attack would be foiled in a miraculous manner, and the Moors now considered that Allah had directly interposed in their behalf; and the only result of the expedition was an increase of confidence on their part, and an extension of their raids by land and sea.

Andrew Doria was, on another occasion, sent by Charles V. to recapture Tunis from Heyraddin Barbarossa, the latter having possessed himself of that city by treachery. After a protracted siege he succeeded, but Barbarossa escaped, and returned to Algiers, where he collected his fleet, and again swept the seas,—plundering the coasts of Italy, and inflicting a defeat upon the fleet of Doria himself. Heyraddin died in his bed at Contantinople in 1546.

Many of us who have cruised in the Mediterranean have seen upon exposed coasts—especially in the Balearic Islands—the towers which are generally called Martello towers. Many of these were really towers of refuge, erected for the purpose of receiving the country people and their families, who might be surprised by a sudden landing of the corsairs while they were toiling in the fields and vineyards. The construction of the building enabled those who reached it to hold out for a few hours, until assistance reached them.

Strange as it may seem, there are plenty of people still living who remember the time when the building of such refuges was no idle precaution, and when many a family mourned its brightest boy, or prettiest girl, carried off by the Infidels, and forever lost to them.

In September, 1798, for example, five Tunisian corsairs, carrying nine hundred and ninety men, landed at daylight on the island of St. Peter, on the coast of Sardinia, captured and brought off as prisoners seven hundred women and children and two hundred and twenty men. Driven down half naked, all ages and sexes were crammed promiscuously into the filthy holds of their vessels, and landed in Barbary to be sold as slaves. After long negotiation those who survived were redeemed for two hundred and seventy thousand dollars, the original sum demanded being three times that.

The remainder of the sixteenth century, from the time of the repulse of Charles, shows, as far as Algiers is concerned, a mere series of impudent, insolent, and successful bravings of the Christian world. This, however, did not prevent everlasting intestine troubles in the Moorish city, with impaling, hanging to hooks upon the city wall, and other modes of taking off of Deys and Agas who might render themselves unpopular, while the sufferings of the slaves continued also.

In Europe some few bold spirits were found who, during this period, attempted some reprisals, generally coming to grief, and notably one Gascon, a Spaniard, who, attempting by a bold dash to burn the Algerine fleet, was captured and hung up by the heels, upon the port, with his commission tied to his toes. "Most unspeakable Turks!" these, indeed!

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the sultan altogether ceased to interfere with the choice of the Deys, although they remained nominally tributaries of the Sublime Porte. Early in the century the Spaniards made a grand demonstration against Algiers, but did not land, and finally drew off, having accomplished nothing. In 1609 the Moors were finally expelled from Spain, and many of this superior branch of the race joined the Algerine fleet, which was now powerful and numerous, embracing some vessels of four or five hundred tons, a large size for that day.

Fuller, in his "Worthies," speaking of ships and their building (in the middle of the seventeenth century), says, "Indeed, the Turkish frigots, especially some thirty-six of Algier, formed and built much nearer the English mode, and manned by renegadoes, many of them English, being already too nimble heel'd for the Dutch, may hereafter prove mischievous to us if not seasonably prevented."

For a long time they kept two fleets at sea, one off Malaga, and another between Lisbon and Cadiz, capturing not only Portuguese and Spaniards, with which nations they professed to be at war, but French, English, and Dutch as well.

Charles I. sent Sir Edward Spragge to Algiers, where he burnt seven of their corsairs, from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, in consequence of which the populace massacred the Dey, and his successor made peace, and kept the treaty as long as it suited him.

In 1661 Lord Sandwich battered Algiers with fifteen sail of the line, with, as usual, no permanent result. Pepys refers to this in his diary, where he says, "My Lord hath not done what he went for, though he did as much as any man in the world could have done," which is rather a foggy statement on the part of the secretary to the admiralty.

Several naval expeditions were fitted out about this time by different nations, but it was not until 1664 that a French fleet, under the Duc de Beaufort, defeated the Algerine fleet totally and disastrously, driving home those vessels not captured or sunk, and inflicting a blow which kept the corsairs quiet for many years. Two or three years after this success of the French, an English fleet made a feeble attack upon the harbor, which had little result, except to cause the Algerines to strengthen their defenses. None of these assailants cared to risk an attack by land, the only thing to drive these rats from their hole.

In 1682 a humiliating treaty was made with them by Charles II., recognizing the state of slavery of British subjects. This treaty was renewed by James II., and substantially by George II. so late as 1729. The tale becomes almost monotonous, and the efforts of the most powerful nations seemed powerless against a horde of robbers with every element of weakness existing among them. In the light of the present day of steam and ironclads and great guns, the story of the Algerian power seems to belong to another world than ours, instead of really coming down to and trenching closely upon our own time.

The Christian world seems, however, to have rivaled them, and the French galleys were at this time almost as bad as those of the Algerines. The author of the "Memoirs of a Protestant Condemned to the Galleys of France" writes of the period between 1700 and 1713, and among many very curious and horrible details regarding the French galleys, says that they had always a number of Mohammedans among the slaves. Of those from Europe and Asia, he says, "They are generally well made, fair, grave in their deportment, zealous in the observation of their religion, tenacious of the truth, and charitable in a supreme degree." "They never drank spirituous liquors." On the

other hand he says, "Those from Morocco, Tripoli, and Algiers are generally the greatest villains alive; thievish, cruel, false, assassins, and wicked to the last degree." "The Mahometans of Africa, commonly called Moors, get drunk as often as they have an opportunity, and commit the most horrid excesses of every kind." This testimony is of the best, for both kinds served in the galleys with the writer, and some were chained to the same oar.

There is no doubt that in the modern galleys the Christians preceded the Mohammedans in their severe cruelty.

After Algiers became virtually independent of the Porte, about 1700, the Dey was invariably chosen by the Janissaries, or land troops, the corsairs or sea-rovers having no voice in the matter. There was a Cadi or civil judge, and the Mufti or ecclesiastical functionary. But in such a community they had not the weight which their offices carried in the East, and the success of the government depended upon the energy and ability of the Dey, who, while he reigned, was as irresponsible a tyrant as ever existed. He was chosen, as we have said, by the Janissaries from their own body, every man of which, by his position, had a right and title to the office, so that a bold and aspiring soldier yesterday at the plow, might find himself suddenly elevated to the dangerous dignity.

Given to all who were bold enough, the Deyship was the subject of frequent change. Not one Dey in ten died a natural death, and it is a well-authenticated fact that there were once seven elected in one day, six of whom were put to death one after the other.

The Janissaries were always paid on the day of the new moon, and if the money was not forthcoming, they generally deposed or bowstrung the Dey.

The recruits for this corps—which was a caricature of the Prætorian Guards—were generally Anatolian shepherds and husbandmen, mostly Turks, with some Greek, Italian, and Spanish renegades and outlaws. With few ties in their adopted land, they looked down upon the mass of the population, and were prepared to execute any mandate of the Dey, so long as his conduct pleased them. There were never, at one time, more than twelve thousand of these Janissaries, generally only four or five thousand. The corsairs numbered about the same, and in 1730, while still in the plenitude of their prestige and power, they had but half a dozen ships, of from thirty-six to fifty guns, the remainder of the naval force consisting of galleys and large rowboats, to the oars of which the slaves were chained. Yet here was this town, a mile and a half in circumference, and at this time containing two thousand Christian slaves, fifteen thousand Jews, and one hundred

thousand Mohammedans and renegades, which had for ages braved all Christendom. It was at this period that the Dey, with engaging frankness, told the English consul, Cole, who complained of damage and insult to English vessels, that "the Algerines are a company of robbers, and I am their captain." Their piratical expeditions were animated by the triple forces of fanaticism, cupidity, and the seduction which a life of combined peril and license afforded to such natures. These sea wolves indulged in many superstitious practices during their cruises. In passing the Straits of Gibraltar they poured overboard a quantity of oil, which was supposed to swim straight to the "Mount of Monkeys," where lived a great Moslem saint, who subsisted upon the oil, and, in return, dispensed blessings upon the pirates' undertakings. Henry Teonge, in his "Voyage," about 1675, in speaking of the passage of the straits, says, "Apes Hill is a rock of a greate hight, and extreame steepe. On the top of it lives a Marrabott wizord or Inchanter; and what vessell soever of the Turks goes by, gives him a gun as shee goes, to beg a fortunate voyage. Here every one that hath not yet beene in the straites pays his doller or must be duckt at yard arme."

Lighted candles were placed upon the great guns, with many prayers and prostrations, when action was expected; and when caught in gales of wind, and in peril,—as they often were, for they were not, as a rule, expert seamen,—they sacrificed a sheep to the elements, with a number of other practices quite incompatible with pure Mohammedanism. These sacrifices of animals were also made when an uncommonly rich prize was secured, the blood being smeared over the mainmast, the guns, the bowsprit, and other places, in a manner closely resembling fetichism.

As I have already said, the possession of so many Christian slaves by the Algerines led to the presence of Redemptorists and other devoted monks, in that city at a very early day. These not only shared the dangers and privations of the slaves, while administering to their spiritual and physical needs, but redeemed many from their chains. These good Fathers were soon followed by resident agents or consuls from the various maritime countries, whose position was a most peculiar one, and never without danger.

Nothing could be more dreadful than the condition of most of the slaves. D'Aranda, who had himself been a captive, gives, about 1640, many particulars of their treatment. After the slaves for the Dey had been selected, the rest were exposed at public sale. Those who were intended for the hard life of the galleys were particularly examined as to their strength, and the condition of their teeth, so that they should

be able to masticate the hard black biscuit which was their sole food during a cruise.

The galleys made their last cruise for the season in September, and were then hauled up for the winter. Eaton says, in one of his reports, "Their mode of attack is uniformly boarding. * * * Their long lateen yards drop on board the enemy, and afford a safe and easy conveyance. * * * Being always crowded with men they throw them in from all points of the rigging, and from all quarters of the decks; having their sabres grasped between their teeth, and their loaded pistols in their belts, that they may have the free use of their hands in scaling the gunnels or nettings of their enemy. * * * Proper defense against them are high nettings, with chains sufficiently strong to prevent their being cut away; buckshot plentifully administered from muskets or blunderbusses; and lances. But it is always best to keep them at a distance, that advantage may be taken of their ignorance of maneuvering."

The rowers had their hair and beards close shaved, and were clad in a sack of the coarsest cloth. The mildest term by which they were addressed, and the usual one, was *cani*—dogs.

D'Aranda's master expected *his* slaves to steal for a living.—"which was hard when there were so many,"—and direful necessity had driven some to make of petit larceny a fine art; but some masters, beside the Dey, gave two small cakes of coarse black flour every day.

In D'Aranda's time it appears that the corsairs drank a good deal,—from wine and spirits captured in prizes,—and a few slaves were allowed to keep wine-shops, when they had for customers not only such of their fellows as had money, but the loose fish among the Mohammedans, who could not themselves openly follow such an occupation, by any means, but who frequently advanced the capital by which a Christian was enabled to do so. D'Aranda says that the slaves were mostly Spaniards, Portuguese, Genoese, and Neapolitans, and that some of them had served for forty years.

In Charles the First's time slaves were redeemed, "by favor of the Dey for the English," for about fifty pounds per head for women and children, ten pounds less for skilled workmen, navigators, carpenters, and surgeons. All others brought much less.

Under Charles II. the Sessions Books of Devonshire, as quoted by Hamilton in his "Illustrations of Local Government and History," teem with entries respecting "the great misery and slavery that many poor English Christians suffer under the cruell tyranny of the Turkes, being there kepte captives, and that it will be a greate piece of Charity to extend their compassion towards their Redemption." Some of these

prisoners are represented as being in "Salley," some in "Tituan," and some in "Algier." Occasionally the English made prisoners, and mention is made of "one natural turke and fower moores in the workehouse of this County, sent thither by the Major of Dartmouth, being taken upp on the sea neere the Coasts of Barbary." They appear to have been better treated than the Moors treated their English prisoners. The Devonshire courts ordered that petitioners "that are captives in Algiers shall have fforty shillings a peece given them out of the County Stocke towards their Redempcon." Some, who were "prisoners at Tituan or other places in Turky," "shall have ffive pounds a peece given them." And moreover, "Sr Thomas Carew, Knight, to take care the money be not parted with but upon certainty of their Redempcon." It is mentioned that the ransom of one captive cost fifty-eight pounds ten shillings.

Pananti, who was a captive so late as 1813, wrote a long and rambling account after his redemption in which, among much irrelevant matter, we are able to find some passages which show that the condition of affairs was very little changed from D'Aranda's time. He says, "Those who have never been at Algiers, and witnessed the fate to which Christians falling into the hands of the barbarians are condemned, cannot form any idea of that great calamity which fortune has in store for humanity, or into what abyss of sorrow and wretchedness their fellow-creatures thus situated have been plunged." Slaves were stripped of their own clothing, and given a covering of coarse sackcloth, and thus, without shoes, they were obliged to work under an African sun. "Many are employed in the lowest drudgery. Some, like beasts of burden, are employed in carrying stone and wood for any public building which may be going on. These are usually in chains." "Awoke at daylight in the prison where they are shut up for the night, they are sent to work with the most abusive threats, and sink under the weight and severity of their keepers' whips. Made to clean cesspools and sewers and dig wells, yoked with the ass and the mule, hundreds die miserably every year. The slightest offense is punished with two hundred blows on the feet or back,—and when exhausted or sick the wretched sufferers are abandoned like dogs by the wayside."

Mrs. Broughton, daughter of the English consul, wrote a few years before Pananti, and fully confirms all his statements. Her father was the medium for the ransom of nearly six hundred Portuguese slaves at one time; but the Dey, on consenting to this wholesale delivery, and to making peace with Portugal, immediately declared war against

the United States,—"for," he naively remarked, "if we had not some nation to cruise against we should be ruined."

During the great wars of Napoleon's time there were ludicrous struggles for precedence among the different consuls at Algiers, especially between the French and English consuls, whose countries were, of course, at war. The Dey would favor no one when he received these officials, and surveyed with a grim humor the shoves and pushes which they administered to each other. Finally, on one great occasion the English consul picked up the French consul and dropped him over the balusters into the court of the Kasbah, which, Mrs. Broughton remarks, settled forever the matter of precedence so far as those two were concerned.

All written accounts of Algiers for centuries give the same report of the condition and treatment of the slaves. Despair and suffering often made them desperate, "feeling as if abandoned by heaven and by men," and drunkenness, robberies, and savage fights went on in those foul dens, the bagnios. Sometimes they stabbed their keepers,—the act being suicidal, for they were sure of impalement or some other fearful death. It was not unusual for the prison guards to put an end to disturbances by shooting promiscuously among the slaves. We shall see, hereafter, how our own captive countrymen were treated, and having now given a view of Algerine slavery, from creditable witnesses and sufferers, we return to the desultory warfare waged against the masters.

In 1682, the same year in which Charles of England made his humiliating treaty, the proposal to bombard the pirate city from ships was carried out by Duquesne, and Algiers was seriously damaged, but the fleet was driven off by bad weather. It was on this occasion that "bombs" (or vessels adapted for throwing shell, constructed by a Frenchman named Renaud), were first brought into use. The French returned the next year and so battered the town that the Dey was forced to sue for peace, but while the negotiations were going on he was assasinated. The notorious renegade, Mezzo Morto, so called from having been found half dead on a battle-field, was elected to the place, and at once renewed hostilities. His conduct of the defense and the murder of Christians who were in his power have already been referred to. Duquesne's shells were at length exhausted, but before the Algerines discovered the fact the continual slaughter and destruction caused the populace to revolt against Mezzo Morto, and, allowing him to escape, a formal treaty was made with the French by his successor.

But piracy was their only industry, and they respected this treaty

but a short time, it soon becoming necessary to bombard them again, which was done by Marshal d'Estrées in 1688. He forced them to make a treaty which, warned by such dire experiences, they kept tolerably well, but recompensed themselves by capturing the vessels of all other nations more persistently than ever.

In 1702 the plague is said to have carried off forty thousand persons in Algiers, but their numbers were soon recruited, and they went on as usual during the eighteenth century, having to sustain several inconsequent attacks from the fleets of the English and other nations.

At last, in 1775, the Spaniards fitted out a grand expedition under General Count O'Reilly. His troops landed in the bay to the eastward, just as those of Charles V. had done, and his expedition, which had set out with such a flourish of trumpets, ended disastrously.

The Moors might, by this time, well think their city impregnable when such grand attempts against it came to naught. Conscious how weak they really were, they as usual assigned to supernatural powers this last discomfiture of their enemies. At this time England was quite inactive in the matter, as Algiers for the most part respected her merchant vessels and injured the commerce of her weaker rivals. Her fleets, however, by their mere presence in the Mediterranean during the long wars consequent upon the French revolution, checked piracy to a great extent.

It is now time for us to look at our own relations with these truculent Moors.

Our youthful republic had returned to the pursuits of peace, after the recognition of our independence, and had merchant vessels in increasing numbers, but no cruisers.

The Algerine corsairs took early note of such a state of things, beginning depredations upon our flag in July, 1785, when they captured outside the Straits of Gibraltar the schooner Maria, of Boston, consigning her crew to slavery. In the same month they took the ship Dolphin, of Philadelphia.

The first instance of aggression on the part of the Barbary States against the commerce of the United States was, however, committed by Morocco. The brig Betsy, Captain Erving, bound to Teneriffe, in ballast, was taken by a corsair and carried into Tangier, in October, 1784. In the ensuing spring her crew and all their effects were liberated by order of the Emperor of Morocco, who ordered no more captures until it was seen whether the people of the new nation wished to be friendly or not. Comparatively little molestation was subsequently had from his vessels as compared with those of Algiers and

Tunis. But this capture occurring at the same time with many more by the latter States, insurance on American vessels and cargoes rose to a ruinous rate, few underwriters being willing to insure to Southern Europe on any terms. This was a great blow to our commerce, at a time when the shipment of our natural products was necessary to save us from national bankruptcy.

Captain Erving was ordered before the Emperor of Morocco and asked what religion he professed, and whether the Americans worshipped the sun, moon, and stars. On informing the potentate that the Americans worshipped one God, who ruled in heaven, he replied, "Then I am at peace with your nation,"—and ordered the captives to be supplied with money and provisions, and finally gave them up to the Spanish ambassador at Mogador, by whom they were sent, with all that belonged to them, to Mr. Harrison, our consul at Cadiz.

In 1786 Mr. Adams, our minister to London, and Mr. Jefferson, our minister to the court of Versailles, in consequence of authority given them by Congress for the purpose, appointed Messrs. Barclay and Franks to repair to the court of Morocco, and Messrs. Lamb and Randall to the regency of Algiers, in order to effect a treaty between those powers and America. The Dey at once asked for a picture of Washington, whom he professed greatly to admire.

A treaty was made with both powers, and everything was promised by them. On the part of Morocco the treaty was to some extent observed, but it made little difference in the conduct of the Algerines. They continued to take American prizes, and in 1794 there were officially reported to be one hundred and twelve Americans held by them as slaves, besides very many who had died of privation, hard labor, and the plague. The next year when Joel Barlow, the poet, was appointed consul, he brought a large sum of money, was very active, and redeemed many.

By the treaty eighteen months had been allowed for all American vessels to furnish themselves with the Mediterranean sea-passes referred to elsewhere, and they were made prizes if found without one.

In 1790, a year after the organization of the Federal government. Washington commissioned Paul Jones as consul at Algiers and commissioner to the Barbary States, but he had died in Paris before the commission reached there. In 1793 the peace between Algiers and Portugal threw open the Straits of Gibraltar to the corsairs, and in that year they captured ten American vessels.

Our government having no consul at Algiers, clothing was sent the American captives by our consul at Alicante, and money was transmitted to them through the Swedish consul at Algiers. In 1794

President Washington sent an urgent message to Congress on the subject of these outrages, and in March a bill was passed directing the construction or purchase of six frigates, the act containing a proviso that, if the troubles with Algiers were settled, the vessels should not be built.

Some of the arguments employed by those opposed to building these vessels were that the Algerines were in the habit of selling a peace, which could probably be had for less money than such an armament would cost. Others contended that it would be less expensive to hire the Portuguese to cruise against the Algerines. Others advocated the buying of armed vessels with which to close the straits against the Algerines, as our commerce did not then extend into the Mediterranean.

In November, 1795, Joseph Donaldson, ambassador of the United States to the Dey, arrived in Algiers and on the sixth of that month concluded a treaty, when the American flag was hoisted and saluted with twenty-one guns. But the very next year Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, found it necessary to issue a notice to merchants and shipowners to say that obstacles had arisen to the fulfillment of the stipulations, and that the treaty was in jeopardy, while we had no treaty at all with Tunis and Tripoli; and that great hazard was incurred by engaging in commerce within the Straits of Gibraltar.

General Eaton, writing in 1797 from his post at Tunis to the Hon. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, says, "We began wrong; that is, we deviated from right in suspending the fitting out of the frigates to enter upon the negotiations with Algiers. Had our ambassador held in his right hand a lighted match and in his left the project of a treaty, Algiers would have blustered and fretted, too, but she would have been less exorbitant." This was written by a man who knew the Moors well.

From the time of the act of 1794 dates the conception of the new style of heavy frigates, designed by Joshua Humphreys, of Philadelphia; a class of vessels which did such service afterwards against the French and English, and which really established the reputation of the American navy. In the next year, however, a treaty of peace *was* made with Algiers, at a very considerable cost to our government. It made provision for a tribute, on our part, of powder, guns, shot, lead, canvas, rope, pitch and tar, masts and spars, and many other articles; a frigate, complete, was also promised, and built at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars. This frigate, the Crescent, sailed from Portsmouth carrying presents, or tribute, amounting to several hundreds of thousands of dol-

lars, part of which was in barrels of silver coin. Many of the officers and crew who took her out had been prisoners in Algiers, and Captain O'Brien, who had been captured in the ship Dolphin, went out in the frigate, bearing an appointment as consul to the Barbary States.

It was a very humiliating mission, but we had no navy it must be remembered; nor, indeed, was it until 1798 that the French aggressions spurred us up to complete Humphrey's plans, build some fine ships, and organize a Navy Department. In this same year the United States brig Sophia, Captain Geddes, convoyed to Algiers the ship Hero, with naval stores for the Dey of Algiers, and the Hassan Bashaw, an armed brig of two hundred and seventy-five tons, and two armed schooners, which vessels were to be delivered to the Dey "for arrearages of stipulation and present dues." They were fitted out at and sailed from Philadelphia. The Sophia carried out Captain Eaton as consul to Tunis, the same who afterwards commanded the expedition to Derne. In 1797, under the presidency of the elder Adams, Joel Barlow was made commissioner to form a treaty with Tripoli, of a somewhat similar nature to that with Algiers.

During the time that we were tributaries sea-passes were in use, many of which are still to be seen in the hands of collectors as curiosities. They had a series of printed flourishes on the left-hand margin or through the middle, and the corsairs carried a stick or tally cut to the pattern of the engraved figure, with which they could, as they thought, detect any forgery of these passes.

Our captive countrymen had to undergo, at the hands of the Algerines, much the same ordeal as slaves of other nations. Among the records of personal experience of Algerine slavery we have those collected by James Wilson Stevens, who, writing in 1797, says of the Moors, "At sea they have been regarded as the most desperate and ferocious set of beings in the world. But this seems to be a false prejudice that nations have imbibed, and according to recent accounts they are inferior in naval tactics to every nation in Europe. Almost all of our late captives" (those of 1793 to 1795, who had been redeemed by the treaty) "concur in the opinion that four American frigates, well manned and disciplined, would be a force sufficient to reduce them." It is to be presumed that Stevens means by this their naval force.

He gives many particulars of their captivity, taken from the mouths of the American sufferers, remarking, however, "that we could complain of Algerine slavery with a bad grace, so long as we kept up the practice derived from the English."

He gives details of the capture of the American ship President,

in October, 1793, when within a few hours' sail of Cadiz, by an Algerine xebec of sixteen guns. The President's crew suffered most brutal treatment. The commander of the corsair, Mohammed Rais, is described as a miserable decrepit old creature, without either power or disposition to control the mob which formed his crew. The vessel was crowded and filthy beyond description. After they reached Algiers the crew of the President all suffered many hardships, but those who were purchased by private persons fared better than the slaves of the Dey. A description is given of the way in which those who were assigned to the galleys were clothed and chained to the benches, and of the Masmora, or Bagnios, where those on shore were locked up at night. Many of our countrymen were kept at severe and exhausting labor, in bringing rocks from the quarries to repair and extend the mole, upon which, from its exposed position and unscientific construction, the sea encroached at every heavy storm. The American captains and mates were kept at work at sail-making, and at boring pump logs. There is also a description of the commonest and most merciful mode of execution. The subject was made to kneel, when some one touched the back of his head, upon which he naturally turned his head to see what was intended; this exposed the neck, and the blow of the scimeter seldom had to be repeated.

Ali Khodja, the last Dey but one, occupied the Kasbah as his residence, removing to this citadel all his treasure. It was done as a precaution against the Janissaries, who, wishing to have their Deys within reach, in case of being displeased with them, revolted at Ali's action. The Dey temporized, and succeeded in decoying within the Kasbah a large number of them, whom he secured, and for days afterwards he superintended the slicing off of the heads of these rebels in the manner described above. Some of the consuls and other foreigners, who had business at the Kasbah, found the gate so blocked with ghastly heads as to be obliged to step over them.

In the year 1800 occurred Captain Bainbridge's curious experience while in command of the United States frigate George Washington. While in the port of Algiers, he was forced by the Dey to receive on board, under pain of a declaration of war and immediate capture of our vessels then trading to the Mediterranean, the tribute from the Dey to the sultan, and to carry it to Constantinople. The Algerine Minister of Marine and his suite, and two hundred other passengers, were also to be taken, and vengeance threatened if any harm came to them or to the tribute. The captain's pendant was hauled down, and the Algerine flag hoisted at the main, in its place. An English man-of-war of twenty-four guns was in Algiers, and offered to carry the

tribute to Constantinople; but this was refused, because the Dey did not choose to place himself under obligations to the English. Bainbridge had no alternative but compliance or war; but he declared that he would not accede to such a demand voluntarily. The consul was to make requisition on behalf of the United States Government for the use of the ship. The consul, Mr. O'Brien, urged that it would preserve our merchant vessels from capture, that the tribute had frequently been conveyed by men-of-war of other nations, and moreover, situated as the United States was, with no money, no credit, and no squadron at hand, it was the opinion of the consul that there was nothing for it but to acquiesce in the demand, and that in so doing the captain would be acting for the best in the interests of the citizens of the United States.

That distinguished and gallant officer was in a most unenviable position, the Dey having, like a relentless barbarian as he was, said to the captain, "Your people pay me tribute, by which you become my slaves. I have, therefore, a right to order you as I may think proper." Thus this whole trouble arose from our policy of purchasing peace.

The behavior of Captain Bainbridge in this unexpected dilemma was not blamed by the thoughtful part of the community. It was a great humiliation, however. "Unexpected and immediate evils do not admit of provision, and nothing is wrong which is necessary," was remarked by a writer upon the subject. "Upon the whole, no evil which was leveled at the United States made so melancholy an impression as this single adventure."

The ship had a passage of twenty-one days to Constantinople, through a difficult navigation, new to the Americans, whose flag had never before been seen there. So ignorant were the Turks of the Americans as a people, that it was with some difficulty they explained to inquirers who they were. They were treated, however, with due respect; much more so than the embassy which they carried, for the sultan being displeased with the Dey, his presents were rejected, and his general of marine refused an audience. The offense of the Dey was that he had concluded peace with France at the time when the sultan and the English were carrying on war against that nation in Egypt.

The Capudan Pasha, who received the letter of the Dey on the part of the sultan, tore it up, spat upon it, and trampled it under his feet; and the American frigate bore back to Algiers positive orders to declare war with France at once. The Dey was also heavily fined.

Bainbridge was desired to haul down the Algerine flag at his main

and hoist his own pendant again, and received every attention. Upon his return to Algiers again, Bainbridge had another curious complication to encounter. War had at once been declared against France by the Dey, at the instigation of the sultan, and the French consul and citizens had to leave Algiers forthwith. No other conveyance offering, Bainbridge had to take them on board, as an act of humanity, and he landed them at Alicante. At this very time American men-of-war were cruising against France, and making prisoners of French subjects.

For this disinterested act, by which he rescued many helpless people from a dungeon, and from probable torture and death, Captain Bainbridge received the warm thanks of Bonaparte, by that time First Consul.

While the negotiations were in progress, the Dey again demanded the George Washington, for the purpose of carrying his fine to the sultan; but Bainbridge had, this time, taken the precaution to anchor out of reach of the batteries, and successfully resisted the demand. He had an interview with the Dey, however, in which the latter became so furious that, surrounded as he was by his Janissary guard, it would have fared ill with the captain if he had not thought of exhibiting a protective firman which had been given him by the Porte, at sight of which the Dey became quite another person, and allowed him to depart quietly with the French prisoners.

In 1815, as soon as our war with England was over, a squadron was promptly dispatched, under Commodore Decatur, to put a period to the insolence and violence of the Algerines.

War was declared against them in March, and was most honorably terminated in four months. Decatur encountered an Algerine squadron on the Spanish coast, near Cartagena, and attacking them vigorously, captured a frigate and a gun-brig, the Algerine admiral being killed during the action. Decatur then at once appeared before Algiers, where he forced the Dey to surrender all American prisoners and to definitely resign all claim to tribute. The Dey was constrained to this course by the fact that the whole of his remaining naval force was at sea, and would most infallibly, upon their return from cruising, fall into the hands of the Americans unless Decatur's demands were fully and quickly complied with.

This spirited course, and its excellent result, shamed the European nations who had allowed this nuisance so long to exist at their very doors, and really initiated a very different treatment of these corsairs and their claims.

With Decatur appeared upon the scene a person who may be called

a model consul, William Shaler. Of uncommon coolness and discretion, with plenty of firmness, but with conciliating manners, he was a man who made good use of his eyes and brain, as a consequence of which he has left us a very valuable work upon Algiers, in which, among other notable things, he pointed out the true mode and point of attack upon the city, which plan, as we shall see, was implicity followed by the French, some years afterwards.

This gentleman, William Shaler, was born in Connecticut, in 1778, and in 1810 was appointed "agent for seamen and commerce in the port of Vera Cruz, and all other ports in the said province (Mexico)." This was done because, just at that time, the first reactionary ferment was occurring, under the influence of the priesthood, in that country, and, although the commerce between the United States and Mexico rendered the establishment of a consul there of considerable importance, it was thought at our State Department "that the authorities thereof might possibly refuse to give a public recognition and character to a consul of the United States;" so it was "thought proper and suitable, under the circumstances, to vest in Mr. Shaler the above title."

Mr. Shaler did so well in his somewhat anomalous position that he was transferred to another post requiring still more discretion and ability, Algiers, to which he was accredited consul-general in April, 1815. He was also named joint commissioner to conclude a peace with Algiers,—Decatur being his associate,—the result of their mission being the treaty of peace and amity concluded the same year.

In 1816 he and Commodore Chauncey were commissioners to settle subsisting differences, and to make some alterations in the treaty of the year before.

Mr. Shaler remained at Algiers fourteen years. He finally resigned his post, came home, and was at once appointed consul at the Havana, where he died during the cholera epidemic of 1833.

In the year after Shaler's arrival at Algiers occurred the celebrated bombardment by the fleet under Lord Exmouth, of which Mr. Shaler gives a graphic description, as seen from the flat roof, or terrace, of his house, in the upper part of the town, which house itself did not escape unscathed, as five shells burst within its walls.

Although the Americans had won from the Dey, in the preceding year, the abandonment of slavery as it referred to our own countrymen, nothing new had been effected as to Europeans, and it was reserved for an event in the partition of Europe, following on the general peace, to bring about the abolition of Christian slavery. By consent of the great powers England had assumed the protectorate of

the Ionian Islands, and she at once made a demand upon the Barbary States for the liberation of all Ionian slaves held by them; Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli all positively refused to comply, and Lord Exmouth was ordered to use force to compel them to do so. No doubt the success of the Americans in the previous year had due weight in determining this action.

Lord Exmouth, formerly Captain Sir Edward Pellew, had not then, perhaps never had, in all the long list of English naval heroes, his superior for nautical science, skill in maneuvers, coolness, courage, decision, and resource. He left England with a powerful fleet, meeting by chance at Gibraltar a strong Dutch squadron, the commander of which urgently requested to be allowed to take part in the operations against the Moors. Exmouth consented, and the combined force reached Algiers Bay on August 27, 1816, going into close action with the Algerine fleet and numerous batteries at 2 P. M., and sustaining a terrible fire until eleven o'clock at night. The Algerine batteries were dismantled, and most of their fleet either sunk or burned at their moorings, with a loss which was reported at seven thousand. The English loss, killed and wounded, was eight hundred and eighteen, and that of the Dutch sixty-five.

The Dey was forced to submit unconditionally, to liberate twelve hundred captives on the spot, and to formally renounce Christian slavery forever. The English consul, who, upon the appearance of the fleet, had been loaded with chains and placed in a dungeon, was restored to his place and office with all formality. At this period it was not unusual for the Dey to imprison the consuls of tributary States, especially those of the Hanse towns and other smaller powers, when anything in their conduct displeased him, or the tribute failed to arrive in time. Shaler was exempt from this treatment, but had to act at all times with great firmness and circumspection. Custom had established that upon the presentation of a consul a present to the amount of about seventeen thousand dollars had to be offered. Consuls were not received without it, and no satisfaction was expressed at its reception, frequently the reverse; and the wish was frequently expressed by the Dey that consuls should be often relieved.

Shaler, although so long there, seems to have escaped insult or danger on every occasion, and to have won the sincere respect of the Dey and his advisers. Thus, when, in 1819, the French and English sent a combined fleet, and signified that they would permit no more cruising against any Christian power, strong or weak, our consul seems to have been consulted, and by his advice caused the Dey to reconsider his first reply, which was a positive refusal to be dictated

to in the matter, urging that the right of Algiers thus to cruise "had been recognized by solemn treaties during a succession of ages."

They were fast recovering from the lesson given them by Lord Exmouth. About the year 1820 the French consul undertook to remonstrate with the Dey in regard to his interference with the coral fishery, whereupon the consul was ordered to quit Algiers forthwith, and was only allowed to remain upon the payment of a large sum of money to soothe the ruler's outraged dignity.

In 1823 a very serious trouble arose, in which Mr. Shaler bore a conspicuous and honorable part. The Kabyles, a mountain tribe of the Atlas, had revolted against the oppression of the Dey. Many of these people were employed in the city, where they were much liked, especially by the foreign residents, for their industry, cleanliness, and faithfulness. One of the first steps of the Dey was to treat as prisoners of war and hostages these inoffensive and industrious servants, who had nothing to do with their wild countrymen's revolt. The foreign consuls, among others, received peremptory commands to deliver up those in their employ, to which the English and American consuls returned a positive refusal to give up those members of their households who were, by all international law and custom, entitled to their protection. The French consul surmounted the difficulty by discharging his Kabyle servants and telling them to shift for themselves. The order was reiterated, and again the English-speaking consuls declined to obey it. Upon this the British consulate was forced—seals which had been placed upon the doors being broken—and the house searched, even the ladies' apartments—a great insult in a Mussulman country—and the Kabyle servants taken away and placed in chains at hard labor.

The Dutch consul and Mr. Shaler, who now alone stood out against the order, were unmolested, but received vague threats. Protests were made by all the consuls, but without effect. About this time a Spanish vessel, prize to a corsair, arrived in the harbor. The British consul protested again, this time against the reduction of her crew to slavery, as being contrary to recent compacts. The Dey replied that the Spaniards were already slaves, and that, from January 27, 1824, "Christian slavery began anew in Algiers." What was to be done with such people except to wipe them off the face of the earth? By this time the Dey had become so incensed against the English consul that his usefulness was gone and his person in danger. He therefore took his departure, with his family, in the English frigate Naiad, recommending to Shaler's protection the British interests, his houses in town and country, and the effects

he was obliged to leave behind him. The arms and flag of the United States were placed over them, the Bashaw saying that Shaler was the only person he would permit to assume such protective duty.

During these long and troubled negotiations, the British and French officers who were admitted to the presence of the Bashaw were not allowed to wear their side-arms, while Shaler was permitted to introduce the American officers wearing their swords as usual.

The Naiad, when leaving the port with the consul, encountered in the offing a small corsair, returning from the cruise, which she captured, and, after making prisoners of her crew, towed her in and anchored her in the bay. After this mild act of reprisal the English frigate finally sailed away.

Admiral Sir Henry Neale soon after appeared upon the scene in his flag-ship, and by him negotiations were opened again with the Dey, who conceded all the English asked, except that he positively refused to again receive the English consul, McDonnell, or to allow the English flag to be hoisted over the consulate. Upon this ensued a blockade by the English fleet, of much the same tame nature as Admiral Neale's negotiations, the blockade finally drifting into a state of positive warfare, in the shape of the occasional interchange of shot between the blockaders and the batteries.

This languid state of hostilities continued from March until July, when Sir Henry Neale, probably finding the weather too warm for remaining any longer, agreed to precisely the terms offered by the Dey five months before, and a pro-consul was appointed.

During all these troubles Mr. Shaler was very prominent, acting for the interest of all concerned; and for his usefulness on this, as well as on several other occasions, received the thanks of more than one crowned head. The commander of our squadron in the Mediterranean, among the vessels of which we find the familiar names of Erie, Ontario, Cyane, and Nonsuch, had detailed Mr. Pleasanton, a midshipman, to remain with Mr. Shaler as secretary and aide, so much had his duties increased.

This occasion appears to have been the last upon which the Dey formally arrayed himself against any of the great powers, although the piracies of his subjects continued to some extent, as they captured Italian vessels in 1826, and even penetrated, once or twice, into the North Sea, in their depredations upon the commerce of the smaller northern states. In May, 1817, two Moorish pirates took an Oldenburg vessel off the Gallopper Shoal, in the North Sea.

At last "the audacity which had stood her in good stead during

three centuries ceased to be luck, and became madness." The French were provoked beyond bearing by the ruffianly conduct of Hussein, who was destined to be the last Dey, or Bashaw, as they were most commonly named during the last century of their power.

This final quarrel dated from the year 1826, but the domestic difficulties of France, and the unpopularity of Polignac and his colleagues in the cabinet of Charles X., caused retribution to be slow and subordinated to political exigencies in Europe.

The immediate and ostensible cause of the final quarrel with the French was a debt owing to Busnach and Bachri, two bankers of Algiers, who really represented the Dey, as he was their creditor. The money was represented to be due for corn exported from Algiers to France, during a period of scarcity, many years before. In 1826, Hussein had written to Charles X. demanding payment of the sum in no measured terms. Deval, the French consul, who was personally disliked by the Dey, on presenting himself, as was customary, to felicitate Hussein on the festival of Bairam, took occasion during the interview to remonstrate with the potentate about a recent seizure by one of his corsairs of a vessel under the Papal flag. Hussein, with much irritation, told him that instead of meddling in matters which did not concern him he had better see that he (the Dey) got an answer from the king, and that the money was speedily forthcoming, otherwise he should clap him (the consul) into prison.

Deval, in reply, threatened the Dey with the indignation of his government, when Hussein, entirely losing temper, struck him in the face with his feather fly-fan.

The consul rose, and said, "It is not to me, but to the king of France that the insult is offered!" The Dey ordered him at once to leave his presence, saying that "he feared the king of France as little as he did his representative."

As already stated, the state of things in France gave rise to divided counsels, and the only immediate retaliation for this insult was an inefficient blockade by a French squadron, which continued until 1829, with little real damage to the Algerines, but with serious loss to the French—two of their men-of-war being stranded during gales and the crews murdered by the Moors. In 1829 demands, couched in very moderate terms, were again made by the French for satisfaction for the outrage upon Deval. These were not only peremptorily refused by the Dey, but the Provence, the line-of-battle ship which bore away the French envoy, was fired upon from the batteries as she got under way to leave the harbor.

This was the last straw! All parties in France were so outraged

by the Dey's conduct as to forget their intrigues and rivalries, and a formidable expedition was resolved upon. This expedition left France in the early summer of 1830, so as to take advantage of Andrew Doria's two ports—June and July.

A fleet of no less than one hundred and four sail of all descriptions, commanded by Vice-Admiral Duperré, conveyed a formidable and completely appointed land force under General Count de Bourmont. Twice they attempted to land to the eastward of Algiers, and twice gave up the attempt, finally anchoring in the bay of Sidi Feruch, to the westward of Algiers. Here they landed the troops on the sandy dunes with only trifling resistance. On the 19th of June the whole force had advanced to Staoüeli, where the principal fight was had with the Moors. Easily overcoming and brushing away the force of their enemies, the French occupied the Fort of the Emperor, the point commanding the city, on July 3, while the men-of-war appeared in front of the town prepared to co-operate.

At last the hyena was trapped! On the 5th of July the French colors—the white flag with the fleur-de-lis, so soon to be abandoned—floated over the Kasbah, when treasure in coin and ingots to the amount of five millions of dollars was secured, beside much other valuable material. Hussein and his family, among whom were fifty-five women, were allowed to embark for Naples, afterwards going to Cairo, where he was well received.

The Janissaries, to the nuber of about two thousand five hundred, were sent to Smyrna, only those who had married in the country being allowed to remain.

In considering the final extinguishment of this government of free-booters, it is to be remarked how completely the French were governed in their course by the views expressed by Shaler in his "Sketches of Algiers." Indeed, the more liberal-minded of French writers upon the subject give him full credit for the suggestions which led to their easy success, after so many and such lamentable failures by former expeditions.

Seguin, after remarking that there was an Arab tradition that, at a time when all Europe was at peace, the Christians would enter Algiers by way of Sidi Feruch, says, "It is remarkable that the exact plan of the French campaign had been laid out, correct in every particular, by Mr. Shaler, the American consul, in his 'Sketches of Algiers,' written years before."

Shaler himself says, "The several expeditions against Algiers, where land forces have been employed, have landed in the bay eastward of the city, which evidences an unpardonable ignorance of the

coast and topography of the country, for all means of defense are concentrated there. But it is obvious that any force whatever might be landed in the fine bay of Sidi Feruch without opposition, whence, by a single march, they might arrive upon the heights which command the Castle del Emperador, when, as nothing could prevent an approach to the foot of the walls, they might either be scaled or breached in a very short time. This position being mastered, batteries might be established on a height commanding the city, where are the ruins of a fortress which is called the Star, and which the jealous fears of this government caused to be destroyed, for the reason that it commanded the citadel, and consequently the city. The fleet which had landed the troops would by this time appear in the bay to distract their attention, when Algiers must either surrender at discretion or be taken by storm."

Seguin adds, "Were the tenses of this paragraph altered, it would absolutely describe the tactics of the French invading army. Indeed, it is admitted by French writers upon the French conquest that their best information on the subject of Algeria was derived from Mr. Shaler's work."

Shaler further remarks, "Moreover, the cost of the conquest need not deter any nation, for the war material existing in the capital, together with the public treasury, the fruits of three centuries of depredation on the trade of the world, which has been rated as high as fifty millions of dollars, would naturally, in such an event, become the property of the conqueror, and in all probability equal the expenses of the conquest."

This prediction of our clear-headed countryman was also, as we have seen, to some extent fulfilled. At the period of the French conquest Christian powers were actually paying to Algiers, under the names of "presents," a tribute which has been estimated as high as one hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Portugal paid as much as forty-four thousand dollars a year as a consular present; Spain paid twenty-four thousand dollars at each change of consul, and had had three consuls there in ten years; England and the United States made consular presents amounting to about three thousand dollars a year. Some of the northern nations still paid in kind, furnishing spars, tar, and other naval stores as their present.

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OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

AN analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the most important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. The Japanese Army.—*Int. Rev. Beih.* 51.
2. Mobilization of Russian Troops.—*Rev. du Cerc. Mil.*, Feb. 20.
3. The British Army and the Reform of the Militia.—*Natl. Serv. Jour.*, April.
4. The French Naval Budget for 1904.—*Mar. Rund.*, March.
5. The Canadian Militia.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, March 26.
6. New Army Scheme.—*Mil. Mail*, March 4.
7. Change in the World's Armies and Navies.—*Int. Rev.*, March, April; *Mar. Rund.*, Jan., Feb., March.

The *first* of these articles is a very complete and accurate account of the organization of the army of Japan, including its peace and war strengths. According to this the *peace* strength of the army is 7,100 officers and 133,500 men; the *war* strength 13,000 officers, 350,000 men, 1,116 guns and 82,500 horses. The island of Formosa has its own garrison of twelve battalions, three squadrons and three mountain batteries. The *new* formations include a telegraph battalion, two machine gun batteries, a cyclist detachment, and a balloon section. The military schools are excellent and the War College at Tokio is modelled after the great Berlin school. The schools have generally been conducted by German officers during the past nine years, and the highest, the War College, has had the benefit of such instructors as General von Meckel, the well-known German authority on tactics.

The *third* article is an interesting commentary on the present British army, by Colonel Camille Favre of Genoa:

"The military question in England is extremely complicated, more so than anywhere else. The South African war has shown the necessity of reform, and something has already been done in this direction. But public opinion which has hitherto remained uninterested in these problems, has not yet come to any conclusion, and it seems probable

that unless unforeseen events occur it will require some little time before it is thoroughly enlightened on the subject.

"As is natural, the navy holds the first place in the solicitude of the country. This navy has been considerably increased, and in future it will be necessary to create far larger reserves of men than those which are at present furnished by a purely voluntary engagement.

"The army, though small for so great an empire, cannot be increased beyond its present numbers. The limits of its effective strength are narrowly defined by the natural results of recruiting, which are only just enough to maintain it, and also by the financial question; for a soldier costs more in England than in any other country. Besides, if one were to increase the numbers, there would be the fear lest such increase might injure recruiting for the navy, which must hold the first place in order to insure the dominion of the sea as well as the protection of the colonies and the defence of the British coasts.

"Nevertheless, granted the paramount importance of the navy, it is necessary, as the South African war has shown, that England should be able to dispose of a certain armed force of troops independent of foreign garrisons and of the Indian army.

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"The militia proper, which stands, so to speak, half-way between the regular army and the volunteers, has a glorious past. In the recent war it replaced the majority of the regular garrisons in the West, thus setting free a corresponding number of units for active service. Besides that, more than thirty battalions were, with their own consent, sent to South Africa, and played a most useful part there, both at the front and on the lines of communication. Unfortunately, the militia is not numerous; even when complete it will only number about 100,000 men at the most. It is, therefore, insufficient for the defence of England.

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"One of the difficulties which form part of the problem certainly arises from the existence of the Militia, which it would be necessary to amalgamate with the volunteers in order to form a real army for home defence. As we have said above, the Militia is an excellent body, and it can well be understood that there is considerable hesitation about sacrificing it in favor of the unknown which is inherent in every new régime."

The *fifth* article is of some interest to us, as illustrating the development of our neighbor, Canada, in military strength:

"The new establishment of the Canadian militia has now been approved, and the plan for providing the Dominion with an effective military force, elaborated by Lord Dundonald and Sir Frederick Borden, has already made substantial progress. The idea is that Canada shall have a militia consisting of 100,000 men, and recently we stated that about forty per cent. of the whole would probably be enrolled and trained. The details are now known. The total strength on this basis will be 4,924 officers and 42,334 non-commissioned officers and men, being a total of 47,258, giving an aggregate increase on a peace footing of 4,496. The following are the details of the organization:

New Establishments:	Officers.	N. C. O.'s and Men.
Field Artillery	152	1,860
Cavalry	599	4,607
Garrison Artillery	221	2,125
Engineers	36	732
Infantry	3,781	31,476
Army Service Corps	40	808
Bearer Companies	27	312
Field Hospitals	24	342
Signaling Corps	18	72
Corps of Guides	—	25

"It will be understood that this establishment is only the permanent nucleus of a much larger force, which it is hoped to make effective. We observe that the figures do not quite agree with the totals to which publicity has been given.

"Lord Dundonald hoped that, when the Dominion Parliament met, it would be found that 100,000 men of the militia now on paper would be made a reality, that the artillery would be rendered perfect, and that adequate reserves of guns and ammunition would be provided. The bill is now before the Dominion House of Commons. As we have already explained, much importance is attached to the great central camp of instruction, 20,000 or 30,000 acres in extent, at which selected officers and men may be trained under service conditions.

The *sixth* article is the further Report of the War Office Reconstruction Committee, from which we quote a few extracts:

"His Majesty's government, having approved of the establishment of an Army Council, and having appointed the members, we consider that it is desirable to explain in general terms their duties and responsibilities.

"2. One of the principal objects we have kept in view is to prevent the crystalization in the War Office of narrow habits of thought, or of obsolete methods. This object can best be achieved by a con-

stant infusion of new blood into the main arteries of the administrative branches of the office. We urge, therefore, that four years should be the maximum period during which an officer can hold the position of a military member of the Army Council. He should then return to active employment on the Staff, or in command, for at least one year before he is re-employed in the office. The military members of the Army Council should realize that the changes which they propose, and the rules which they devise, will affect themselves as well as others, and that they will profit or suffer according as their administration is prudent or unwise.

"3. We urge strongly that this rule of sending back officers to active employment for one year after four years should be enforced throughout the Military Staff of the War Office. This is the only method by which constant touch can be maintained between the administrator and the administered, and effective sympathy established between the War Office and the army. The period of four years, which has been laid down for certain commands, should, as far as possible, be made universal.

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"No proposals for the reconstruction of the War Office can lead to permanent improvement in administration unless they include a large and real measure of decentralization.

"2. The business which requires to be transacted with smoothness and despatch has increased enormously in volume and complication. In 1871 army estimates amounted to £12,975,000; in the present financial year, the total sum administered is £34,500,000. During this period the number and the complexity of the requirements of the military forces and the strength of the latter have also grown immensely.

"3. It is not too much to say that there has been no serious attempt to grapple with the vast increase of business by the introduction of improved methods. As pointed out in Part I., Section I., Chapter 6 of our report, 'there has been nothing of the nature of organic change in the system of War Office administration' since the partial reconstruction effected as a result of the painful experiences of the Crimean War. The personnel of this Deparement of State has been largely expanded; the system remains, and the result has been congestion on the one hand, and overwork entailing neglect of, or mistakes in, dealing with questions of policy on the other hand.

"4. In accordance with the proposals of the Dawkins Committee, increased powers have been conferred upon army corps commanders; but we are informed that, in consequence of the restrictions imposed,

the decentralization thus effected has been more apparent than real. At least it seems clear that the War Office has been little if at all relieved, and its personnel has not only not been reduced, but still tends to increase.

"5. The natural results of an inordinately centralized system have been the destruction of initiative throughout the army. Officers have been brought up in peace time to refer everything to superior authority, and to shun the responsibility of taking action. Remarkable instances of the prevailing reluctance to assume responsibility in regard to trivial matters have come to our notice. The army is tied and bound in the toils of excessively complex and minute regulations drawn up without any regard to the essential requirements of modern war, and needing expert interpretation.

"6. It seems to have been expected that officers would be able to emancipate themselves from the effects of their peace training as soon as they took the field. Such expectations could not be realized, and while in many cases the difficulty of suddenly assuming an unaccustomed independence of thought and action has naturally manifested itself, there have been other cases in which the abrupt breakdown of regulations held sacred in peace time has led, in war, to the adoption of improvised methods less orderly than is desirable.

"7. We are absolutely convinced that if the army is to be trained to exercise the initiative and the independence of judgment which are essential in the field, its peace administration must be effectively decentralized. The object should be to encourage the assumption of responsibility as far as possible."

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. Simplification of Infantry Drill Regulations.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, Feb. 27.

2. The Education of Army Officers.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, April.

3. The Gymnastic Training of Recruits.—*Same.*

4. The British Naval Maneuvers in the Atlantic, August, 1903.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.

The *first* of these is an article based on the efforts of Colonel Fumet, director of studies at the War College, to simplify the movements in the infantry drill regulations. It is particularly important at the present time, when there is such a strong movement on foot to reduce the term of service in the Army to two years.

The *second* relates to a subject greatly interesting Great Britain since the recent war:

"How does the case stand to-day? On the one hand, we see the

Navy with their usual practical sagacity, taking carefully selected boys of twelve to thirteen years of age, subjecting them to a medical examination first, closely followed by a simple common-sense test of their educational grounding, and then sending them off to their school at Osborne to be there trained up step by step, under strict discipline, as professional naval officers. During the most impressionable years of their lives, those boys are continuously breathing a naval atmosphere, becoming imbued with naval instincts and traditions, having their characters built up morally and intellectually, and their physique developed; so that they are ready-made officers, in the fullest sense of the word, by the time they join their first ships.

"The excellent result of that training is proved by the universally acknowledged fact that British Naval officers are incomparable. It has been repeatedly proved by the past history of the nation, and it will be proved again and again whenever we are engaged in war.

"On the other hand, we see totally different methods pursued by the vacillating, unready War Office, that recognized plaything of party politicians, which alters its rules and regulations almost as often as it changes the uniform of its officers, and to as little purpose.

"It should be borne in mind that our much-vaunted system of officering the Army by means of open competition, was not introduced —even ostensibly—for the sole purpose of improving the military efficiency of our officers; but for political reasons, that the Government of the day might gain a fictitious popularity by opening the commissioned ranks to all classes, and so democratizing the Army. The Admiralty stood firm and declined to approve of such an uncalled-for change, which they wisely foresaw would act prejudicially on the whole force under their control, and the naval lieutenant is now—as indeed he always was—worth his weight in gold.

"Lord Wolseley was the right-hand man of the Secretary of State at that time, and must have approved of the change; but his Lordship's subsequent condemnation of that, and other changes of the same date, which we find referred to in this issue of this Magazine for August, 1900, shows clearly that broad-minded soldier saw the evils resulting from such unwise legislation.

"It would be very difficult, if not impossible, for any one to prove what advantages the country has gained during the past forty-two years from the competitive system, which operates, not by the selection of the best material, but by the rejection of the superflous aspirants in excess of actual requirements. But we do know for certain that it has not given us a body of officers who are one whit more devoted to their profession, more frugal or more industrious than their

predecessors; we also know that a more extravagant style of living has been introduced by the new-comers, which is not working for the good of the Army, and we further know, what is much worse, that the physical standard of our officers has been lowered, as can be seen from the official returns of invalids during the war in South Africa, and that we have many now in the commissioned ranks who are neither liked nor respected by their men, and who ought not to be holding such positions.

"It is not necessary for the good of the Army that the officers should be men of means, but it is absolutely essential that they should be born gentlemen."

The *third* article has some application to other services besides the British:

"When a man enlists in His Majesty's Service, whether he becomes a cavalryman or an infantryman, he goes back, as it were, to the beginning of things, and whatever he may have known, or fancied he knew before his enlistment, becomes of no avail, and he has to be taught his new profession from its very beginning. If he has joined the infantry, he is at once put to drill on the 'square,' morning and afternoon, besides going to the regimental school, doing fatigues, and generally learning the business of soldiering. The cavalry recruit does all the above, and in addition goes to riding school, learns to groom and take care of a horse and saddle, besides being taught something, if only a very little, about the nature and simple ailments of the animal he attempts to ride. All this makes the recruit's day a pretty busy one, and there is not very much spare time in which to amuse himself after he has done his work and cleaned his kit for the morrow. But into the midst of all this teaching comes another and most important course of instruction. It is the recruit's course of gymnastics. This course lasts for three months—one might almost say, is scattered over three months—in lessons of one hour per diem when the recruit can be spared from his other multifarious duties. The lessons, in most stations, are held about eleven o'clock in the morning, a time when the recruit is probably beginning to feel somewhat tired, having been kept pretty well on the run since dawn. The instruction is generally in the hands of qualified gymnastic instructors who have been through the long course of gymnastics, and who are consequently well-developed men and generally in hard condition.

"In the gymnasium the recruit is drilled more strictly than anywhere else, riding-school not excepted, and is made to 'jump' to the word of command in a manner that is never dreamed of on the 'square.' He begins his gymnastic instruction by being taught how to stand

properly, march properly, and 'double' properly. Even in these simple exercises many, hitherto almost unused, muscles are brought into play, as the recruit finds out to his cost the next morning when he gets out of bed. He is stiff and sore in the thigh, calf, and instep, and continues to be so for some days till the muscles become harder and more accustomed to the exercises.

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"In the gymnasium the greatest care is taken not to over-tire any one, the principle being that work done when a man is tired does not do him good, but does do him harm. It only disheartens him—he cannot do it properly, and in endeavoring to so do it he may strain himself severely.

"Would it not be much better if all recruits were handed over to the gymnasium entirely for the first three months of their service, and were made to go through a really good course of gymnastics, beginning as has been described above, so as to strengthen and fill them out as well as to set them up and make men of them?

"Then, having been more fully set up and developed than is possible at present, they would be quite fit to take their place at riding-school and foot-drill, as they would have been taught a certain amount of drill in the gymnasium, and would be much more fitted to bear arms and be taught to ride than they are now. There is nothing like a gymnasium for improving men's nerve and confidence in themselves, as they are brought on gently and allowed to 'feel their feet,' as it were, gradually, without in the smallest degree being allowed to shirk the work.

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"Of course this would mean more gymnasia and more instructors all over England, and not only all over England but wherever British troops are stationed, but surely it would be worth doing. The extra expense entailed would not be very great, and the benefit to the men would be enormous.

"Besides, it would not delay the recruit in his training, as he would be more fitted to receive instruction, and so get on quicker afterwards, from having had a thoroughly good grounding to start with.

"By 'handing the recruit over to the gymnasium,' it is meant that he should do perhaps three or four hours of gymnastics and drill in the gymnasium per diem, and then he would be at liberty to attend schools and lectures when he came away. But he should be set to do

no other drill or fatigues of any sort, or even guards, during his first three months of service.

"This could the more easily be done if recruits were all enlisted at a specified time in the year, as perhaps may soon be brought about."

The *fourth* article is an excellent account of last year's British naval maneuvers, discussed and explained in the most interesting way.

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. The Eastern War.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, Feb. 20-April 2; *Army and Navy Gaz.*, Feb. 27-April 2; *Military Mail*, Feb. 26-April 1; *Natl. Serv. Jour.*, April; *Mar. Rund., Beih.* 1-5; *Jour Arty.*, March-April.

2. Are Declarations of War Necessary To-day?—*Mar. Rund.*, March.

3. The Control of the Pacific Route.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, April.

4. The Evolution of Modern Strategy.—*Same.*

5. The Capture of Havannah.—*Same.*

6. Success in Battles.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 61.

7. Importance of the Enveloping Movement in Battle.—*Same.*

8. The Attack and Defence of Fortifications and the Engineers (Pioneers).—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 3.

9. Separate Use of *Single* Rapid-Fire Guns in Battle.—*Same.*

10. The Portuguese Troops in the Franco-Spanish War (1793-1795).—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, March 26, April 2.

11. The New Gun and Artillery Tactics.—*Army and Navy Gaz.*, March 26.

The *first* of these is a series of articles on the present war in the Far East, by far the most connected and satisfactory of which are those in the *Beihefte* of the *Marine Rundschau.* The latter has also begun in the magazine itself a complete history of the war. The accounts in the other journals are, however, very good and evidently written by military authorities.

We have made free use of these articles in our attempt to analyze the strategy and tactics of the war, and have space here for only one or two extracts to illustrate the scope and character of the articles, *first,* in the *Military Mail, secondly,* in the *Army and Navy Gazette:*

"We are gradually learning more of the plans of the rival forces for the land campaign. As I surmised would be the case, Japan is rapidly preparing for vigorous offensive action in Northern Korea. She has landed an Army Corps at Chemulpo, and has rapidly hurried her troops forward to Seoul, which is now her base. Losing no time,

she is pushing forward scouting parties towards the Yalu, and as the Russian outposts are known to be considerably to the south of that river, collision, on a small scale, between the two armies may be expected at any moment. Both powers seem to realize to the full the extreme strategic importance of Northern Korea, and some heavy fighting is likely to take place for the possession of it. It is unlikely in the extreme, however, that anything in the nature of a general action can take place before the end of March at the very earliest. It is clearly to the advantage of Japan, however, to force on a decisive fight at the earliest possible moment, for every day, according to most reliable information, Russia is adding to her forces on the banks of the Yalu.

"Russia, on the other hand, is well content to play a waiting game. The decision of Admiral Alexieff to make his base at Harbin, instead of at Port Arthur, is in every way a wise one, and gives to Russia an advantage that she would not otherwise have possessed. It is, however, a great confession of weakness and an admission that Russia has lost the command of the sea. It is asserted from St. Petersburg that Russia will disregard the Japanese advance through Northern Korea and will pursue steadfastly her policy of massing a vast army—probably the greatest that the world has ever seen assembled under arms—at Harbin, and then, when she is ready to strike, she will move forward into Korea and sweep the Japs back by sheer weight of numbers. This means that it will be towards the end of the summer before the real Russian advance begins, and by that time much water will have flowed down the Yalu.

"It reads like an effective scheme on paper, but how far a restless and enterprising foe, such as Japan is proving herself to be, will permit of its being carried into execution remains to be seen. I am strongly of the opinion that by her harassing tactics Japan will compel the Russian army to take the field against her whether she is really prepared or not. The appointment, too, of General Kuropatkin to take chief command of the Russian military forces seems to point to the fact that the Russians will not for long be content to act as a 'passive resister' to her enemy's efforts to force her to fight. The whole career of General Kuropatkin proves that the key-note of his character is impetuosity, which has at times bordered upon recklessness. Let Japan gain one or two successes, and the Russian army at the Yalu be driven back on to its main body, and it will be difficult in the extreme to compel the Russian Commander-in-Chief to remain inactive and without attempting to strike a blow in return.

"What Japan's real plan of campaign is, is very difficult to fore-

tell at the moment. That it includes at the present the invasion of Manchuria is by no means certain. It is probable that efforts will be made to land a force somewhere in the neighborhood of Port Arthur, in order to complete the investment of that port from the landward side, but it is not clear what Japan would have to gain by a general advance against Harbin. What is much more likely to happen is that Japan will send her main body forward to seize and hold Northern Korea, and to drive the Russian forces back across the Yalu, while she lays siege to Port Arthur. Her object will be to keep the Russian army ever on the 'qui vive' by threatening a descent on its main portion from a dozen different points."—*Mil. Mail,* Feb. 26.

"The military operations of the Far Eastern campaign do not develop with the rapidity that was anticipated by some untrained observers, who do not realize the extraordinary difficulty of disembarking and moving a vast army in such a country. The Japanese fleet struck a sudden and unexpected blow, which appears to have surprised the Japanese themselves, and which it would seem has completely paralyzed the main body of the Russian naval forces. We shall not enter here into the causes of that extraordinary naval collapse, nor discuss the many failures in the Russian preparations which call for explanation. The sea supremacy the Japanese have won has completely altered the strategical conditions of the campaign. They are now free to move their troops wherever climatic and local conditions may render it desirable or possible to disembark them. There is thus a threat which must materially influence the distribution of the Russian forces. Moreover, the naval supremacy of the Japanese has made it impossible for the Russians to advance in force from the Yalu. It was anticipated that Ping Yang would be the battle ground in the northern part of the Korean peninsula, but the Japanese, having landed at Chemulpo and occupied Seoul, advanced to that place and occupied it, moving their naval base forward to Chinampo. A Russian advance against Ping Yang would have been threatened by a flank attack from the sea, and, if the Japanese should land further north, as they assuredly will, the situation of a Russian force in the vicinity of Ping Yang would be perilous. It seems probable, in the same way, that no serious fighting will take place between the Yalu and Liao Yang, which is the point whence the road crossing the Mo-tien-ling Pass strikes south-eastward to Antung. The southern coast of Manchuria is very shoal, but it is still feasible for the Japanese to land in the vicinity of Ta-tung-kau or Takushan, and thus to threaten the Russian communications upon that road. Again, when the ice melts further north they can land at Niuchwang on the other side of the pe-

ninsula, and advance along the railway towards Liao-yang. These considerations seem to suggest that no great resistance will be encountered by the Japanese south of that place, or perhaps of Mukden." —*Army and Navy Gazette,* March 12.

The *second* one takes up an important question in International Law arising out of the present war. The article is a well considered one, tracing the history of the subject from the early days of civilized war in Europe.

The *third* is an article of great importance to all the great nations, but especially to ourselves:

"Those who have studied the course of the trade-distribution of the world, are fully cognizant of the effect of the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1870, 486 vessels passed through, of a tonnage of 436,609. In 1890, 3,425 vessels of a tonnage of 6,783,187, seventy-seven per cent. of which was British. In 1898, 3,503 vessels of a total tonnage of 9,238,603, sixty-eight per cent. of which was British—and it is instructive to note here that while the percentage tonnage had shrunk by nine, the total British tonnage between 1890 and 1898 had increased by considerably over a million tons!

"The protection of every British ship of this enormous number, huge tonnage, and incalculable value falls practically on the British Navy. .

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"Now that the Great Powers have turned their attention to the sea as they have never done before; now that Germany, France, the United States, Japan and Russia, have all embarked on Navy building;—the Navy of Great Britain, while easily the strongest of all, must gradually lose its present proportional strength.

"Such being the case, it behooves all who take an interest in the future of our race—which future, like our past, must be on the sea—to make such provision as it is possible to do against the coming struggle for the Pacific.

"THE PANAMA CANAL.

"The Panama Canal will probably be open for traffic inside of ten years. The United States Government has fully made up its mind that the Canal shall be—and who shall withstand it? certainly not a little Central American Republic.

"Bearing in mind the effect that the Suez Canal had in diverting trade from the old route, it is easy to see that the Panama Canal must have momentous consequences for Australia and New Zealand.

"The distance of London from Sydney by way of Suez is 12,682 miles, by way of Panama and Tahiti it will be 12,370, and shorter still by way of Panama and Fiji. Avoiding the coast of France, with her commerce destroyers, our fleets of commerce will at once seek the open sea—where they are safest—until they come at length to the West Indies. Here the possessions of foreign Powers are trifling, Martinique and Guadaloupe; and it is to be noticed in this place, that at the end of each war France has always bargained for the restoration of these islands, if they happened to be in our hands—she has always recognized their strategical value.

"It is remarkable that the abandonment of Port Royal as a British naval base should be determined on at this precise juncture!

"Coming through the Panama Canal, the Cocos Islands, belonging to us, are passed, and then the Galapagos, belonging to Ecuador—and it is significant that France has been endeavoring to purchase one of them from the present owners for a naval base.

"AMERICA.

"The Americans have embarked on a colonial policy, and are looking about for naval bases—and small blame to them. The Island of Luvarrov, which lies in the very track of the coming Panama Canal trade, is the object of their immediate longing. This island belongs to us. It possesses an excellent harbor, and as such, as pointed out before in this article, has a value quite out of proportion to the fertility or extent of territory or commercial advantages. America already has Pago Pago on Tutuila, one of the Samoan group.

"GERMANY.

"But while America for a long time to come cannot be regarded as a rival of ours for sea-power (and in any case the fact of the strong sympathy existing between the two nations would make her the least dangerous of our competitors in that direction), and while France, owing to her enormous national debt and diminishing population, is badly situated for the coming contest, Germany, on the other hand, is undoubtedly our coming rival; she has two of the requirements of a great Colonial Power—she has production, she has shipping—and she is in the course of obtaining the last link—colonies. It would be the utmost folly on our part to assist her by letting her establish a naval base in the direct line of the Panama route. It is an open secret that she wishes to exchange comparatively useless rights in the Solomons for a position in the Tonga (or Friendly) Islands. One has only to glance at the map to see how immensely she would benefit by the proceedings she contemplates. True she

has a position in Samoa, but Samoa has no good harbor capable of conversion into a naval base; the Harbor of Vavau, in Tonga, is well situated for this purpose, being right in the line of traffic; indeed a line drawn from Sydney to Colon passes through Tonga. And Germany makes no secret of her longing for sea-power. Time and again the Emperor has stated that the future of Germany must be on the sea. The German Navy League, established in a great many cities of the Empire, has tens of thousands of members. The German Navy is supposed to be excellent in *morale;* in a few years the scheme of expansion will be complete. Her carrying trade, which is increasing enormously in volume, must be protected, and small blame to her if she seeks to take advantage of our supineness.

"Tonga is a British Protectorate—it can only change that character for a British possession.

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"Her Colonial possessions in the Pacific are by no means insignificant. Yap, Pelew, and the Carolines, German New Guinea, New Britain, and New Ireland, and the Marshall Islands, Buka and Bougainville in the Solomons, Samoa, represent a great advance in one generation. What she has not got, what she needs, wants and requires badly, and what she must not be allowed to obtain, is a naval base on the line of the Panama traffic."

The *fourth* article is a continued one by Colonel Maude, and the present instalment is particularly interesting, contrasting as it does the military qualities of Napoleon and of the Archduke Charles.

The *fifth* is a short but interesting account of the capture of Havannah in 1762.

The *sixth* is an essay in which the author attempts to determine the *causes* of victory or defeat.

The *seventh* discusses the subject of the enveloping attack, so generally advocated since the Franco-German War, and throws grave doubts on the possibility of its application or the probability of its success under modern war conditions.

The *ninth* calls attention to the use of the field artillery by the French in recent maneuvers, and the changes in tactics suggested by the Boer War in conjunction with the present artillery armament.

The *eleventh* article, like the ninth, refers to changes in tactics due to the characteristics of the new field gun:

"The adoption of a new type of quick-firing field gun will necessitate a revision of our system of artillery tactics, and it may be of organization also. The French, who are bold artillerists, have made a

very close study of the co-operation of artillery with other arms. They are masters of the art of shooting from behind cover, and have devised a new system of tactics as a consequence of the introduction of the new gun. The Germans, after much controversy, are entering upon the same course. The United States Army, having adopted a 15pr. field gun with sliding carriage and shield, a committee of officers has been appointed to make a complete revision of the drill regulations. Our own artillery arm, with its recent experience of South Africa, must not lag behind, but must be ready to adapt its methods to the work of the new field artillery material. Many are the questions that will arise for discussion. There was much trouble in South Africa in the matter of the supply of ammunition in the field, for seventeen different kinds of artillery ammunition had to be served out, and, though we may look for more uniformity in the future, the question of supply will be made more difficult by the greater rate of fire, and we may surmise also by the adoption of a heavy field gun. The great advances made in gunnery during the last twenty years may be traced in large measure to the interest taken in Colonel Walford's translation of the 'Letters on Artillery' of Prince Kraft zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, and it is unquestionable that the artillery branch of the British Army is now in a far more efficient state than at any previous period.

"It is, therefore, important that advantage should be taken of the present time to discuss the question of artillery tactics."

ARTILLERY AND FORTIFICATIONS.

1. Shrapnel Fire from the Field Howitzer.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 3.
2. The Modern System of Fortification.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.* 61.
3. The Attack and Defence of Fortifications.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 3.
4. The Means of Aiming Field Guns.—*Same.*
5. The Artillery Material of Switzerland.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, Feb. 20.
6. On Heavy Artillery.—*Unit. Serv. Mag., April.*
7. The Grubb Sight.—*Jour. Arty.*, March-April.
8. The Gunner's Corrector and Improved Deflection Scale.—*Same.*
9. A Proposed System of Fire Direction.—*Same.*
10. Fire Direction System of Battery Sullivan.—*Same.*
11. The Accuracy and Probability of Gun Fire.—*Same.*
12. A Modified Time-Range Relation Board.—*Same.*
13. Artillery Practice.—*Same.*
14. Submarine Boat for Coast Defence.—*Same.*

15. Hearings on the Fortifications Bill.—*Same.*
16. Fortifications Bill, U. S.—*Same.*
17. The New Field Gun Carriage, England.—*Same.*
18. Vanaduim Steel.—*Same.*
19. Harmet Process for Steel.—*Same.*
20. The New Boat Telephone Set.—*Same.*
21. A Proposed Automatic Sight for Disappearing Guns.—*same.*
22. Present State of Field Artillery Armament.—*Same.*
23. Relative Efficiency of Our Navy Guns.—*Army and Navy Jour.,* March 5.

Many of these articles are technical in character, but are none the less important to the coast artillery, to which branch they mostly pertain.

The *sixth* article relates to heavy artillery for the field army:

"Much has been written and much has been said in recent times on this subject, and it is with some diffidence that I venture to express my views, especially as on several points I know that they are not those generally held.

"Practically all the arguments used nowadays for and against heavy artillery must be, and are, supported by instances from the Boer campaign, and although this campaign was in some respects an approach to what we may expect a Continental war to be, still we must be careful not to regard all its lessons as absolutely final.

"To the Boers we owe some gratitude for having shown us, from the earliest days of that campaign, the important rôle that this branch of the regiment must play in future warfare; and now that the bulk of the Continental armies have taken the subject into serious consideration, we must not allow ourselves to lose ground and take a second place in this branch.

"As far as is at present understood, Continental powers are considering heavy artillery more as giving great power against earthworks than as 'mankillers'—except in Switzerland, where recent experiments have altered their views on this point.

"Roughly, the Russians are still undecided as to the armament of any branch except that of their field artillery. The French have a gun approaching five-inch calibre for heavy artillery work. The Swiss have four-gun batteries of 4.8-inch guns and eight-gun batteries of 4.8-inch mortars. The Germans have their four-inch and six-inch guns, a six-inch howitzer and eight-inch mortar, though the last is likely to be superseded in the field service.

"Of the four nations mentioned above, the first three have their organization completed; but the Germans have now under considera-

tion the question of the organization of their heavy gun batteries. The present resolve of foreign armies is to fight their guns in mass rather than dispersed.

"Heavy artillery, as understood by some, means anything up to seven tons behind the motive power—shell of any weight up to 200 pounds, and range perhaps 10,000 yards. But what is implied in this paper are guns of five-inch calibre firing a shell not over sixty pounds up to 11,000 yards, and giving not more than four tons behind the team or traction engine; and a smaller number of howitzers weighing not more than four tons behind the team and ranging to 9,000 yards. The present 4.7-inch gun was found in South Africa too long, and, like the five-inch gun, too heavy behind the team. There is no doubt that much heavier armament can be manipulated in the field should necessity arise, but our organization would hardly admit of this necessity being 'often.'

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"As to the future rôle that heavy artillery batteries must play in warfare, the question of supply of ammunition will possibly prove a difficult one; but granted that sufficient ammunition exists at the base, the advance depôts, and in the ammunition columns, as one modern writer has said, 'undeniably the battery which has solved the question of ammunition supply will conquer in the war of the future.'

"About 290 rounds was, I think, the greatest amount of ammunition expended by any heavy battery in one day during the late war; and, under the present organization, with selected officers in charge of the ammunition columns, the supply necessary to provide for an expensive day here and there ought to be kept up without great difficulty.

"When we mass our guns, the control of the supply of ammunition will be a simple matter, but it is when we come to disperse our guns that difficulties must and will arise; and, if we are to take the new German method of infantry attack—namely, in lines of groups of men, each group five to ten yards apart—as a general example, massed guns will be a necessity, at any rate in the early stages of the war.

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"The necessity for heavy guns with the attack in these days of smokeless powder has been witnessed by most of us and fully discussed by Colonel Callwell in his 'Tactics of To-day.' It would go hard with any infantry attack that tried to get home without artillery support."

The articles from the *seventh* to the *twenty-first* inclusive are almost purely technical, but they illustrate the restless spirit of improve-

ment and initiative among our coast artillery officers, where mechanical devices become such important *time* saving machines, and are all valuable contributions to the literature of coast artillery work.

The recent bombardments in the Far East, at ranges over 12,000 yards, by indirect fire *from aboard ship*, which appears to have been effective, is an indication that our rate, accuracy and range of fire from coast forts must be increased, and incidentally illustrates the great value of a *horizontal* system of range-finding which will prevent warships from getting into positions whence they can bombard by indirect fire.

The *tenth* article describes the system of fire direction used at one of the batteries during the Portland (Maine) joint navy and coast artillery maneuvers last year.

The *eleventh* was referred to in our previous number; it is by Professor Alger of the Naval Academy, who is one of the best authorities on the subject.

The *thirteenth* we desire to call especial attention to, since the coast artillery is naturally proud of its fine records in target practice. Much has been published recently regarding target records, but it should be noted that the *range* is rarely given. In the records here cited the range is also recorded.

The Sixty-first Company, Coast Artillery, at Fort Baker, Cal., made four hits out of four shots on a battleship moving at seven miles an hour, at a range of 4,000 yards (two and one-third miles), the firing being accomplished in six minutes, thirty-two seconds, or, at the rate of one hit every one and two-third minutes, and this with guns on *disappearing* carriages, which afford almost perfect protection to the gunners, or cannoneers.

This same company, with guns on non-disappearing carriages, made two and one-half hits out of four shots fired in five minutes, forty seconds, at a similar target, moving at the same rate, at a range of 4,200 yards (two and one-half miles), or, one hit every two and one-quarter minutes.

The Thirty-fifth Company, Coast Artillery, at Fort Monroe, Va., with guns on disappearing carriages, made three hits out of four shots fired in four minutes, twenty seconds, at a similar target moving about five miles an hour, at a range of 5,000 yards (three miles), or, one hit every one and four-ninths minutes.

Such a rate and accuracy of fire at the ranges given (at which the heaviest armor of battleships would probably be perforated by the twelve-inch guns used) are remarkable for the heaviest coast gun in service, and we doubt if any other nation has a similar record to show. Our coast artillery practice is in its infancy, too, and there are still

many artillery lieutenants who have not had a great amount of experience in it; besides, our methods are being continually perfected, due to the initiative of our coast artillery captains and older lieutenants, and to the encouragement they receive.

The *twenty-second* article above cited is an excellent résumé of the present field artillery armament of the principal nations.

WAR SHIPS.

1. Armored Cruisers.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan.
2. The French Naval Budget for 1904.—*Same*, March.
3. The *Belleisle* Torpedo Experiments.—*Jour. Arty.*, March-April.
4. The Color of Warships.—*Unit Serv. Mag.*, April.
5. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Mar. Rund.*, Jan., Feb., March; *Int. Rev.*, March-April.

The *first* of these is a careful and thorough investigation of the purpose and *raison d' être* of the cruiser in general, and a deduction of the qualities required in such a warship. The author then compares a number of modern cruisers, and concludes that in the Milwaukee too much has been sacrificed to mere speed. The article is well illustrated, and is worthy of careful study and consideration.

The *fourth* article has some interesting points:

"It was Lord Nelson who broke away from the orthodox color of the British Navy and introduced a new system of painting, which lasted with only a trifling change as long as 'wooden walls' held the sea. It consisted, Captain Mahan tells us, of black hulls with yellow streaks at the lines of ports and the port-lids black. Sir Edward Codrington, who joined Nelson after his return from the West Indies in pursuit of Villeneuve, says in a letter, 'Lord Nelson's squadron (of which we have eight with us) seems to be in very high order indeed; and although their ships do not look so handsome as objects, they look so very warlike, and show such high condition, that when once I can think Orion fit to maneuver with them, I shall probably paint her in the same manner.' The Nelson style, it would thus appear, was eagerly adopted by vessels coming under his command, and the 'Forecastle Recollections' of a seaman of the time inform us that one of the first causes of a certain tyrannical officer's unpopularity with his crew was an order to paint out the famous 'chequers.' Not even in the British fleet at Trafalger, however, was there uniformity of color.

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"British ships of war for fifty years, though white lines were in time substituted for yellow, and on hot foreign stations yellow remained the standard color till, in the days of ironclads, it gave place to white.

"The American Civil War, however, was destined to afford the first real trials of the ironclad in naval war. It was a one-sided business, for apart from armored river gunboats on the one hand, and commerce destroyers like the Alabama on the other, the South had no navy. On both sides the protective value of color was recognized. When Farragut forced his way up the Mississippi, running the gauntlet of the Confederate forts, not merely did he improvise armor by winding chain cables round the vital parts of his ships, but he had them daubed externally with the river mud so as to make them hard to differentiate from the banks, and so to confuse the aim of the rebel gunners.

* * * * * *

"In the British Navy of recent years a striking and picturesque color scheme—black hulls, white upper works, yellow funnels, and orange, or tawny, masts and fighting tops—reigned until the Admiralty order of 1902, which substituted a uniform grey tint.

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"There is one peculiarity of naval 'khaki.' Tested as it is by every variety of atmosphere and light, it can scarcely be said to possess finality.

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"In a fleet action in the open sea in daylight, probably the best that can be claimed for 'invisible' paint is the momentary hesitation imposed on gunners in taking aim. Nor should it be forgotten that invisibility may constitute a peril in certain evolutions, either in war or peace.

* * * * * *

"Down to our own day, no great naval war has furnished data as to the value of particular colors as between two hostile squadrons."

TRANSPORTATION.

1. Russian Transportation of Troops to Eastern Asia.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 3.

MILITARY GEOGRAPHY.

1. The Control of the Pacific Route.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, April.
2. Manchuria.—*Jour. Arty.*, March-April.
3. Port Arthur.—*Same.*
4. The Sea as a Theatre of Operations and as a Battle-field.—*Mar. Rund.*, March.
5. The Central Asia Question.—*Same.*

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS.

1. A Noiseless Rifle.—*Krieg. Zeit.*, 3.
2. An Arrangement for Target-practice Without Ammunition.—*Same.*
3. The Hyposcope.—*Same.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Throughout the naval service, which seems to be awakening to a sense of the necessity for action, we hear the expression of opinions against one-man power. There are certain cases where only one mind can direct, where consultation would be prohibited by lack of time or opportunity, or the requirements of discipline; but as we are not believers in human infallibility under any form or circumstance, we cannot conceive of the possibility of the administration of impartial justice to all men by a commanding officer without guide to his judgment.

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How universally attractive military glory is to the human mind is well illustrated by the following scrap from Boswell's "Life of Johnson," which is one of the numerous bits of talk between the old lexicographer and his *fidus Achates* with which the book abounds:

Johnson: "Every man thinks meanly of himself for not having been a soldier, or not having been at sea." Boswell: "Lord Mansfield does not." Johnson: "Sir, if Lord Mansfield were in a company of general officers and admirals who have been in service he would shrink, he'd wish to creep under the table." Boswell: "No; he'd think he could *try* them all." Johnson: "Yes; if he could catch them; but they'd try him much sooner. No, sir; were Socrates and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden both present in any company, and Socrates to say; 'Follow me and hear a lecture in philosophy'; and Charles, laying his hand on his sword, to say, 'Follow me and dethrone the Czar'; a man would be ashamed to follow Socrates."

★ ★ ★

Many an old officer of the Navy will read with interest the following sketch of the late Captain Maury, which is from the pen of his kinsman, General Dabney H. Maury. We find it in an old number of *Southern Historical Society Papers,* and republish it both because of the very general interest of the naval profession in its distinguished subect, and of its gracefulness as a tribute:

"Matthew Fontaine Maury was born in Spottsylvania County, January 14, 1806. In 1811 his father moved with his family and slaves to a cotton plantation

near Franklin, Tennessee. In 1824 Captain John Minor Maury, the oldest son, died while serving against the pirates as flag-captain of the West India Squadron (under old Commodore David Porter), and next year young Matthew was appointed midshipman. His father opposed so strongly his entry into the Navy that, supplied with money by a friend, and by the overseer with a horse, young Matthew rode away from his father's home without his father's blessing, through that great wilderness that lay between him and the career for which his spirit yearned. If ever an unfilial act was justified by the event, this was. He was warmly greeted on reaching Fredericksburg by his uncle, General John Minor, who sped him on his way to Washington, and to his dying day remembered with gratitude and affection the kindly courtesies shown him here by that exemplar of our hospitality, the late Thomas B. Barton. His pay was then, as midshipman, twenty dollars per month. He allotted one-half of it to his widowed sister. His first voyage was in the Brandywine frigate when she took General Lafayette to France. And from the very outset of his professional career, diligence in its pursuit, and eager study of all the marvels of creation it unfolded to his eyes, engrossed him. In the steerage of the midshipman he began the new treatise on navigation, which he completed a few years later here. In 1834 he married Miss Anne Herndon, sister of Captain Herndon, and for several years their home was here, and he was occupied in forecasting measures of reform and improvement in his profession. In 1842 he was made Superintendent of the Depot of Charts, which, under him, was developed into the National Observatory at Washington, the great world-centre of hydrographical science. There he issued his Wind and Current Charts and published his Physical Geography of the Sea. In the words of Humboldt, 'he created a new science.'

"There he marked out the tracks of speed and safety for mariners of every clime over the ocean's bosom, and showed the beds on the bottoms of the seas where the telegraph now safely lies. And at his call all the maritime nations sent their officers to learn of him in the great Conference at Brussels. Honors now were richly poured upon him. Every emperor, king, and potentate of Europe sent him orders, medals and jeweled decorations. And Humboldt sent him his great Cosmos medal. Of a truth, he had been 'diligent in his business,' and was declared 'worthy to stand before kings.'

"The war between the States

now approached, and filled him with apprehension. It broke forth while he was in the very climax of his fame. No man then living held so proud a place. But on Virginia's call he gave it freely up and devoted himself thenceforth to the service of his people. No act of self-abnegation was ever more marked than this. The Emperor of Russia, and, a few days later, the Emperor of France, invited him, in generous and eloquent terms, to make his home with them, and away from the turmoil of civil war pursue those great works which were the property of the whole human race. In grateful words he declined these tempting honors, because he could not abandon his own people in the day of their calamity. When the war closed, a price had been set upon his head, and he was a homeless exile. Again Russia and France invited him, and the new-born Mexican Empire won him to her service for a time. He was in England when Maximilian fell, and remained there to complete the School of Geographies now so widely used. Then once again Napoleon sought him, offering the highest scientific office of France, which he declined, because his own people needed him. And in their service he calmly closed his great career. His last words were, 'It is well'; and well it is with him, indeed. In all his writings, all his works, he had illustrated the Christian's life and confirmed the Christian's faith. In these days of flippant infidelity, when would-be wise men question the revelations of the Scriptures through their developments of modern science, they are rebuked by this great master of nature's laws, who ever held them to be the laws of God, and that the Bible is their great expounder."

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A general summary of the prospects for the strategic situation of the vital point constituted by the environments of the Gulf of Mexico and the gulf coast seems to be most satisfactory. The advanced post at Guantanamo, with the adequate station at Pensacola, and the fully protected final line of repair and refitting at New Orleans, need only development to form bases of safety which will put an end to the menace which has always existed in the alien control of the West Indies and West Indian waters. The temperament of the people of Cuba seems to be most friendly. The indications of an effective self-government are to be seen on every hand. There is some haziness of mental process as to the means, but none as to the end; the Cubans want to have a good government, and they are working towards it. No people who have been able to

apply an object lesson as the Cubans have applied the sanitary lessons taught by the occupation of the United States will fall seriously short. The mistake has been made by some of the people of the United States of expecting expressions of gratitude all the time and a practical immunity from Cuban control. There is too much of the attitude toward the Cubans of "you owe all this to us." They are not unresponsive, not ungrateful, but they get tired of being reminded of their obligations continually. It is a good sign that in their government they are erring on the side of economy and that they have put away a considerable sum of money that might have been put into improvements and into circulation rather than have been hoarded, but if it is an error, it is not in a bad direction.

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The taxes that have been levied for the payment of the war debt, the recompense for the soldiers are being cheerfully met. There is an internal revenue tax on liquors and cigars which is being rigorously applied and in which the retailers are scrupulously co-operating. The evidences of governmental activity are everywhere satisfactory. The police of Havana and the rural guard everywhere make a creditable appearance. The latter especially are neat, well set up, and self-respecting. While their duties are not such as would develop the company organization, it is probable that as soldiers they would have the element of initiative which the Cuban soldiers are said to lack.

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A few soldiers of the artillery corps are seen about Havana. Those who have drilled Cubans as soldiers say that in the drill, the mechanical movements, and up to a certain point they are quicker to learn and develop better results than the enlisted men of the United States. Beyond this point, however, and in respects which require judgment, such as making marksmen and in field work, they rapidly fall behind the enlisted men of the United States Army and are too greatly dependent on direction and leadership.

★ ★ ★

It is said that the majority of the people of Cuba regard the United States with a feeling of enmity. It does not seem to the writer that this is the fact; on the contrary, it seemed in a brief experience that there was a great feeling of cordiality and that there was a feeling of alliance and comradeship which was greater than could be expected of a people of alien blood and

customs. It is especially true that the educated men and leaders of thought in Havana are anxious to have the impression of the United States to be favorable to Cuba and the government of the island. They want, however, to stand alone, to run their own government, and the feeling before referred to that they must be continually reminded of their obligations will be the greatest deterrent to the amalgamation of the interests of the island with those of the continent.

* * *

It would be ungracious not to pay a tribute of admiration to the work that was done by the army of the United States in rehabilitating the two cities of Havana and Santiago. More than that, it would be untruthful not to state the fact that the chief directive mind, that of General Leonard Wood, has set its impress on the work in a most unmistakable way. It is almost incredible that the results that were attained were secured during the brief time, comparatively speaking, of the American occupation. One is quite ready to believe the stories of the incessant work, the night and day labor, the double force of clerks. It is doubtful if history can show the equivalent of the work that was done in making these two cities over into modern, livable places in their municipal functions. They show you in Havana a spotless penitentiary, an admirable municipal prison, an orphan asylum of tremendous proportions, and irreproachably kept; they show you clean streets, a well-ordered police, an effective street-cleaning system, a city that in its municipal appointments is equal to most cities of the United States, and superior to quite a number, and you remember that Havana used to be a name of dread. And they will tell you that General Wood did this, that and the other, that he was a great man, that he made them do things they had never dreamed of doing. There are tablets here and there that recite that certain reforms were made under the direction of General Leonard Wood by certain of his subordinate officers, and there is no hint that the tablets put the credit in other than the true and veracious light. But the chief tribute is that they keep on doing the things that were enforced under the American regime. In Santiago the asphalt pavements would be the better for repairs, but they are clean. In Havana there is every sign that municipal reform has been followed by a modern system of municipal administration.

* * *

The question of the battleship versus the torpedo, or rather the latter as a deterrent against the building of more battleships, has

assumed proportions which indicate a brisk battle when further construction for the navy of the United States is proposed. It is not altogether safe for either side to make a hard and fast stand at the present time on the basis of events of the Russo-Japan war. There appears to have been a good deal of explosion of high tension, but whether the results were from surface torpedo boats, from submarine torpedo boats or from fixed mines is not absolutely ascertained. The one fact that may be adhered to is that when a considerable amount of a high explosive is successfully fired under the bottom of a naval vessel, the result will be more or less of permanent injury. There has been, however, an assumption that the events of the war have proved any and every shade of previously held belief on the torpedo question both for and against the continuance of battleship construction. There is a strong presumption in favor of the extension of the argument in favor of the torpedo, but on the other hand no certainty yet that the torpedo has put the battleship in the class with body armor and the catapult.

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The real tangible question of the moment is the extent to which the use of fixed mines in open waters is permissible. There seems to have been some use of these engines of war in the matter of offence, and that there has been an extension of mine fields beyond the formerly considered legitimate use of defence and obstruction. Other nations than the belligerants are held to have rights in the premises and the foundation for a vigorous protest against the use of fixed mines in waters liable to be frequented by neutral vessels is being laid.

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The recent trip of the Secretary of the Navy to Cuban waters may be expected to develop an intelligent and skilful inauguration of the work at the new naval station at Guantanamo. The Secretary during his inspection of the site examined the harbor, shores and keys minutely, comparing the locations with the various plans and propositions that had been submitted, and was able to secure from the inspection made a comprehensive idea of the lay of the land, which will be of inestimable value in making the decisions as to the location of the various sections of the outfit at the new Cuban station.

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There has been no recent acquisition to the assets of the United States that offers more satisfactory considerations than this new naval base of Guantanamo. There is no harbor on the south coast of Cuba which

compares with it; it has admirable depth of water, is not too far from the open sea and at the same time offers a sufficient opportunity for defensive works, and its topography is admirable for the purpose for which it has been selected. There are a number of little islands or keys which afford a basis for the different shops and buildings, access to which may be secured on all sides by water by means of only a small amount of dredging.

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There is, of course, nothing in the way of building or preparation at Guantanamo at the present time. A small town some five or six miles up the bay is inconsiderable in the way of supplies, and the main base for those who are living there is Santiago, forty miles away, to which the Vixen rolls once a week in the trough of a generally on-shore breeze of more or less vigor. The officers who are now assigned to the station live on board the station ship, the Amphitrite, and her tenders and auxiliaries. Several of the officers have their families, who are quartered aboard the various tenders in default of quarters ashore. This makes a pleasant life in the pleasant weather, but it is not without its drawbacks. The question of supplies is, of course, a difficult one, and there is a neighborly and friendly co-operation as to purchases when the trips are made to Santiago. Fruits of the country and chickens to the limit are the staple articles of diet, though a good steward is able to forage some variety of diet. The harbor is sufficiently sheltered, so that the life aboard the vessels is not unpleasant, except that occasionally a shift of wind makes enough chop to make small boat communication unpleasant.

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The marines at Guantanamo are located at Fishermen's Point, some three or four miles below the location of the station ships, the actual encampment being on McCalla Hill. Sanitary reasons have required the clearing of much of the shade away from the site of the camp ground, which gets the full benefit of the sun. The brown tents of the marines look very neat and the duty is not unpleasant, though necessarily monotonous.

★ ★ ★

The fortune of the United States in securing the location at Guantanamo is emphasized by the trip along the coast from Guantanamo Bay to Santiago. For almost the whole distance the brown, scrub-clad hills with their bare patches come down directly to the shore line without a break for miles. At exceptional intervals a streak of bright green shows where a river has

broken through the line of hills and made an alluvial bottom ground. But between the two bays there is nothing in the way of inlet or harbor that would give the slightest shelter to the smallest fleet. Nearly all the landing places are beaches directly open to the full sweep of the open sea, and, of course, entirely impracticable even in moderate weather.

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The naval station at Pensacola has hopes at the present time of taking a breathing spell after some months of extremely strenuous life. The presence of the fleet in southern waters has made a tremendous amount of extra work in every line, and additional labor, clerical and artisan, is not over-abundant in the vicinity. One incident of the visit of the Secretary of the Navy to Pensacola appealed strongly to those attached to the navy yard. Almost as soon as he had reached the residence of the commandant, Secretary Moody made inquiries as to the location of the last resting place of the men who lost their lives in the Missouri accident, and later, accompanied by Mrs. Dickins, he visited the cemetery and decorated the graves with large bouquets of magnolias and other flowers.

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The floating dry dock of the Navy Department located at Algiers, opposite New Orleans, is believed by the residents of that city to spell "success" in every way. It has been used for the docking of merchant vessels for which other facilities cannot be provided, and there has been, so far, no difficulty on the score of lack of water. In spite of the distance of New Orleans from the gulf by an effective waterway, the people there hope for the establishment of a great naval station. The point which they especially call to attention is the facility which attends the docking of ships in the floating dry dock, since they enter the dock under the impulse of the current and can be safely and simply handled in docking by the motive power of the great Mississippi which is always turned on. While in some matters this constant and considerable current is an advantage, in other respects, notably in small boat work, it is a considerable drawback. The Dolphin's cutter with three men in it got adrift during the stay of the Secretary there, and the three oars could only just equal the speed of the current, while every cessation of rowing carried the boat down river. The opportune arrival of the steam cutter terminated the strained incident, in which there was no real danger, but a very effective object lesson of the power of the Mississippi in the moving of floating craft.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

CONCERNING PENSIONS.

Editor of THE UNITED SERVICE:

Until recently I was under the impression that the subjects indicated by the heading were fully understood by the public, excepting that section led by demagogues, and that smaller number of late-day patriots who at the end of the war, although old enough to have served long before, served perhaps a few weeks or months on garrison and similar safe duty, and could not possibly be carried on the pension roll—but a conversation I took part in recently has convinced me that a few statements will not be amiss.

All countries have a pension or half pay list, or both, both for their regular and irregular (equivalent to our volunteer) forces, and despite the unworthy who creeps in, in every country, this list is really the soldier's roll of honor, for to be there enrolled means officially proven, long, meritorious, or gallant service with the colors, including often disease or injury. Nowhere is this exemplified better than in the Southern States, for there is hardly a State of the late Confederacy but which has provided some recognition for its valiant sons. Where there was wealth or sufficiency, claims for pensions, as a rule, were waived and many an officer and sc dier so situated expended of his means liberally and freely on military hospitals, reading rooms, clubs, and the like for the benefit of the service. Very many, too, lost their business, others broke up their vocations (professional and otherwise), numerous others, again, lost their positions and destroyed their life's chances, and are living in their old age in unmerited poverty, and surely it is but national equity, national honor, that the last two classes, and those maimed or otherwise, more or less incapacitated by disease incurred in performance of their duties, should receive (not as asked alms) the trifling pension—never more than twelve, mostly ten, eight and six dollars per month—the national government offers them in return for their unexampled services, for their rendering up freely their promising youth, their splendid manhood, so that their country should live and become what it is—the greatest, the most prosperous the world has seen. Though the result would have been far different had the upholders of the Union lost their cause, for successful secession South would have been followed, in all probability, by successful secession West, it is fitting that the Southern States should also extend recognition to their heroes, for from their point of view State sovereignty was as right as from our point of view Federal sovereignty was and is.

C. EMOR NEIL.

THE SPANISH FRIAR QUESTION IN THE PHILIPPINES WELL ON ROAD TO SETTLEMENT.

ONLY A FEW NOW LEFT.

ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR A $7,000,000 LOAN WITH WHICH TO BUY THEIR IMMENSE ESTATES.

(From *New York Globe.*)

MANILA, April 29.—The most perplexing question that has arisen since the American occupation of the Philippines is well on the road to settlement. That is the purchase of the lands owned, occupied, and claimed by the several religious orders, and, what is more important, the deportation of the friars who are accused by the Filipinos of being the direct cause of almost all the serious political troubles that have occurred on the islands. The government will purchase the lands for cash in order to get rid of the friars, and arrangements have already been made at Washington for a loan of $7,000,000 in order that a settlement may be made promptly in cash. It is expected, or at least hoped, that the entire business will be concluded within the next six months. The government will, no doubt, recover the greater part of the money that is to be paid in purchase by the subsequent sale of the lands to the public at auction or otherwise. It is hoped that the purchase money will be allowed to remain in the islands for the benefit of the church, because it is very much needed, but that question must be decided at Rome. The civil authorities have nothing to say or do with it.

* * *

The amount of land purchased is 391,000 acres, more or less, and the price is $7,239,784, more or less, according as titles are established, which is an average of about $18 an acre. This includes all the improvements, sugar mills, irrigating works, plantation houses and everything as it stands, and is considered a high price, more than the property would bring at auction or forced sale and more than it is actually worth. It is probable that Judge Taft might have made a better bargain if the negotiations had been prolonged and if he had used the pressure which might have been brought upon the other side. The friars demanded $15,000,000, but it is believed that they were prepared to sell for $6,000,000, and many people think that they would have accepted $5,000,000 if the government had stopped at that price, and if they had been sure of retaining the proceeds. But Judge Taft was very anxious to close the trade before he left Manila for Washington, and, all things considered, he did very well to get the lands at any price and is to be congratulated. It is not often that a man or a government will pay $7,000,000 for what it does not need and does not want, but everybody interested feels that Judge Taft would have been justified in paying a much larger sum, if necessary, to secure the exodus of the Spanish friars, and the appointment of clean, honest, intelligent and patriotic American priests to succeed them.

Already most of the monks have gone. According to the official reports of Monsignor Guidi, the apostolic delegate, there were 1,013 members of the four orders in the islands at the time of the American occupation, while on January 1st, last, only 246 remained, as follows:

	1898.	1904.
Domicans	233	83
Recoletos	327	35
Augustinians	346	67
Franciscans	107	43
Total	1,013	246

The latter number has been reduced considerably since the first of the year, and it is probable that there are now less than 200 altogether, most of them living idly in the monasteries of Manila, because they dare not go into the country for fear of the vengeance of their former parishioners. Many of them are old and infirm, and cannot leave the country. Others are needed here to look after the property of their orders, but none of them are doing parish work outside of Manila. The Dominicans have formally renounced before the holy see all claims upon their former parishes, and have dedicated themselves hereafter exclusively to educational work. Most of those who have left have gone back to Spain or to the South American countries.

The friars are hated by the people, because, under Spanish rule, they discharged the important civil functions and exercised almost absolute political power. They were distributed throughout the islands, and each ruled his parish with despotic power, both temporal and spiritual, in connection with the municipal, provincial, and colonial goverments, while the archbishop of Manila, who was himself a monk, was the central absolute authority to whom the governor general and commander of the military forces, both were compelled to bow. As Judge Taft has explained:

The friar priest in each parish became the chief of police and the chief of detectives in government work. Every man who was punished, especially if he were punished for political offense, charged it to the agency of the friar, and the deportations and executions which went on under Spanish rule were all laid at the doors of the religious orders. To the people of the pueblos, the friar was the crown of Spain, and every oppression by the Spanish government was traced by them to the men whose political power had far outgrown that exercised by them as priests. When the revolution came, therefore, deep hostility was manifested by the insurgents against the friars. They had to flee for their lives. Fifty of them were killed and 300 of them were imprisoned, and during their imprisonment were subjected to the most humiliating indignities and the greatest suffering. The feeling of the people against the friars was purely political. The people were generally good Catholics, and wished for the sacrament of their church, but there was a universal distrust for and hatred of the religious orders.

"The friars were driven out of all the parishes in the archipelago except those of the city of Manila, where the American forces have always been. They are unable to return to the parishes because of the intense hatred of the people. If they should attempt to return it is quite likely that the result would be disturbance and riot."

* * *

During the course of time by secession from the government, by legacy, by purchase, by occupation, and by other means, the four religious orders named, consisting entirely of Spaniards, because native Filipinos were not admitted to the orders, obtained possession of about 400,000 acres of the best agricultural lands in the Philippines, 250,000 of which are situated near the city of Manila, and 125,000 acres in the neighboring provinces of Cavité.

Some of the plantations were worked directly under the supervision of the friars, and among them were the most productive and profitable in the archipelago. But the greater part of the lands were leased to between 60,000

and 70,000 tenants, who still occupy and cultivate them, and with whom the government will be compelled to deal when it obtains title to the property. Judge Taft, who devoted a great deal of time to the inquiry, is of the opinion that the titles of the friars to most of the lands are good. He says there are no better titles in all the islands, but considerable trouble and litigation is anticipated before securing possession because the tenants are ignorant, exceedingly hostile to their former landlords, and have been permitted to remain in undisputed possession so long. Already some of them are putting in claims of ownership which will be quietly submitted to the courts. There is no intention on the part of the government to attempt to collect arrears of rents. Nothing was said on that subject in the negotiations for the sale. Whatever arrears there are belong to the friars, who can take such steps as they desire, to recover them.

The terms of the trade having been arranged, the lands are now being identified and surveyed, and the titles examined. The government will accept nothing and pay for nothing without a good title.

The negotiations were conducted personally by Judge Taft and Commissioner Smith, secretary of education and justice, who is himself a Catholic, on the part of the government, and Mgr. Guidi, the apostolic legate who was sent from Rome for this purpose, assisted by three attorneys representing the Franciscans, Recoletos and Augustinians, and a Dominican monk, who has great business and legal ability.

WILLIAM E. CURTIS

A complete exoneration of all the charges, save that of neglect of duty, with a sentence to a loss of fifteen numbers in his grade, is the verdict in the court-martial case of Paymaster Harry Earl Biscoe, U. S. N., on duty on the Oregon. He was tried on numerous charges, including falsehood and shortage in supplies to the value of $2,800. The official record is not yet received. The present case will be carefully reviewed at the Navy Department. An urgent appeal will be made to Secretary Moody to suspend sentence, pending an investigation of the charges by Biscoe's friends, on the ground that Rear Admiral Evans was actuated by animus in the matter.—*Army and Navy Journal*, March 12, 1904.

THE TORPEDO.

By seven tall consorts circled round
  The careless cruiser lay,
Watched by the dwarfish forts that crowned
  The hills above the bay—
The great guns frowning from the height;
  The stately ships below—
And still toward them in the night
  Came on the hidden foe.

For through the salt, sweet dark I crept,
  Nigher and ever nigher;
Through round the restless searchlight swept
  Its shifting fan of fire.
The sentries stared from ship and land:
  Their eyes were strong and keen—
Too late the treacherous wave they scanned.
  Where I had passed unseen.

Till, with a sudden awful roar,
  Beneath their armored keel,
As one may rend a scroll, I tore
  That wall of tempered steel.
Steel plate and oaken beam were cleft

By one fierce bolt of flame;
And through the gaping wound it left
The invading billow came.

And the great warship shuddering sprang
Even as the bison springs,
When to his throat with claw and fang
The thirsty leopard clings.
So did my noble quarry leap
Upon the seething wave:
Then headlong in the cloven deep
Plunged to her ocean grave.

The sea closed o'er her where she sank,
And not a bubbling breath
Told of the hundred souls that drank
The cup of bitter death.
The outer waters were not stirred,
Where crouched beside his gun
The foe that far off thunder heard,
And knew my task was done.

For to one cunning master true,
I serve and never tire.
Man's fingers made me, and I do
The bidding of my sire.
He speeds me o'er the midnight wave.
And on that path untrod,
The slave of his more mighty slave,
I work the will of God.

—*Edward Sydney Tylee in London Spectator.*

LETTER OF A REJECTED APPLICANT FOR ENLISTMENT IN THE ARMY.

DEAR PAPA.

I herewith send you my application to enlist in the Army, and I want you to fill out space No. 1 on back and get Mr. Gordon Mason to fill out space No. 2 and bring it out to me in the morning, and you will greatly oblige me.

I am not satisfied anywhere I go, for I love one and I will never love another, and I am now engaged to soon marry and I do not love the girl, and I want to try the army life awhile and see if I can forget to love. Please do this for me.

Your loving son,
(Signed) MITLAND LIGHTFOOT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Napoleon's Maxims of War, with Notes by General Burnod. Translated from the French by Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. C. D'Aguilar, C. B., Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kemberly Publishing Co. Pp. 144.

This handy and useful little volume is tastefully bound in light green buckram and constitutes a convenient book for study and reference.

The notes are, of course, the most voluminous part of the book, and are almost as valuable as the maxims themselves inasmuch as they contain many quotations from such authorities as the Archduke Charles, Martecuculli, Marshal Villars, Marshal Saxe, Frederick the Great, Marshal Turenne, the Prince of Condé, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and others, while every maxim is illustrated by some important historical example, applicable to the case.

The volume though small is very compact, and contains in its 144 pages a considerable amount of deep reading matter. The *translation* is most excellent, and can hardly be improved. We cordially recommend the little work to all military men. J. P. W.

The New International Encyclopaedia. Editors: D. C. Gilman, LL. D., president Johns Hopkins University and Carnegie Institution; H. T. Peck, Ph. D., L. H. D., Professor Columbia University; F. M. Colby, M. A., Professor New York University. Vols XV., XVI., XVII. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1904.

The three volumes before us complete this great work and place before the world one of the best works of reference available to-day.

The preceding volumes have been reviewed by us as they appeared, and there is little to add to our previous complimentary notices and recommendations. The illustrations are as effective as in the earlier volumes, and their beauty and artistic character, as well as their utility, have in no wise diminished in these later volumes. The subject matter also shows the same care and judgment in its preparation, selection and cross-referencing, and the bibliography concluding every important article is as full and complete as ever, and leaves nothing to be desired.

The *military* subjects treated in the pages of one of these volumes are numerous and important, and include Uniforms, Uchatins, Upton (Emory), Vanban, Vicksburg (campaign), Wagram War (a most interesting article), War Department, War Game, Warship, Washington (George), Waterloo, Wellington, West Point, besides a number of other military biographical articles and many military geographical. This same volume contains two beautiful colored plates illustrating American and British university gowns, and two other of Greek vases, besides three plates of birds. There are forty engravings and twenty-five maps. The most striking and interesting of the engravings are Van Dyck's *Queen Henrietta of England*, Paul Veronese's *The Marriage at Cana*, Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper*, Mouwerman's *The Smithy*, Matteau's *The French Comedy*, Whistler's portrait of his mother, Versailles, Westminster Abbey, Winchester Cathedral, and Windsor Castle. The other volumes are similar in character, and in each the element of the beautiful is quite as well developed as in the one we selected.

One of the most useful characteristics of this encyclopædia is the fact that in each volume there is a *Key to Pronounciation*, which contains on a single page all the data necessary for the correct pronounciation of every word in the entire work.

The maps are all well executed and very satisfactory, and those of the large cities are particularly welcome in such a work of reference.

The entire work is exceedingly modern in character, and all articles that admit of it are brought well up to date.

The editors and publishers may well congratulate themselves on the satisfactory conclusion of this great work in so short a period of time since it was first undertaken. It stands today as one of the most useful, convenient and satisfactory works of reference of this kind extant, and in our opinion it ranks foremost in these respects. J. P. W.

English-Spanish Manual. By First Lieutenant R. G. Hill, 20th U. S. Infantry. This edition revised and greatly enlarged by Major C. G. Morton, 6th U. S. Infantry. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co. 1904. Pp. 128.

In this little work Major Morton has done the service a good turn, and many of our officers will no doubt find the *Manual* most useful. The previous editions have been improved upon in this one, and have been considerably enlarged in their scope.

The publishers have done their part well too, and have clothed the neat little volume very tastefully.

J. P. W.

CAPTAIN FRANKLIN J. DRAKE,

U. S. NAVY.

Captain Drake was born at Yates Center, Orleans County, N. Y. Entered the Naval Academy as Midshipman, February 23, 1863; he was appointed from the Thirty-first District of New York State by competitive examination and graduated, 1868. Promoted to Ensign, April 19, 1869; commissioned Master, July 12, 1870; Lieutenant, November 15, 1872; Lieutenant-Commander, October 1, 1893; Commander, March 3, 1899; Captain, September 11, 1903. Commanded Company B in the assault by land forces made on the Corean forts at Seoul, 1871, and was commended for conspicuous conduct in battle by Commander L. A. Kimberly, U. S. N., who commanded the land forces; commanded Surveying Expedition into the interior of Africa, Liberia, west coast, and mapped out the head-waters of the St. John River, fall of 1879; executed a reconnaissance and made treaties with the native chiefs on the south shore of the Congo River, from its mouth to the lower falls, in the spring of 1880; completed the explorations of the bed of Bering Sea; determined the extent and flow of temperature currents and their effects upon the ice pack in the north of Bering Straits; made a special survey of the Priboloff Islands, the extent and capacity of the rookeries, and reported upon the habitat of the seal, as well as the area and extent of the Pelagic sealing belt under the modus vivendi, also the laws governing their migratory habits; he commissioned and organized the crew of battleship Oregon, and developed the fighting efficiency which resulted in making her famous in her world-breaking record from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and conspicuous in action at the battle of Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898, then under the command of Capt. C. E. Clark. After the battle of July 3, 1898, Capt. Clark, in a letter to Commander Drake, writes: "Every old standby in the ship who had a good project or knew a good thing went back to 'Mr. Drake,' as the original force or source. The ship and all on board were indebted to you more than I can tell you. No material change was ever made from the lines of organization which you laid down." While manufacturing the present smokeless powder now in use in the Navy, Capt. Drake made numerous experiments in determining its stability and keeping qualities under extreme changes of moisture and temperature; promoted to Captain, Sept. 11, 1903.

Shortly after the battle of Manila Bay, Capt. Drake, who was Inspector of Ordnance at the Mare Island Navy Yard, received the following letter from Admiral Dewey, which is characteristic of the hero of that fight:

Flagship Olympia,
Cavite, Philippine Islands,
June 21, 1898.

My Dear Drake:—

Only a line to thank you for your kind letter of May 3, which has given me great pleasure. The ammunition you sent was good, and the boys made good use of it. Our victory was won entirely with good

ammunition well served. I hope to see the Charleston and Pekin very soon with another supply.

Again thanking you,

I remain, sincerely yours,

GEORGE DEWEY.

The incidents leading up to this are worthy of note: Previous to the declaration of war, Capt. Drake received rush orders from the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance to send, at the earliest date possible, a supply of ammunition sufficient for Commodore Dewey's fleet. The ordnance force at the yard worked day and night to manufacture this ammunition. When completed, Capt. Drake loaded it in the U. S. S. Mohican, then under the command of Capt. G. M. Book, who sailed immediately for Honolulu, with orders to proceed with utmost despatch. Arriving there the ammunition was transferred immediately to the U. S. S. Baltimore, then the flagship of Rear Admiral J. N. Miller, Commander in Chief of the Pacific Squadron. The latter detached her from her fleet, with instructions to reach Commodore Dewey as soon as possible. The Baltimore sailed from Honolulu forty-eight hours after the arrival of the Mohican, with magazines and store-rooms filled with shot, shell and powder, which were to mark a new era in the history of the Navy.

Capt. N. M. Dyer, who was in command of the Baltimore, arrived in Hong Kong on the eve of Commodore Dewey's leaving that port, April 25, 1898. The squadron sailed for Miro Bay on the Chinese coast, where the ammunition was distributed among the vessels of the fleet.

From there, Commodore Dewey sailed with magazines full to carry out his orders to "seek the Spanish fleet and capture or destroy it."

Capt. Drake is the eighth direct male descendant from Sir Barnard Drake, a Devonshire Knight, who was Admiral of the Navy of the illustrious Princess Queen Elizabeth, by whom Sir Barnard was knighted at Greenwich, January 9, 1585, for his "great offices at sea."

Sir Barnard died at Mount Ashe, County of Devon, April 10, 1586, and was buried in the Parish Church of Musbury, where his monument still stands.

THE STORY OF A GREAT SUCCESS

By Herbert S. Houston

PHOTOGRAPHICALLY ILLUSTRATED BY ARTHUR HEWITT

THE industrial awakening of America is the most impressive fact of modern times. It is likewise the most cheering. Never before did mankind have an opportunity to lift itself up under democratic conditions of freedom. And that uplift has been stupendous, great in achievement and full of hope. With it has come a spread of well-being among the masses of people that is unparalleled. Naturally, both as cause and effect of that well-being, have come thrift, industry, and home protection. And life insurance, in large degree, has been the immediate and active agency for spreading these constructive forces. The Prudential, in particular, has stood for the broadest possible application of the insurance idea, and it has risen to greatness on that as a foundation.

Ten years after the close of the Civil War—a period so recent that its history has scarcely been written—the Prudential was established in Newark. As if foreknowing the great rock to which it would grow, it began its foundation in a basement office. It was like the beginning of the New York *Herald* by Bennett, the elder, in a basement on Ann Street. But it would be an idle play with words to make a basement office the real foundation of the Prudential. It was something much deeper down than that—nothing else than the bed-rock American principle of democracy. The Prudential applied the democratic principle to life insurance. As Senator Dryden, of New Jersey, the founder of the company, has

U. S. SENATOR JOHN F. DRYDEN,
President of the Prudential Insurance Co.

said, "Life insurance is of the most value when most widely distributed. The Prudential and the companies like it are cultivating broadly and soundly

among the masses the idea of life insurance protection. To them is being carried the gospel of self-help, protection and a higher life."

And what has been the result of the democratic American principle worked out in life insurance? In 1875 the first policy was written in the Prudential. At the end of 1903 there were 5,447,307 policies in force on the books of the company, representing nearly a billion dollars. The assets in 1876 were $2,232, while twenty-seven years later, in 1903, they were more than 30,000 times greater, or $72,712,435.44, the liabilities at the same time being $62,578,410.81. This is a record of growth that is without precedent in insurance and that is hard to match in the whole range of industry. The rise of the Prudential to greatness reads like a romance in big figures, but, in fact, it is a record of business expansion that has been as natural as the growth of an oak. The corn crop of the country seems too big for comprehension until one sees the vast fields of the Middle West, and then it appears as simple as the growth of a single stalk. So with the Prudential. To say that, in ten years, the company's income grew from something more than $9,000,000 a year to more than $39,000,000 last year is amazing as a general statement, but when made in relation to the broad principles on which that growth has been based, it becomes as much a matter of course as the corn crop. There is no mystery about it; but there is in it, from the day when the principles were planted in Newark until these great harvest days, the genuine American spirit of achievement, strong, hopeful and expansive.

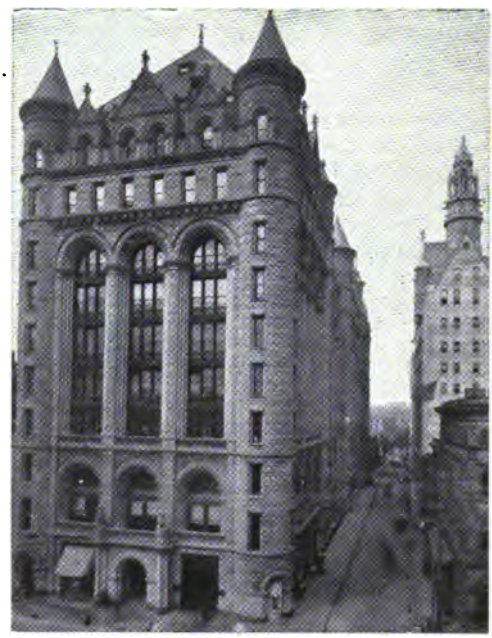
The Prudential Insurance Company of America is a national institution. It was founded to provide insurance for the American people on the broadest possible basis, consistent with strength and safety. Just as Grant and Lee organized their armies, or as Kouropatkin and Yamagata plan their campaigns in Asia, so does the Prudential work out its national insurance propaganda. The company's organization is essentially military. It is a wonderful combination of big grasp and outlook with the most painstaking thoroughness and system in details. And, as is always the case in every organization that throbs throughout with intelligent energy, there is a man at the centre of it. This man has a constructive imagination lighting up a New England brain. To business prudence there is added the large vision which sweeps the horizon for opportunity. Naturally, to such a vision the application of the democratic idea to insurance was an opportunity of the first magnitude. When seen, it was grasped and developed. The Prudential was founded. In the most careful way its idea was tested, just as the Secretary of Agriculture tests seeds at the Government's experiment farms. Here was where prudence kept the large vision in proper focus. Gradually the idea took root and grew. Year after year the Prudential added to its number of policy holders. And all the time the company was

working out a more liberal basis for its democratic idea. But each time a more liberal policy was offered, it was fully tested. "Progress with strength," is the way President Dryden describes the company's principle of growth—the results, clearly, of vision and prudence. At the end of ten years of this method of growth the company reached the point where, it was believed, insurance could be safely offered for any amount, with premiums payable on any plan, either in weekly installments or at longer periods. Within the five years, 1886 to 1890 inclusive, the company's assets increased nearly five-fold, from $1,040,816 to $5,084,895, and the amount of insurance in force from $40,266,445 to $139,-163,654.

The Prudential had found itself. The idea of democratic insurance had been fully tested and adjusted to the needs and conditions of the American people. Then, with a boldness which only large vision could have quickened, the plan was formed to make the Prudential's idea known in every section of the country. Gibraltar was chosen as the symbol of the company's strength, and advertising—the telling of the Prudential idea to the people—was begun.

The Prudential publicity is accompanied by wise promotion from a field force of over 12,000, some of whom have been with the company for over a quarter-century, working in almost every State of the Union. They have the zeal of Crusaders, and it is kept at ardent pitch through an organization that could not fail to produce a wonderful *esprit de corps*.

There is no place where one feels the greatness of the Prudential quite so much as in the vast granite piles which have been raised for the company's home buildings. They rise above the Jersey meadows as Gibraltar does above the sea, a convincing witness, surely, to the growth and to the strength of the Prudential. But they are not a cold, gray rock, but a living organism, throbbing from vital contact with millions of policy holders. There are now four of these great buildings, all occupied by the company. In one of them is the Prudential's publishing plant, which, in equipment, surprising as this may seem, is equal to that of almost any publishing house in the country. Millions of booklets, two publications for the company—one, "The Prudential," with a circulation of more than two millions—and the policies, are all printed here, besides no end of commercial printing for the home office and for the district agencies. The big composing room, the pressroom with its eighteen presses, the bindery with its folding, cutting, sewing and numbering



PRUDENTIAL HOME OFFICE BUILDINGS, NEWARK, N. J.

machines, are models of cleanliness and light. But, for that matter, all the buildings are as spick and span as a man-o'-war. There are subways, well lighted, under the streets, connecting the different buildings. In every way there has been, in the arrangements, a conservation of energy and time to produce economy and efficiency in carrying on the company's vast business. As indicating how vast that is, the mail coming to and going from the Prudential

is nearly as large as for all the rest of Newark, a city with more than 250,000 population, and of great industrial importance. The mailing department is really a big city post office. And in all the departments one gets the feeling of size that comes in the enormous Government buildings at Washington. And it is as a national institution that the Prudential always fixes itself on the mind—its fundamental idea of democracy in insurance, its nation-wide organization for spreading the idea, its essentially American spirit throughout, all make the company worthy of its name, the Prudential Insurance Company of America.

To-day the Prudential is paying over 300 claims a day, or about forty each working hour. On many policies settlement is made within a few hours by the superintendent of the district; on the large policies a report is sent immediately to the home office and settlement authorized by telegraph. And on over 45 per cent. of the claims more money is paid than the policy calls for. From the beginning the Prudential has followed lines of great liberality.

A STAIRWAY IN THE MAIN BUILDING.

It would be interesting to describe the broad activities that hum in the great buildings at Newark, but they would more than require an entire article themselves. So, too, with the equipment and furnishings of the buildings which, in the way of complete adjustment to their particular work, are probably unequaled in the world. For example, in the actuarial department is a card machine, invented by the actuary of the company, which can do all but think. But many of these things, in miniature, will be seen by the thousands who go to the World's Fair at St. Louis. They will find in the Prudential's exhibit in the Palace of Education a fine model of all the buildings, and also the fullest data concerning life insurance that have ever been brought together.

But the last word about the Prudential is not told at any exposition. It is found in the 5,500,000 policies which form a stupendous exhibit on the value of life insurance in developing thrift, safe investment, and home protection in a nation. Of course such an exhibit could never have been possible if the Prudential had not worked out safe policies that would meet the broad needs of the American people.

The Prudential has been most liberal in its treatment of Army and Navy policy holders. Recently the company made a thorough investigation, at the suggestion of Manager A. W. McNeil, of the conditions surrounding Army and Navy officers in times of peace and war. It resulted in the company's abolishing all extra premiums on Army officers' policies, thus practically extending to them the same life insurance privileges as enjoyed by civilians. That it was a good move by the company is indicated by the correspondingly large increase in new insurance written on the lives of Army and Navy men.

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